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### NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



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#### LORD MORLEY'S INDIAN REFORMS

THE debate on the 17th of December of last year, in which Lord Morley introduced, after long and laborious gestation, his scheme of Indian Reform before the brilliant assembly of the House of Lords, was an event of the highest national importance, and has rightly arrested universal attention. Indeed, it may almost be said that the spirit in which the debate was conducted (in spite of one disagreeable incident) lifted the measures into a higher atmosphere than they would themselves have been likely to reach to if treated on their own merits. Lord Morley's noble and courageous speech, the sincerity with which he expounded and justified his views, and the immovable calmness with which he refused to be deterred by any clamour from the course which he held to be right, together with Lord Lansdowne's dignified and cordial acceptance of the main outlines of the scheme, were in the very best Parliamentary manner, and showed how it is still possible to treat Indian affairs without the intrusion of any spice of party spirit; whereas the measures themselves, if treated apart from the circumstances and conditions under which they are brought forward, might easily be belittled as containing hardly anything more than a moderate extension of the power of the Legislative Councils, whose first inception was in 1861 and which were created in their present form in 1892.

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This would, of course, be a very imperfect description of their nature; but Lord Morley, while claiming that he was opening a very important chapter in the history of the relations of Great Britain and India, did not fail to point out that he was making no departure from the past, but was pursuing the principle of increasing the share to be taken by the natives of India in controlling the affairs of their country, which the Indian Government has always held out as the goal of its efforts. In this connexion he referred to the address sent from certain English associations in Calcutta, which urged that drastic measures were needed to crush the prevalent spirit of anarchy, and that Orientals invariably interpret kindness as due to fear. dogma he rightly repudiated as inapplicable to the present occasion, but it seems doubtful if his correspondents would so apply it; rather they would say that he had given them the drastic measures they desired by sanctioning the Summary Jurisdiction Act and the use of Regulation 3 of 1818, and that the reforms he was introducing could not be interpreted as concessions made from kindness or wrung from weakness. If, however, he had consented to other changes advocated by the discontented agitators, such, for instance, as the separation of the Judicial and Executive Services, which is not a step in the regular foreordained course of progress, but a reversal of all previous order, they would no doubt urge that, at the present time, it would not be accepted with gratitude, but would be treated as a sop thrown to smoothe down opposition.

It was wise for Lord Morley to insist as he did on the fact that his scheme is but an item in the normal historical progress of our rule, because that is so commonly forgotten by evil-disposed critics, who assert that the official tendency is to oppose the claims of the educated classes, the real fact being that the aims of both sides are the same, the only difference being whether the progress should be fast or slow. So generally is the fact ignored that even English visitors to India are frequently deceived and believe that there is habitual dislike of and opposition to native aspirations among the English community at large. Mr. Nevinson, for instance, who, though frequently misinformed, writes with much candour and sympathy, records that a lady said to him, 'To us in India a pro-native is a rank outsider.' Such sentiments may perhaps exist among young subalterns or railway subordinates, but to anyone who knows the state of feeling in good society, and especially among the Civil Service, it sounds the acme of absurdity. If I may be allowed here to speak for once of my own experience, I know that I would never have joined the Service if I had not believed that the ultimate result of our rule would be to raise the people to a capacity for self-government, and for forty years I never ceased to labour to that end; and in this I was not singular, but rather a type of my class. If only Lord Morley's words sink into the minds of the eager aspirants for greater political power, who think

that because they have passed the B.A. Examination in their University they have learned the secret of administrative rule, and if they help them to understand that we all of us desire what they desire, but know that it will come more slowly than they think, the great debate will have been an effectual solvent of much of the impatience and irritation which have led immature minds into law-breaking and anarchy.

Turning now to the measures themselves, the principal change is in the constitution, numbers, and powers of the provincial legislative, &c., councils. These bodies have consisted till now in the four chief provinces of from twenty-four to sixteen members, of whom more than half were officials. The remaining members were representatives of different interests, and were elected by such bodies as the Corporations and the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras, the Universities, the groups of District Boards and of Municipal Boards. and in one case of landholders' associations. But when the word 'elected' is used it must be understood that the district and municipal boards did not elect their members direct, but chose delegates, who then proceeded to the election; and in all cases it was in the power of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor to reject a person so elected, though that power was never, or hardly ever, exercised. Under the new scheme the Government of India's proposal was that the numbers should be raised to forty-seven in the four chief provinces, with smaller figures in the three other provinces, a sufficient number of officials being nominated to ensure a majority to the Government on all occasions. The classes to be represented were the same as before, and in addition, in all cases, there were to be elected members representing landholders and Mahommedans. They adhered to the principle adopted in 1892, that representation by classes and interests is the only practicable method of embodying the electoral principle in the constitution of their Councils. With regard to the landholders, a constituency might be created of all the larger landholders of the province, or of parts of it, who would vote for their member; or if it was found impossible to work such an electorate over a large area the power of election might be vested in the landholders' association. The case of Mahommedans is a little more difficult, because of their being in many cases a scattered and unorganised body. All the local governments approve the principle of special representation of Mahommedans chosen by a Mahommedan electorate, but it is criticised adversely by the Hindus as being an attempt to set one religion against another and to create a counterpoise to the influence of the educated classes. To this it might be answered that Mahommedans differ from Hindus not in religion only, but in social customs, habits of thought, history, and to a large extent in race, and that it is wise to recognise the facts which keep the two classes apart. As to the mode of election, the Government proposal was that when.

the formation of a regular electorate (based, for instance, on property and literary qualifications) was possible, that method should be adopted; failing that, Mahommedan Associations should be made use of; and where neither method was practicable nomination by Government should be resorted to.

In the Secretary of State's despatch Lord Morley writes that he is in entire accord with these general principles, especially as regards the limited interests of corporations, universities, planting communities. &c., but he is impressed by the difficulty of securing satisfactory electoral bodies in the case of landholders, and especially of Mahommedans, and he attributes some weight to the Hindu criticisms mentioned above. He also objects that if a special electorate of Mahommedans commands a definite proportion of seats they ought not to have a right also to vote in the territorial electorates, based on rural and municipal boards, as that would give them a double vote. But the same objection applies to all the other special electorates. such as corporations, chambers of commerce, landholders' associations, or universities, the members of which often have seats on those boards; and, if necessary, it would be easy to provide by legislation against plural voting, while not rejecting the Indian proposals. throws out an alternative scheme for consideration, founded on the principle of electoral colleges. He would form an electorate not for the whole province, but one for each suitable portion; in the hypothetical example he gives there would be three such areas in a province of 20 millions. Each electorate would consist of (a) the substantial landowners, (b) the members of all the different kinds of boards, district, sub-divisional, and municipal; and these two classes would choose the electoral college of, say, one hundred members, according to numerical strength. Thus if the population consists of three-fourth Hindus and one-fourth Mahommedans, there would be seventy-five Hindus and twenty-five Mahommedans; and this college would then proceed to elect the actual representatives-say, three Hindus and one Mahommedan. If it is desired to give separate representation of landholders, the same system could be applied to the representation by choosing the proper proportionate number of candidates who belong to that class, to form a part of the electoral college to join in selecting a member. It does not appear, however, to have occurred to him that this suggestion violates the fundamental principle in which the Government of India and all the local governments agree that the Mahommedan member should be chosen by a special electorate composed of Mahommedans alone.

This suggestion has called forth some not very intelligent criticism from people who have not taken the trouble to study the despatch, like Lord Macdonnell, who in a letter to the *Times* seemed to think that it would be possible for two Mahommedans to get in if they received more votes than any Hindu candidate. Others again have

thought that if the twenty-five Mahommedan electors scattered their votes among several candidates no one would obtain a sufficient majority, and that they could only get their man in if all plumped for him. Both these criticisms were erroneous, because the essence of the scheme is that there must be one Mahommedan member: if only one vote were given for him and ninety-nine for Hindus still the one Mahommedan would get in, and if ninety votes were divided between two Mahommedans only one would get in. But it also evoked very sound criticism from Major Synd Hussun Bilgrami and the All-India Moslem Association, who realised at once that it was a total departure from what they desired and expected. Mahommedan representation, as promised by Lord Minto, in reply to the great Mahommedan deputation, and as advocated by all the local governments as well as the Government of India, meant representation of Mahommedans by Mahommedans, whereas Lord Morley's scheme means election of Mahommedans by a united body of Hindus and Mahommedans, in which the former would generally preponderate. The result might very likely be that they would get a man chosen for them by Hindu voters who was very far from being agreeable to them and might be a renegade and a traitor to their cause. Mr. Ameer Ali has written forcibly, 'A nominee of the majority posing as a Mahommedan representative would often do more harm to Musulman interests than if they were wholly unrepresented.' Thus, in the hypothetical case stated in the despatch, even if the twenty-five electors united to vote for one Mahommedan whom they thoroughly trusted, the Hindus might throw twenty-six of their votes in favour of one who was pledged to take their side in a conflict of opinion, and then devote their remaining forty-nine votes to the choice of three Hindu candidates.

It is hardly possible that Lord Morley can have foreseen such a result as this, or can have intended, without explicitly saying so, to favour a plan directly contrary to that submitted to him, and there can be little doubt that the Government of India will urge that the Mahommedan members of Council must be elected by their coreligionists alone, and the suggestion in its present form will be dropped. I think, moreover, it will be found that both the Government of India and the Secretary of State have underrated the extent to which 'Anjumans,' or Mahommedan associations exist and can be utilised for the purpose of choosing representatives. They have certainly increased in number of late years, and it may be doubted if there is any considerable town in which one such body does not exist. At any rate, if it were given out that a representative status would be given them, they would spring up everywhere, and it would perhaps be necessary to pass a law to provide for their registration (as also the registration of landholders' associations) under conditions which would afford proof of their reality and durability; and if this is done,

there seems no reason for thinking that they would not afford as good a basis for selecting representatives of Mahommedans and of landowners, as the district and other boards afford for the selection of representatives of the middle professional classes.

Before leaving this branch of the subject it is worth while to stop for a moment to consider what is the object of creating electoral colleges instead of adopting a system of direct election. It would be interesting to know what induced Lord Morley to make the suggestion. It is obvious that if the primary electors choose a body of weighty and well-informed men, and leave the selection of the members to them, much good might result; but is there any chance of this happening? In the election of the President of the United States the delegates assemble pledged to one particular name, and the intermediate electoral college seems to serve no useful purpose. There are only two instances known to the writer of the existence of such a system in Europe. The electoral body which chooses the French Senate resembles closely the district and other boards which are to choose their own representatives on the Provincial Councils; it is merely a machinery by which scattered bodies may conveniently make their voices heard. The other precedent might perhaps be useful to consider in India-the three-class system, by which the members of the Prussian House of Representatives are chosen. voters are divided into three classes, according to the amount of taxes they pay; the largest taxpayers, who pay one-third of the taxes, form the first class, the next largest the second class, and the remainder the third class. The first of these classes contains necessarily a much smaller number of voters than the second class, and the second than the third, but each selects an equal number of electors, and the whole number so selected meet together to choose the representative of the district.1 It is said that this system is valuable as an attempt to represent social interests instead of geographical districts, and it seems possible that the idea might be utilised if the boards, associations, and Anjumans fail to secure suitable representation of their different interests. It must, however, be noted that the system seems to be in disfavour in its own country, and is likely to be abolished in the pending revision of the Prussian franchise.

To many Anglo-Indians, and indeed to many philosophical political thinkers in England, all this talk about the ways and means of electoral representation may seem highly unpalatable. A school is growing up among us which holds that representative institutions are based on a mistaken conception of human nature, and do not really achieve what they profess to aim at, an adjustment between the wishes of the population and the actions of the Government. Mr. Graham Wallas, in his *Human Nature in Politics*, gives an amusing account of his own experience in popular elections, showing how little

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. L. Lowell, Government and Parties in Continental Europe, p. 303.

a candidate comes really in contact with the mind of the electors, and how little the electors are influenced by such intellectual processes as they vaguely pass through in their choice of candidates. He goes on to raise the question (which Plato decided in the negative) whether the consent of the members of a community is a necessary condition of good government, and he turns to the Civil Service in India with the claim that they, from their experience, should supply an answer.2 It is doubtful if his demand can be met by any reasoned and authoritative reply. Men who have led useful and self-sacrificing lives in the belief that they must have won the love and gratitude of the people, recall with a shudder the upheaval of concealed passions in the Mutiny of 1857 and the anarchical conspiracies of 1907-8. Still they would probably not admit that the existence of representative institutions would have afforded any better warning of coming events, than had been given them by their long experience and friendly relations with the people. At all events, if we are driven to tread the well-worn path of electoral representation, it is something to be assured that we are treading it delicately and have not decided how far it is to lead us. The breath of cool philosophy meets us in Lord Morley's assurance that 'if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily up to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, he, for one, would have nothing to do with it.'

In one other respect Lord Morley modified the proposals of the Indian Government. Their scheme provided for the appointment of such a number of officials that under the circumstances it should be impossible for the Government to be in a minority. But though this had been the rule established in 1892, Lord Morley remarked that the Bombay Government had not appointed the number of officials authorised by the law, and no disastrous consequences had occurred. He argued also that with such an increased number of non-official members representing so many different interests it was most unlikely that the whole of them should ever combine to throw out a Government measure, and if such a thing should ever occur there would probably be good reason for it, and the local government would do all the better if it had some time to reconsider the matter. This reasoning, however, he did not apply to the Imperial Legislative Council, holding it to be 'an essential condition of policy that the Imperial supremacy shall be in no degree compromised.' It is possible that his decision will on the whole commend itself to the best judges; but we think the danger involved is greater than he has realised. History records that every Act for the defence of the poorer and weaker classes has been forced through the Legislative Council by the efforts of officials, and has been opposed by the native members whose interests were affected. Any Tenancy Bill brought in in future, for the protection of the rights of

<sup>&</sup>quot; Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics, pp. 199-202.

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tenants, will meet strenuous opposition from non-officials, almost all of whom, lawyers and professional classes, Mahommedans and landowners, members of the planting communities and of Chambers of Commerce, are either proprietors of land themselves or are likely to be on the side of the Zemindars, and the difficulty of passing such laws will be far greater than it has been. If such legislation is blocked in future, not only will the prestige of Government be affected in the eyes of the outside world, but, what is more important, the faith of the great mass of the ryots in its power to stand as their protector against oppression and exaction may be shaken. Of course the heads of Government retain the power of vetoing any recommendation of their Legislative Council when they think it necessary to do so, but it must be foreseen that if such a power has to be frequently exercised the whole structure would collapse. It is confessed that grave risk is run, but I am inclined to think it is worth running in order to obtain the end of enhancing the self-respect and dignity of the councils.

The next important item in the scheme of reform to be noticed is the enlargement of the powers of these councils. Under the existing law their discussions are confined to legislative proposals in the form of bills initiated by the Government and to a debate on the annual financial statement: The Government of India proposed to enlarge these powers, holding that benefit would be derived from a discussion of administrative subjects, whether initiated by the Government or by a private member. To this end power should be given to move resolutions taking the form of recommendations, relating to matters of public and general importance, but not to isolated incidents of administration or to personal questions; and it would rest with the Government to take such action on them as it The President would have power to disallow any resolution which in his opinion could not be discussed consistently with the public interests. Rules of business would be laid down as to procedure and as to the time allotted to the discussion of a resolution. These proposals are accepted by the Secretary of State, except the condition excluding 'isolated incidents of administration and personal questions.' These, he remarks, may often be matters of public and general importance, and it would be sufficient to trust to the President's power to exclude any proposed resolution which does not satisfy this condition.

The power thus conferred on private members by the right of moving resolutions hostile to Government and censuring the actions of its members is a very serious one and may lead to disastrous results. It is well known what a tremendous weapon interpellation has been in the French Chamber of Deputies, where, as Mr. Lowell states, out of twenty-one Ministries that have resigned ten have fallen in consequence of orders of the day moved after an interpellation. No

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Government and Parties in Continental Europe, pp. 119-124.

doubt in large matters of administration not affecting their class interests it is unlikely that private members, drawn from such various sources, would combine against the Government. But a disaffected party would certainly show their ingenuity in framing resolutions so as to catch the votes of members who are in general sympathy with the Government but do not approve of the particular act in question, and the Bengali mind is peculiarly adapted to the exercise of such ingenuity as this. A Government would be superhuman which never made mistakes, and by this method any of its acts could be brought before the Council and a vote taken as to whether a mistake had been made or not. An adverse vote would not, as in France, lead to the resignation of the Government, but its authority would be enfeebled by hostile votes and its prestige would be destroyed if constantly censured and put in a minority in matters of detail. It is essential therefore that such votes should only be taken on matters of great importance; and it is well known, both in London and Paris, that questions which seem trivial at first sight and are passed by the President as such may lead to important discussions and sudden outbursts of hostility. One must hope that especial care will be taken in framing the rules of business to avoid this danger.

This completes our review of the major part of the scheme of reforms, but two items remain to be noticed which are of extreme importance, though one of them is but lightly touched on in the Blue-book and one finds no place at all in it. In a short paragraph 4 at the end of their letter the Indian Government observe that these proposals will throw a great increase of work and of responsibility on local Governments, and 'it may be that experience will show the desirability of strengthening the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor in the larger provinces by the creation of Executive Councils and by enlarging the Executive Councils in Madras and Bombay.' But they say it would be premature to discuss this without more experience, as it would be a large departure from the present system, and the change could only be recommended after consultation with the heads of the provinces concerned. It must have been with some surprise that the Viceroy's Council learned from the Secretary of State's despatch that this hesitating suggestion of theirs, hardly more than an obiter dictum, was accepted by him as a deliberate recommendation, and that he proposes definitely to act upon it and 'to ask for power to create Executive Councils from time to time as may be found expedient.' He justifies this decision by the remark that the question was much discussed in 1868 'by men of the highest authority on Indian questions,' and that it is hardly likely that further consultations could bring any new arguments of weight and substance into This is a very singular position for Lord Morley to take up. In 1868 the creation of an Executive Council for Bengal was supported

by Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Henry Maine, but was vehemently opposed by Sir John Lawrence; it was rejected by a majority of the Council, and the subject was dropped by the Secretary of State. Many things have happened since 1868, and the trend of official opinion has been rather in the direction of abolishing the Executive Council in Madras and Bombay than of extending the system to other provinces. Moreover, it is only three years ago that the question was elaborately discussed by the Government of India in connection with the partition of Bengal. No single official then suggested this creation of an Executive Council as a mode of lightening the intolerable strain on the Lieutenant-Governor, but it was proposed in resolutions passed at a public meeting in Calcutta and unanimously rejected by the Viceroy's Council, who believed it to be 'totally unsuited to the circumstances of Bengal.' They showed that the system was introduced and maintained in Madras and Bombay 'not so much to promote the despatch of business by subdividing work as in order to guide and keep from error a Governor appointed from outside and wholly ignorant at starting of the conditions of Indian administration.' If introduced into Bengal the disadvantages of the system would be enormously increased. 'The two Councillors would be drawn from the same service, probably from the same province, as the Lieutenant-Governor, and might be smarting under the sense of supersession themselves. They would regard their opinion as of equal weight with his.' The 'most beneficial measures of Sir George Campbell's eventful term of office would, with scarcely any exception, have been bitterly opposed by a Council composed of Bengal officers and could only have been carried through by the Lieutenant-Governor persistently overriding his colleagues.' 'The crowning drawback of the system is that what is best for a province in India is not the rule of a Committee, but the rule, or at least the responsibility in the last resort, of an individual.' Holding such strong opinions as these in 1905, it argues not a little levity-or at least forgetfulness-that the Government of India should execute a complete volte face and recommend in 1908 the policy they had so recently condemned; and it is equally strange that Lord Morley should have been led to suppose that the question remains as it stood in 1868, and that nothing new has occurred since then to bear on the subject.

The last item in the list of measures of reform is perhaps the most important of all—the appointment of a native of India to the Viceroy's Executive Council. It is not a little remarkable that the intention to take this step was announced by Lord Morley in his speech, and that not a word is said on the subject in the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State published in the Blue-book. He told us, indeed, that the first suggestion came from Lord Minto, and that the step has his 'absolute and zealous approval and concurrence'—he did not add 'and that of his Council.'

It is surely contrary to constitutional usage that such an enormous change should be made without the Viceroy's Council being consulted; and if they were consulted, and their disapproval was overruled by the Viceroy, the public are entitled to know it and to have the minutes and the despatch before them. We already have some premonition of the danger of announcing such a step in a speech in Parliament, without an official record of the conditions under which it is to be carried out. Expectations have been raised to the highest point in India of the speedy elevation of an Indian to this dignity. In an article in the January number of this Review Mr. Mitra, generally a careful student of his texts, wrote, 'Lord Morley has given us his assurance that a native of India will be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy.' What Lord Morley actually said, according to the Times report, was, 'If during my tenure of office there should be a vacancy on the Viceroy's Executive Council I should feel it my duty to tender to the King my advice that an Indian member should be appointed, but it is conceivable that the Government may have resigned before a vacancy occurs. It is greatly to be hoped that before such an appointment is made the question may be examined in all its branches, and opportunities given to the highest authorities in India to record their views.

The proposal has already given rise to a multitude of protests. has been urged that no single native of India can possibly represent the feelings of the whole country. If he is a Hindu he will be distrusted by the Mahommedans, if a Mahommedan by the Hindus. The precedent created by Lord Morley in his own Council supports the argument that there should at least be two men appointed, a Hindu and a Mahommedan. Furthermore, it is felt that any such appointment should be made as an addition to, not in diminution of, the small number of Englishmen who now share the office. A member of the Executive Council is not only an adviser of the Viceroy, he is the head of a great Administrative Department, in which he exercises the authority, and passes orders in the name, of the Government of India; and to be the head of a Department it is necessary to have passed through an elaborate training and to have risen to a high position in the Administration. It can hardly be asserted that there is at present, or is likely to be for some time, any native of India who fulfils these conditions and is fit to rule over the Home, the Revenue, the Financial, or the Public Works Departments. It is true that there have been and are great and able Indian judges, and that one of those might be capable of presiding with success over the Legislative Department. But even here such an appointment could only be made occasionally. When we recall how much the legislation of India owes to such men as Macaulay, Fitzjames-Stephen, and Sir Courtenay Ilbert (to name no others) it is evident that it would be impossible to cut off from this Department the influence which the best thought of England

can bring to bear on the improvement of the Indian Codes, and to confine it permanently to the guidance of Indians. It can hardly be supposed that the intermittent appointment of a single judge to be legal member of Council would do much to satisfy Indian aspirations or to give to the Viceroy that insight into Indian feeling which is desired.

We may heartily agree, however, that the admission of a Hindu and a Mahommedan to the Whitehall Council has done much to strengthen Lord Morley's hands, and that similar appointments would be very valuable to the Viceroy of India, besides giving general satisfaction to the country. But let it be understood that their presence there is mainly for advisory purposes. There is always plenty of work to do on Committees and Commissions in which they might be utilised, or new Departments might be created in which their general knowledge of the country, even without special training, would justify their appointment, such as agriculture and sanitation. But whatever is done, I trust that the number of English members will be maintained, and that Lord Morley's words will be strictly and literally enforced, 'that the merits of individuals are to be considered, and to be decisive,

irrespective and independent of race and colour.'

I have already observed that the lofty tone of the debate was unfortunately marred by an untoward incident towards its close. Lord Macdonnell, after stating that he approved generally of the proposed measures, with one exception, went out of his way to attack the partition of Bengal as 'the greatest administrative blunder which had been committed in India since Clive conquered at Plassey,' and said that 'if they did not retract and correct it the great scheme of reform which had been launched that night would fail of the success which it ought to command.' No more mischievous or uncalled-for speech was ever made, and it was the more improper because Lord Macdonnell had lately been employed by Lord Morley to assist on the Committee which sat to elaborate the scheme, where he might have urged his view, and learned that it was unacceptable to his chief; and yet with that deplorable want of discipline and proper feeling which has been evinced by other retired and pensioned members of the Indian Civil Service he took the first opportunity to strike a blow at the measure he professed to approve, and to do all in his power to destroy its beneficial effect. The cue thus given has been at once taken up in India, and the party of discontent are everywhere loud in declaring that the offered olive-branch is insufficient, and that no eirenicon can be reached till the two provinces of Bengal are reunited. And yet Lord Morley had declared over and over again that the step taken cannot be recalled, and the agitation had begun to die down which has now been revived by this disastrous

Lord Macdonnell boasted that he spoke with 'all the authority

of his long experience in India.' But there are many others of equal authority and experience who disagree with him and who hold that the division of Bengal into two provinces was essential to secure good government and the proper care of the interests of the people. It has been proved to demonstration that the task of governing that enormous area of about 80 millions of people is far beyond the capacity of any one man, and it has been agreed by all the responsible authorities in India that the best way to lighten the load is to divide it between two Lieutenant-Governors. The only alternative suggestion of assisting the one Lieutenant-Governor by the addition of an Executive Council was carefully considered by the Government of India, and unanimously rejected by them on the grounds (as above stated) that such a Council was likely to do as much harm by friction between the members as it did good by a division of work. The objections urged against the partition, so far as they put forward any tangible and material injury to any one, have been shown to be flimsy and trivial in the extreme; so far as they are based on the sentimental grievance of a loss of national unity it has been shown that the feeling was to a great extent unreal and manufactured, the very words of the protests sent up by various districts and associations being dictated from the centre of disaffection in Calcutta. And while this soreness still rankles in that centre, the Mahommedans of Eastern Bengal have welcomed the creation of a separate Government as a relief from the neglect and oppression under which they had so long suffered. was not till an independent authority came to study their condition that the extent of this neglect and oppression came to light. Sir Bampfylde Fuller was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province, he discovered how impossible it was for the Government officers in those vast districts (one of which contains 7 millions of inhabitants), so badly provided with roads and any kind of communications, to fill the rôles which their fellows fill in other parts of the country. He found that the landowners (mostly Hindus) were in the habit of exacting from their tenants (mostly Mahommedans) illegal and oppressive cesses, exceeding sometimes the entire amount of the rents they were legally entitled to collect, and among those cesses was in some cases one for the support of Hindu temples and idols, an exaction peculiarly galling to a race of monotheists. He found that the landowners had to a large extent usurped the functions of the scanty and distant courts of law, that they tried cases both civil and criminal, inflicted fines and penalties, and even sometimes kept private prisons, in which their victims were incarcerated. In the schools nothing had been done to adapt the curriculum to the special wants of the Mahommedans, and there was a far smaller proportion of their boys at school than of Hindus, so that for want of education they were yearly falling more and more backward. Similarly they obtained a much smaller share than they were entitled to of such Government

appointments as are suitable to them, and Sir Bampfylde Fuller found that, while they number about two-thirds of the population, 90 per cent. of all posts in the Police Department superior to that of constable were filled by Hindus. It has always been the glory of the British Government of India that it has protected the weaker classes against the stronger, and the appointment of a separate Lieutenant-Governor for Eastern Bengal has made this possible. Would the addition of two members of Council to the one Lieutenant-Governor in Calcutta have done as much? Certainly not, and the work which has been done can never be undone so long as the Government is true to its traditions, whatever Lord Macdonnell and the discontented agitators who shelter under his name may say.

How far the promulgation of these reforms will go towards allaying disaffection and rallying round the Government the best elements in Indian society it would be rash to prophesy. As far as Mahommedans are concerned we may assume that the mistake made regarding their representation will be corrected, or else the new measures will bring not peace but a sword. the Hindus, many leaders welcomed them at first with exuberant satisfaction, recognising perhaps the blow given to the Mahommedans, but already the tone has begun to alter, and they begin to talk, like the Irish, of accepting this instalment as a step towards further concessions. Independently of the cry for the revocation of the Bengal partition, we hear it urged that the deported men must be restored to their homes and the prisoners convicted of sedition must be released, if a treaty of peace is to be signed. We ought not to look only or mainly to the measures of reform themselves to achieve the ends we desire. It will soon be felt that there are very few points at which they touch the daily life of the educated classes, who long to make their influence felt. It is no great gain to the 'middle professional classes,' of whom the district and other boards are composed, to be able to place eight members on the Bengal Council instead of three, as before. What really will tell is, as I wrote at the beginning of this article, the spirit of the debate rather than the text of the reform-the pure sympathy with the aspirations of the new generation, the just appreciation of the high qualities of the natives of India, the determination to maintain the steady resistless march of British rule, unresting, unhasting, towards the goal of admitting them to a larger and larger share in the government of their country. These will, if anything can, allay discontent and ensure the co-operation of the real leaders, and compel all men to agree with the claim of Fitzjames-Stephen, some fifty years ago, that the Government of India is a Government of great ideas.

C. A. ELLIOTT.

### THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

There is grave reason to fear that some attempt will be made in the forthcoming Budget to raise additional revenue by the system known as the taxation of land values. Ever since the election of 1906 a large section of the Liberal party has been pressing the Government to tax land values, and during the last few months a vigorous agitation to secure this object has been maintained by prominent Liberal newspapers. Moreover, the agitation has behind it a great deal of popular feeling. In the last Parliament even some Tory members felt constrained to vote in favour of various schemes for the taxation of land values, and there can be no doubt that quite a large number of people really believe that not only can additional revenue be raised by this means, but that also many social problems will be solved or brought nearer to solution. Under such conditions any Government is liable to be driven against its better judgment to try and do something to satisfy the popular clamour.

Before giving the reasons why I hold that this popular clamour is based upon a series of delusions, it is worth while briefly to trace the history of the agitation. That the idea of taxing land values originated, so far as this country is concerned, with the late Mr. Henry George no honest apostle of that idea would for a moment deny. Indeed, many of the leading advocates of a tax upon land values openly avow that they regard this as only the first step towards Mr. George's ideal of the complete appropriation by the State of the whole annual value of land, apart from the improvements upon it. For proof of this statement—if proof be needed—it is sufficient to turn to the evidence given before the Royal Commission on Local Taxation by members of the Glasgow Corporation. The late Bailie John Ferguson, who may be regarded as the parent of the present movement, said that he was in favour of an immediate tax of 10 per cent. on the value of the land, rising to 100 per cent., with the object of obtaining 'the entire land value for the service of the community.' Ex-Provost Chisholm expressed a similar opinion, but laid stress upon the necessity of proceeding slowly, only increasing the tax 1 per cent. per annum. Ex-Bailie Burt said that he wished to.

use the tax to 'restore the land to the people,' and he proposed that the tax should be increased 'until you take 20s. in the £.'

This evidence is important because the three men in question were among the principal authors of what has since been known as the 'Glasgow Bill.' The object of this Bill, which was first introduced into the House of Commons in 1899, was to authorise a municipal tax of 2s. in the £ upon the annual 'land value' of land in any burgh, the 'land value' being defined as 4 per cent. upon the capital value of the land 'apart from the value of any buildings, erections, fixed machinery or other heritable subjects on or connected with it.' Owing largely to the efforts of the gentlemen above named, several municipal corporations both in England and Scotland were in succeeding years induced to support the Glasgow Bill, in the belief that it would provide them with a new source of revenue for municipal expenditure. Meanwhile an English counterpart of the Glasgow Bill was prepared and introduced into the House of Commons. Between the two Bills there was, however, one important difference. The Glasgow Bill provided that the person who immediately paid the new tax should be entitled to recover a proportionate part from his superior landlord, notwithstanding any contract he might have made to pay all rates and taxes. The English Bill respected existing contracts. This difference, as we shall presently see, is fundamental. There was also a difference in the rate at which interest was taken. The Glasgow Bill, as already mentioned, took 4 per cent., and the English Bill 3 per cent. In this case the difference is unimportant, except as illustrating a characteristic lack of precision in the minds of people who believe that they can reform the world by setting up a new system of taxation.

After some years of agitation, partly paid for by the Corporation of Glasgow out of funds belonging to the citizens of Glasgow, the Scotch Bill succeeded in obtaining a second reading in the House of Commons early in the Session of 1906, and was referred to a Select Committee, over which Mr. Ure, the Scotch Solicitor-General, presided. The overwhelming majority of the members of that committee were in favour of the principle of taxing land values, yet this

is their verdict on the proposals of the Bill:

Your committee consider these proposals to be indefensible. No evidence was adduced in support of them. No one justified the choice of 10 per cent. It was apparently arrived at by haphazard, without any calculation or estimate of what its effects would be. The objections entertained by your committee to the proposals of the Bill were such as to compel them to come to the conclusion that it ought not to be proceeded with in its present form.<sup>1</sup>

So much for the Glasgow Bill, which had been so effusively welcomed by many town councils and so actively boomed by the land taxers. The Select Committee further reported that as a preliminary

House of Commons, 379 of 1906, p. 6.

to the taxation of land values it was 'absolutely essential' to have a valuation of the subject to be taxed. They added that in their judgment the taxation of land values should not be confined to urban areas, but should be extended to the whole country; that the whole of the rates should be raised by taxing land values in lieu of the subjects now taxed; and that the owners of feu duties and ground annuals should contribute a proportional part of the new tax.

In passing it may be remarked that if the proposals advocated by Mr. Ure's committee were carried into effect, country mansions like Chatsworth would only be rated upon the ground on which they stand, which cannot fairly be assessed at much more than agricultural value. The deficiency in the local revenue would have to be made good by the farmers and labourers of the district. In a town the value of sites is rarely on the average as much as a fifth of the value of the whole property. If therefore buildings were exempted from rating it would be necessary to impose a fivefold rate on land. As the existing rates range from 6s. to 10s. in the  $\mathcal{L}$ , this would mean a land values rate of 30s. to 50s. in the  $\mathcal{L}$ . Who is to pay it, and how it is to be paid, nobody has yet explained.

Acting upon the report of Mr. Ure's committee, the Government in the next Session (1907) introduced a Bill to 'provide for the ascertainment of land values in Scotland.' This Bill after passing its second reading, went before a Grand Committee, and was a good deal knocked about. It failed to pass the House of Lords through lack of time, and was reintroduced into the Commons in an amended form in 1908, and sent up to the Lords after very brief discussion. The Lords insisted on amendments which the Commons refused to accept, and the Bill again dropped.

The importance of this Bill lies in the fact that it embodies the considered opinion of the House of Commons and of his Majesty's Government as to the meaning of the phrase 'land values.' The definition is as follows:

'Capital land value' in reference to any lands and heritages includes the value of any common interest in land, and means the sum which such lands and heritages or common interest might be expected to realise if sold by a willing seller in the open market at the time of valuation, if—

- (1) Divested of buildings, erections or improvements of whatever nature, on, in, or under the soil, woods, fixed or attached machinery, and work of drainage and of reclamation, making up, levelling, and the like, where the benefit thereof is unexhausted at the time of valuation; and
- (2) Sold free from all burdens, public and private, except building restrictions or servitudes.

An apology is due to the reader for this bewildering quotation, but he will probably excuse the offence when he realises that if the Land Values (Scotland) Bill of 1908 had passed, and had been extended to England, Wales, and Ireland, every person in the United Kingdom having any proprietary right in land would have been called upon, under penalty, to solve the conundrum above set forth, and to declare what was the 'land value' as thus defined of any piece of land which he owned or partly owned. Anyone who will read over the above definition three or four times, very slowly, will perhaps be able to appreciate the beautiful simplicity of the new system of taxation which is going to solve the problem of the unemployed, to provide an unlimited supply of working-men's houses at low rents, to empty our workhouses and prisons, and to take us all back to the land, there to live in an earthly paradise. This is not a travesty of the doctrines taught by the land taxers. It is a sober repetition of the promises they make and of the words of their master. In the book which is their Bible, their master declares that to 'appropriate rent by taxation' is

the simple yet sovereign remedy which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify government, and carry civilisation to yet nobler heights.<sup>2</sup>

People who are accustomed to use their reason in dealing with social or economic or financial problems will ask doubtfully whether anybody could be influenced by this rhetoric. The answer is that it was just because of his rhetoric that Henry George was able to influence thousands of people in this country, and to persuade them that he had discovered the key to social salvation. The number of his devotees is probably smaller than it was, for Socialism has to a large extent replaced Henry Georgeism as the creed of 'advanced' people. But the effect of his teaching still remains. Unless Henry George had taught that the value of land, apart from the improvements upon it, was the property of the community and ought to be resumed by means of taxation, the Glasgow Bill would never have seen the light, and the House of Commons would never have elaborated that wonderful definition of the meaning of 'land values.'

The land taxers, however, are not so foolish as to rely solely on the rhetoric of a departed prophet. They realise that in order to commend their so-called reform to a practical race like the English they must put forward arguments which at any rate appear to be based on common sense. They have done so, and many of their arguments are superficially quite attractive. It is with these that I now propose to deal.

Their first argument is that land differs from all other things which are the subjects of private property. This statement is true, but it does not carry us very far. Land differs from other subjects of property in various ways. It is essential to human life; it is fixed in geographical position; there is only a limited amount of it. For these reasons it is clear that if private property in land is permitted it must

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Henry George, Progress and Poverty, p. 288. (Authorised Edition.)

be subject to restrictions which do not necessarily apply to other forms of property. There is no novelty about this proposition; it is accepted by every individual who has ever thought about the matter, and is acted upon by every community, civilised or uncivilised. What is novel is the deduction made by Mr. Henry George and his spiritual descendants, the land taxers. Their doctrine is that because land differs from other subjects of property, therefore the community to-day is justified in cancelling property in land, which has been recognised for centuries. Some of the land taxers do not go quite so far as this. They are emphatic that they do not wish to abolish private property in land, but they demand the imposition of a special tax upon land. Essentially, however, the object is the same. Two men save 1001. each out of their earnings. One buys Consols; the other buys a freehold ground rent. To put a special tax upon the purchaser of the ground rent which the purchaser of Consols is not asked to pay is partially to confiscate the property of landowners for the benefit of non-landowners. The peculiar attributes of land certainly do not

justify this peculiar interpretation of the rules of equity.

The next argument of the land taxers involves more lengthy consideration. It is alleged that landowners do not bear their fair share of the national burdens, and on the surface the allegation is very plausible. In many of our large towns houses are built upon building leases, and the freeholder receives a ground rent free of all rates and taxes except landlord's income-tax. It looks as if he escaped his share of municipal, if not of national, burdens. The answer is that a ground rent is the price paid for the use of the land, and that in agreeing upon that price the two parties concerned necessarily take into account the burdens present and prospective upon the land. If the freeholder were made liable for part of the charges which might subsequently fall upon the occupier of the land, it is clear that he would want a higher price or ground rent, and it is also clear that the lessee would be willing to pay a higher price or ground rent because his own liability for rates would be reduced. In effect, the burden of the rates is discounted when the land is leased. It may be that in some cases the discount is not sufficient, and that the leaseholder finds that he has to pay higher rates than he anticipated; but the reverse case is quite as likely to happen. The main object of the freeholder is generally to create a fixed annuity which he can sell as a trust investment. For this purpose it is imperative that the ground rent should be relieved of the uncertainty attaching to local rates, and to secure this relief the freeholder will probably assent to a discount in excess of the real liability.

During the term of the lease the lessee becomes in effect the owner of the land, subject to the ground rent which he has agreed to pay. He is assessed upon the full value of the land as well as upon the value of any buildings he may have put upon it, and there is no reason to

believe that assessors make a practice of undervaluing land and over valuing buildings.

Under this head then there is nothing of substance in the plausible allegation that landowners escape their fair share of taxation. It is. however, further alleged that landowners have shuffled off some of their historic liabilities, with the result that capital and labour are burdened with charges which land ought to bear. In support of this allegation land taxers are fond of telling a cock-and-bull story about the so-called land tax of William the Third. The facts with regard to this tax have so often been made public that it is difficult to understand the moral attitude of persons who continue to give currency to a demonstrably untrue story. The story is that, in the reign of William the Third, Parliament imposed a tax of 4s. in the £ on land to compensate the Crown for the abolition of feudal tenures; that this tax was intended to be levied on the full annual value of the land, but that the landowning confraternity have craftily contrived to avoid any fresh assessment of their lands, and are still paying on the assessment of 1692.

It is a terrible tale, but there is not a word of truth in it. feudal dues were not abolished in the reign of William the Third, but a generation earlier, in the reign of Charles the Second. The compensation then voted to the Crown by Parliament was not a land tax but an excise duty on beer. The so-called land tax of William the Third was not a land tax at all, in the modern sense of the term, but a property and income tax. The rate of 4s. was not intended to be permanent, and in subsequent years sometimes fell as low as 1s. The tax was imposed solely for the purpose of raising revenue, and is described in the Act imposing it as 'an aid of 4s. in the pound for one year for carrying on a vigorous war against France.' The first section of the Act deals with personalty, and prescribes that all persons 'having any estate in ready moneys or in any debts owing to them within this realm or without, or having any estate in goods, wares, merchandise, or other chattels or personal estate whatsoever . . . shall pay unto Their Majesties 4s. in the £, according to the true yearly value thereof.' The second section imposes the same tax on the incomes of persons employed in public offices and their clerks and substitutes. The third section, which is the first in which the word 'land' is even mentioned, imposes this tax on 'all manors, messuages, lands, tenements, quarries, mines, ironworks, salt works, parks, chaces, warrens, woods, coppices, fishings, tithes, tolls, annuities, and all other yearly profits and all hereditaments of what nature or kind whatsoever.'

Faced with these words from the Act itself some of the land taxers have attempted to argue that in practice land alone was taxed. This again is quite untrue. For considerably more than a century personalty continued to pay something, though escaping the greater part of the intended burden, and it was not until 1833 that the clause

imposing a tax upon personal property was finally repealed. The portion relating to incomes from public offices continued down to 1876. As for the portion of the tax falling upon real property, it still continues, except where the charge has been redeemed by the payment of a capital sum. In 1697, five years after the imposition of the 4s. tax, Parliament, following the method of taxation then traditional in England, ordered that fixed quotas should be raised by each parish on account of the tax, and these quotas remained practically unchanged year after year. In 1798 they were made perpetual, subject to provision for redemption. This is probably what the land taxers mean when they say that landowners still pay on the assessment of 1692. The accurate statement is that the quota of each parish is approximately the same now as in 1692, except so far as a portion of the quota has been redeemed. In order to raise the present quota, all the unredeemed properties in the parish-including of course buildings-are charged upon their value to-day at such a rate as will raise the required sum. But this does not mean that landowners escape other taxation. When Pitt made the old quotas perpetual in 1798 he simultaneously imposed a new tax. After a few years that tax was dropped, but was revived again in 1842 by Peel. It is known as the Income Tax, and under its operation every landowner to-day pays 1s. in the £ on the full annual value of his land.

So much for the tale about William the Third's land tax—a fiction which for years has taken the place of argument in hundreds of speeches and scores of pamphlets. With regard to the more general assertion that in earlier centuries land provided a greater proportion of the national revenue than it now does, the only puzzle is to know why any pamphleteer or speaker should take the trouble to make such an obvious remark. In former centuries land was almost the only source of wealth, and therefore naturally provided a larger share of the public revenue than now when other sources of wealth are collectively at least twenty times as important as land.

The next argument with which we have to deal is that landowners derive special advantages from municipal expenditure, and therefore ought to make a special contribution towards meeting it. This argument, it may be remarked in passing, can clearly have no relevance to any national tax on land values that Mr. Lloyd George may be contemplating; but let us nevertheless deal with it. The usual statement is that the value of land is enhanced by municipal enterprise, and that the landowner pockets the profit without contributing a penny to the cost. As already pointed out, the idea that the landlord contributes nothing to local rates is a delusion, for the burden which rates impose upon the property reduces the rent which the landlord can command for his land. It is argued, however, that during the continuance of a long lease municipal improvements are often made, to which the landlord contributes nothing, though they

increase the value of his land. Quite so, but he does not touch that increased value until the expiry of the lease. During the lease, the benefit of any increase in the value of the land accrues to the lease-holder or to his sub-tenants. At the end of the lease the freeholder takes over not only the increased value but also the increased burdens.

It may be said that he makes a handsome profit on the trans-Possibly he may, but he has also had to run the risk of a loss. Land taxers always assume that all urban and suburban land is always certain to rise in value, and that all improvements in the value of urban land are due to municipal enterprise. The answer to the first assumption is very simple. If this assumption were true then everybody who could scrape together a few pounds would buy urban or suburban land and hold it for a rise. As a matter of fact, in many districts land remains stationary in value for long periods; in some districts it even falls; and even when it rises steadily the increment accruing to the owner is often less than the sum which he could have secured by investing his money at compound interest. It is true that great fortunes have been made by men who have bought suburban land wisely, and so laid it out as to attract builders and residents, but it is equally true that fortunes have been lost by men who have tried to develop building estates, and have found that the town either refused to expand or expanded in another direction. The man who takes the risk of loss must also be allowed to enjoy the hope of gain. There is no reason to believe that on the whole the landowners of England have gained more by the general advance in prosperity than other classes of the community, though their gain is sometimes more apparent. Nor does the fact of the unearned increment of some land afford the slightest justification, or even excuse, for imposing a special tax upon all land.

As to the other assumption, that the value of urban land is solely due to municipal enterprise, it is answered by asking why, on that assumption, is land more valuable in a main thoroughfare than in a back street? Do the municipal authorities deliberately neglect the back streets in order to increase the fortunes of the owners of property in main thoroughfares? Doubtless there are cases where a particular piece of enterprise on the part of a municipality, such as the laying out of a public garden, will increase the value of surrounding property, and it is desirable that improved methods of dealing with such cases should be devised. But cases such as these do not justify the imposition of a special tax on all land, including land that may have actually depreciated in value in consequence of some municipal action.

One other purely financial argument must be dealt with. It is commonly said that the owners of land do nothing, or very little, in return for the incomes they receive. 'They toil not, neither do they spin,' was said more than twenty years ago by a prominent statesman who now holds other opinions. To a large extent this is true. The

net rent which a landowner draws from his land he is free to spend entirely upon his own pleasures and comforts; yet that rent is the result of the labour of the working members of the community. They have to go short in order that he may be satisfied. But is the owner of land the only person of whom these statements can be made? The owner of Consols, or railway shares, or municipal stock is exactly in the same position. He gives no daily work in return for the daily sustenance he receives. The community has to support him, and he is not compelled to give back anything in return. The cost of these annuitants to the community is specially obvious in the case of the owners of Consols. These 'parasites'—to use the polite language employed by the land taxers—cost the State 28,000,000l. a year for interest and repayment of capital. Here is the fund out of which Mr. Lloyd George can meet his deficit and have a balance to spare. He has merely to repudiate the National Debt, and the thing is done.

Sane people understand that though the repudiation of the National Debt would bring immediate relief to the taxpayer, the shock to our whole commercial and industrial system would be so great as to destroy the very sources of our national wealth. But if the good faith of the community is involved in the punctual payment of the annuities which owners of Consols have purchased or inherited, it is equally involved in the equitable treatment of the rents which the owners of land have purchased or inherited. The two forms of property have always been commercially interchangeable, and a blow of the most serious character would be struck at commercial credit if one of the two were to be picked out for penal taxation.

Thus, so far as financial equity is concerned, the case for the special taxation of land values completely breaks down. That ought to be conclusive, for if taxation is not to be based on financial equity it is difficult to see how we are to be saved from a system of universal grab, each section of the community using its votes to try and plunder every other section. Some of the land taxers, unfortunately, are so convinced that their scheme is going to create a new heaven upon earth that while awaiting that event they are more or less indifferent to old-fashioned earthly ethics. They implicitly argue that even though the taxation of land values can be shown to be financially inequitable, it is yet defensible because it would produce certain benefits to the community not connected with finance. The obvious answer is that if the community is going to receive these benefits, it ought to Where all will profit, it is clearly unjust to throw pay for them. the whole burden of payment upon the few.

Let us, however, see what the supposed benefits are. It is stated that many landowners at present hold back their land and prevent the community from having the use of it, and that the imposition of a land values tax would compel these landowners to sell. The first comment to be made upon this proposal is that it is capable of very

dangerous extension. A merchant buys a supply of cotton, and holds it till the market is more favourable for a sale. Is he to be taxed on the stock he holds, to compel him to sell? A body of workmen hold back their muscular strength until they can obtain a price which they think adequate. Are they to be taxed, to force them to come to terms more quickly with their employers? The injury done to the community by a strike of a large body of workmen is far greater and far more widespread than any possible injury that can accrue from the holding back of a particular piece of land.

Indeed it is by no means certain that the holding back of land is. in the majority of cases where it occurs, an injury at all, except possibly to the landowner himself. Often it means the preservation of amenities which would be destroyed if immediate profit were Often, too, it prevents the 'scrapping' of an old building which can quite well serve the needs of man for many years to come, and which would be wasted if the landowner, for the sake of an extra ground rent, were to let his land to a speculative builder. Moreover, the holding back of urban sites, where it occurs, tends to drive the population more into the country, and this, on the whole, is a distinct gain. Where, however, it can be shown that a particular piece of land is deliberately being kept out of the market, to the injury of the community, power ought to be given to the local authority to compel the landowner to sell. No man is justified in using his property in such a manner as to injure other people. We want some machinery for expropriating the obstructive landlord, paying him, of course, a fair price for his legally acquired property.

Instead of advocating this direct method of dealing with a particular evil of rare occurrence, the land taxers propose to put a special tax upon all land. This procedure can best be compared with that of a schoolmaster who canes all the boys in a class because one boy has misbehaved. Indeed, there is some reason to suspect that the lust for the infliction of punishment upon the class of landlords is the real mainspring of the proposals of the land taxers. The idea that the mere imposition of a land values tax will prevent the misuse of land and secure its use for socially beneficial purposes is a dream. the case of a piece of land now worth 1000l., which the owner is keeping idle in the hope of getting a higher price. With interest at 4 per cent. he is already submitting to a loss of 40l. a year. Yet it is argued that if he has to pay a 10 per cent. tax, involving an additional loss of only 4l. a year, he will be driven to sell. hardly probable, but let us accept the assumption. Note, however, what follows. The 10 per cent. tax, being a continuing charge upon the land, will be discounted by the purchaser, so that land which was, by hypothesis, worth 1000l. must now be sold for 900l. Thus the whole burden of the tax will fall on existing landowners, who will be arbitrarily deprived of 10 per cent. of their capital.

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What, however, will be the effect on the holding up of land? The purchaser has bought the land for 900l. His interest charge stands, therefore, at the reduced figure of 36l. In addition, he has to pay the land values tax of 4l., or 40l. altogether. But if the previous owner was willing to face a loss of 40l. a year in the hope of a future gain, why should not the new owner do the same? It is quite possible that the second owner may be even more of a villain than the first. In practice, the people who would sell would be small men, who, generally speaking, are weak holders, and the people who would buy would be wealthy men, able to wait for the return of their money. Thus, in all probability, the main effect of such a tax, so far as the distribution of land is concerned, would be to wipe away small owners, and concentrate the land of the country in the hands of wealthy speculators.

In cases where the present owners had command of capital, they would doubtless refuse to sacrifice their property, and would meet the burden of the tax by devoting the land to a more lucrative use. But a use which is lucrative to the owner is not necessarily beneficial to the community. A corner site will command a higher rent for a gin palace than for a bookshop; an old garden which yields no rent at all, but which gives space for the air of the city to grow fresh in, and greenery for the eye to rest upon, could be made to yield quite a large annual income if used as the site of a six-storey warehouse or a block of offices. In the country the case is even worse. There is much land that is worth very little as agricultural land, but would command a high rent if preserved for game. Is it one of the objects of the land taxers to drive farmers and labourers off the land in order to make room for game preserves?

An interesting question arises also with regard to the fields in the neighbourhood of towns now used for cricket and football. Already some clubs have discovered that on Henry Georgeite principles their playing grounds will be taxed as potential building sites, and are taking action to secure the exemption of their property from any land values tax which may be imposed. They are wise in their generation, but surely, if the tax is fair, it is hardly 'cricket' to ask for a special exemption. Why should a cricket ground be exempted and a tennis court or a rose garden taxed?

Perhaps, too, the land taxers will explain what is to happen to the small holdings recently created by Act of Parliament. Is a small holder who has been able to get land near enough to a town to raise market produce to be taxed on the potential building value of his cabbage plot? If not, land taxers will have to revise their denunciations of those landowners who are so morally degraded as only to pay agricultural rates for their land while it is used for agricultural purposes, but actually ask an urban price for it when it is wanted for an urban purpose.

The inflammatory rhetoric which has been poured forth on this last

point is all based upon the false assumption that because one piece of land when sold for a building site fetches a high price, therefore all the land in the neighbourhood can be sold at the same price. Let me give a concrete illustration. A certain town in Scotland is increasing steadily in population, and absorbs about ten acres of agricultural land every year. There are about 600 acres all waiting for absorption, and when any one of these acres is sold the owner can secure 1000l.; but this furnishes no justification for taxing the adjoining acre, as if it also were worth 1000l. It may remain for twenty years or more before anyone wants to build upon it. In the meantime the only use to which it can be put is an agricultural use.

The error of the land taxers in regard to this essential part of their case arises from forgetfulness of two propositions, which are at the same time fundamental and axiomatic. Nothing can be sold unless there is a demand for it; the State cannot create a demand for anything merely by putting a tax upon it.

The land taxers are equally forgetful of obvious facts when they allege that there is no room to live, in consequence of what they call the grasping greed of land monopolists. In Glasgow, the birthplace of these myths, there were, in June 1906, nearly 14,000 empty houses, which would have afforded accommodation for nearly 50,000 people. The London County Council a few years ago was possessed with the same belief that there was no room to live, and bought a large estate at Tottenham for the erection of workmen's dwellings. It has since discovered that only a few acres can be developed at a time, because there is only a limited demand for houses. In seven years, only twenty acres have been partially developed, out of a total area of 225 acres.

It may be argued that though there are thousands of empty houses throughout the kingdom, and though thousands of new houses are being erected every year, yet rents are still in excess of what many workpeople can afford to pay. So far as the centres of our great towns are concerned this is true, and likely always to remain true. Land, in the centre of large towns, is wanted for shops and warehouses and offices, and it is a mistake to attempt artificially to retain a working-class population in such districts. Much of the industrial work now done in towns could perfectly well be carried on under much healthier conditions in the country, and economic forces, if left alone, would force such work, and the people employed upon it, out into the fresh air.

As regards housing schemes in the suburbs, the possibility of reducing rents does not depend on the price of land nearly so much as on the price of capital. Here are the actual figures of a co-operative building scheme in the suburbs of London. The land was bought for 400l. an acre, another 400l. was spent on roads and sewers, and seventeen houses at 300l. each were built to the acre. With capital at 5 per cent., the total cost of each house for land, roads, sewers, and building

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worked out to 17l. 7s. per annum. If the land had been obtained for nothing, the annual cost of each house would have been reduced by 1l. 3s. 6d. On the other hand, if the price of the land had still remained 400l., but if capital could have been obtained at 4 per cent. instead of 5 per cent., the cost per house would have been reduced by 3l. 9s. 4d. In other words, a saving of only 1 per cent. in the cost of capital would have been three times as important as the saving of the whole cost of the land. Similar figures could be given for every suburban scheme of housing. In the case of rural housing, which is by far the more important problem, the cost of land becomes almost negligible in comparison with the cost of capital.

The same consideration applies to the question of unemployment. One of the favourite assertions of the land taxers is that unemployment is due to land monopoly. There is no land monopoly in this country. There is indeed a monopoly in particular pieces of land, just as I have a monopoly of the particular pair of trousers I am wearing. But there is no general monopoly in land. If one piece is held back, other pieces can be bought. There are, in England and Wales alone, at least a million separate free-holders, and the idea that these million persons are linked together in a syndicate to force up the price of land is too absurd for even momentary consideration. What is wanted is not easier access to land, but easier access to capital. Any man who has the enterprise to cross the Atlantic can get a free grant of 160 acres of land from the Canadian Government; but land, whether in Canada or in England, is useless without capital to cultivate it. point of view of employment, a small reduction in the rate of interest is far more important than the complete abolition of rent.

The principal delusions of the land taxers have now been dealt with, but there is one crucial question that still remains to be considered. Whom do they propose to tax? They talk at large about ducal landowners and coroneted grabbers of the people's property, but are these the persons who will be taxed? Two alternatives present themselves: either existing contracts are to be respected, in which case the new tax on land values will fall upon the occupiers and not upon the owners of land; or contracts are to be disregarded, in which case what is equivalent to a new income tax will be imposed upon incomes derived from the ownership of land.

With regard to the second alternative, the injustice of picking out one set of persons for penal taxation was urged above with arguments which applied with equal force whether the persons arbitrarily penalised in this manner were rich or poor. As a matter of fact, however, most of the persons who would suffer from such a special tax are not rich. They are middle-class or working-class people who have laboriously accumulated a few hundred pounds, and invested it in English land upon the security of the laws of England. Millions of pounds sterling have been invested in ground rents and freehold property by friendly

societies, by building societies, and by the great insurance companies like the Prudential, whose dealings are mostly with poor people. So serious is the outlook that several of the friendly societies have already passed resolutions urging that their property may be exempt from any scheme for taxing land values. The importance of the work done by the friendly societies no one appreciates more than the present writer, but, however valuable that work may be, these societies are not entitled to claim special exemption from a tax which would inflict no greater injustice on them than on thousands of people who are less able to make an effective protest. All over the country industrious people have bought ground rents, feu duties, and ground annuals, subject to the condition that they shall only be liable for landlord's income tax, and they have a right to demand that these contracts shall be respected by the State.

That was the view of the Liberal leaders. On the 28th of June 1907 a deputation representing various bodies in Scotland who hold feu duties in trust for charitable purposes, and also representing private owners of feu duties, was received by the late Prime Minister. reply to their statements was very brief, and for the moment absolutely conclusive. He said: 'Your sole object, as I understand, in coming here is to know whether the Government contemplate going back upon existing contracts. In one sentence, that is the whole question, and to that question I can answer, I think, in the most condensed form in which we are accustomed to answer questions in the House of Commons by the words, "No, sir." A few days later, the present Prime Minister, speaking at the United Kingdom Provident Institution, said, 'It was quite certain that existing contracts would be respected.' This statement was applauded at the time by a prominent Liberal paper, the Daily Chronicle, as a proof that the investing classes had nothing to fear from Liberal legislation. Yet now the same paper is urging that these pledges only applied to a rate upon land values for local purposes, and that a tax for Imperial purposes is quite a different thing—as if it made any difference to a man whose property is taken from him by Act of Parliament whether the money goes to the local council or to the central Government.

The reason for this change of attitude on the part of the Liberal press is fairly obvious. The land taxers have discovered that if existing

<sup>3</sup> On the 11th of July 1907, in an article headed 'Groundless Alarms,' the Daily Chronicle wrote: 'The taxation of feus and ground rents would affect not merely, as some people perhaps suppose, a few dukes and other wealthy ground landlords, but also many and great commercial, industrial, and trust interests; churches, banks, insurance companies, and provident institutions are all large holders of feus and ground rents. Hence the importance of Mr. Asquith's definite assurances.' On the 4th of December 1908, the same paper wrote: 'It will no doubt be said that the late Prime Minister, in his answer to a certain deputation, said that existing contracts would not be interfered with. That intimation, however, related to an entirely different proposal.'

contracts are to be respected the man who will have to pay the new tax will be the occupier, not the owner of the property. But the moment the general public also makes this discovery the whole scheme of taxing land values will be blown sky high. That scheme has only received popular support because it has been represented as a means of 'getting at' the great landowners. They were to be compelled to disgorge their fabulous wealth, and the ordinary ratepayer was to be relieved of all his burdens. To ask the men who have been fed upon these fictions for a dozen years still to welcome a land values tax when they learn that they will have to pay it themselves, in addition to all their old burdens, is to ask more than human nature can give. Government are therefore in this dilemma: they must either go back upon their own pledges and outrage the moral sense of the country by violating contracts; or else they must risk a revolt of the stalwart land taxers, by making the people who have clamoured for this tax themselves pay it.

HAROLD COX.

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# THE ATTITUDE OF SCIENCE TO THE UNUSUAL

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR NEWCOMB

In the January issue of this Review, under the head 'Modern Occultism,' Professor Simon Newcomb has done us the service of stating his 'matured' opinions concerning the inquiries which the Society for Psychical Research was founded to pursue.

He calls the subject 'Occultism,' whereas of course our effort has been to remove it from that obscure category and place it upon a reasonable, and ultimately upon a scientific, foundation; so that the term he employs is not one that would be selected by us; but, employing this term, the conclusion at which Professor Newcomb has arrived is that, taking all things into account, 'nothing is left on which to base any theory of occultism'; a conclusion which he also expresses more clearly thus: 'Nothing has been brought out by the researchers of the Psychical Society . . . except what we should expect to find in the ordinary course of nature.'

If this phrase 'The Psychical Society' is intended to signify 'The Society for Psychical Research' incorporated in England, this challenge demands a reply.

It is a remarkable verdict to give, when all that is going on, even now, is taken into account. The leading articles in the contemporary number of the *Hibbert Journal*, for instance, make it rather a difficult position to maintain.

But in view of the normal and natural prejudice against unusual facts, it is the easiest and most comfortable attitude to assume, for a time; since undoubtedly what he says in a sentence at the beginning of his article is true, namely, that all allegations as to occult facts have generally been, and therefore can still freely be, 'classed with superstition, as belonging to a stage of intellectual development which the world has now left behind.'

Now I have to confess that with the attitude of mind presented by this eminent astronomer and mathematician I have some sympathy. Few things are more irritating than to have thrust upon our notice crude narratives and cheap marvels which will not stand the strain of careful inquiry; and it is well known that the subject has the unfortunate knack of attracting the attention of cranks and weak-headed persons all over the world—though, indeed, in this respect Röntgen rays and wireless telegraphy run it very close. While engaged in some strenuous quest in physical science, I, too, am quite ready to feel something akin to contempt for the outlying partly savage territory not yet incorporated as a state.

It is only when I have been induced specially to explore some district of this region, and have myself taken part in its investigation, that I am occasionally constrained to make a report such as I feel at the time must be received with incredulity, annoyance, and some ridicule, by the greater part of the scientific world—by that body of men, in fact, which, with admirable resourcefulness, is pushing on its conquests over comparatively civilised country.

It was therefore without restiveness or hostility, but with a sort of fellow feeling, that I was prepared to welcome the challenging summons which Professor Newcomb has sent over the border into the region which I and others are trying to reduce to something like order. But I confess that there are features about his article which surprise me. One is his too evident dearth of acquaintance with what has been accomplished: he seems to know of nothing that has happened within the last twenty years. And another ground of surprise is the literature which he permits himself to read and apparently to regard as instructive—speaking, for instance, of a book compiled by a not specially competent and quite irresponsible journalistic writer as 'the latest work with which I am acquainted.'

If circumstances should prevent my attention to psychical subjects for so many years, and if I should happen during that time to concentrate my attention solely on the material universe, with its splendid prospect of law and order and its opportunity for quantitative and exact statement; if, further, I were unfortunate enough to encounter only tricksters and self-deceivers on the few occasions when I ventured off the beaten track, I feel that I, too, might be tempted to take up Professor Newcomb's attitude, and challenge the workers who had left the high road by what right they presumed to consider that those desert wastes could ever become part of the province of ordered knowledge.

The recent history of Professor Newcomb seems not to have been altogether unlike this. All the world knows him as a brilliant astronomer, but the world is not acquainted with efforts of his in the psychical domain. Yet in the past he has made a few. In 1884 he allowed himself to be President of the American S.P.R., which in 1889 became for a time a branch of the English Society. And that was no slight service in those early days. He is not one of those who have scoffed, with resolutely shut mind and averted eyes, at all possibilities beyond those long familiar to the human race through their

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ted hy. ice customary channels of sense. There was a time when he seems to have contemplated 'occult' matters with some little interest, and even to have undertaken an inquiry or two. But it was evidently long ago, and the particular inquiries seem to have resulted in negation.

I am surprised, however, that he should include among those inquiries a reference to the exhibition, some years ago, of muscular feats and tricks by a young woman called by her exhibitors 'the little Georgia Magnet'; whereof he gives the explanation which we all gave, and which was published in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, vol. xi. pp. 219–225. The performance turned out to have nothing whatever to do with our subject, and it is unfortunate that Professor Newcomb should speak of that legitimate public entertainer as 'the most wonderful performer yet seen,' or should regard her feats as an example of occult power seriously vouched for.

Another untoward occasion, which, strange to say, he speaks of as an 'event of prime importance,' occurred to him in the year 1858, likewise with a negative conclusion. This seems to have originated in a pecuniary challenge by some anonymous writer in the Boston Courier. Such pecuniary offers, so far as they are allowed to exert any influence, do indeed tend to place any subject beyond the pale of science.

As to the case of Mrs. Piper, he feels able to dismiss it in a few words, which to me convey no definite meaning. Let it be clearly understood that what Professor Newcomb is denying is not some out of the way phenomenon for which only weak or scanty evidence can be adduced, but it is any kind of supernormal phenomena whatever, and therefore especially the one which we consider definitely established, namely telepathy, or the action of one mind on another by other means than through the known organs of sense. I will only say that if he can point out a way by which we might dispense with the necessity for applying telepathy as a working hypothesis to some of the facts obtained through the agency of Mrs. Piper, he would mightily simplify the problem which just at present is lying before us. For at the present time telepathy has become almost a sort of bugbear which constantly obstructs our view and increases our difficulties, because it is a vera causa which we feel bound to stretch to the utmost as a working hypothesis before advancing to some further and more questionable theory.

Like myself and many other scientific investigators, Professor Newcomb himself is devoid of telepathic faculty. That fact alone does not prove that the faculty is non-existent. I have known people devoid of any faculty for music, and for mathematics; but nevertheless these faculties do exist, in favoured individuals.

In recent times he seems to have abandoned any study of the matter, and is moved to ask therefore, somewhat naïvely, why has everything stopped? Why are the operating deities, or demons, no longer active? How comes it that he 'has heard nothing of

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## 1909 ATTITUDE OF SCIENCE TO THE UNUSUAL 209

mediumistic performances for ten or even twenty years,' except the trance mediums and fortune tellers who still ply their trade, and an occasional "materialiser"?

Well, I do not know how it comes about that Professor Newcomb has not heard of what has been going on. I accept the fact, and consider that it amply explains his present attitude. With only the amount of experience to which he confesses, and with that unfruitful lapse of time, the impression of any reasonable probability of truth in the phenomena is bound to fade and become extinct.

Under those conditions I must suggest that the 'maturity' of his opinions is hardly an advantage. My own experience agrees with that of others in this particular: reminiscences of occurrences do not improve with keeping, it is necessary to have them fresh and fresh. Scepticism among scientific men is doubtless meritorious, but in this case it seems to have been too jealously guarded. 'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue.'

But his article is by no means limited to a statement of personal incredulity; a more important part of it remains. He shows cause why the asserted facts should be extruded, not only from individual belief, but from the cognisance of the world at large. He urges that they should take their place among discredited superstitions and impostures. And he does not, like smaller antagonists, merely disdain and ridicule; he bestows on the subject a friendly, even a respectful glance, out of politeness for those who think it their duty to work therein; and he adduces reasoned objections to the deducing from all their labour any positive conclusion in favour of the existence of anything unusual.

Scepticism is nothing new in the atmosphere of the Society for Psychical Research. Its enemies more frequently complain of its excessive and withering scepticism than they do of its credulity; and every scientific man who will take part in our researches and give us the benefit of his careful attention and criticism from inside, has always been heartily welcomed. The Society was founded to find out the truth about obscure phenomena and drag them into the light of day. It was not founded to establish, any more than to disestablish, a verity underlying popular beliefs. If the asserted facts cannot stand scrutiny and reasonable criticism, they are not worth the labour that has been bestowed upon them—let them perish!

But speaking for myself, and for most—I think all—of the investigators, I feel that they are worth the labour, and that in one form or another some of them will make good their claim to be admitted into the kingdom of science in due time.

That being so, I necessarily differ from the conclusion to which Professor Newcomb has come, and am glad of the opportunity to encounter, and to some extent ward off, the missiles he directs against our earthworks. Earthworks I must call them, for as yet they have

not been converted into permanent and substantial fortifications, such as those behind which, as astronomers and physicists, we are able so powerfully to entrench ourselves, when, as occasionally happens, some crazily ingenious 'paradoxer' questions the accuracy of physical data, the correctness of gravitational theory, or the truth of the legend of the sudden appearance of occasional new stars in historic times. Though this last, I parenthetically remark, is not the kind of thing that can be reproduced at will.

Nevertheless I commend to everyone interested a careful reading of Professor Newcomb's article. The first paragraph, for instance, abounds in passages which deserve attention, and some of which I

am tempted to quote. I will be content with one.

Belief in witchcraft vanished from the minds of civilised men more than two centuries ago, and with it disappeared the belief in every form of mental interaction otherwise than through the known organs of sense.

Quite true, that is exactly what happened. But we have begun to suspect that, in the reaction or recoil, the disbelief went too far. Facts have driven us to this view. Moreover, even on a priori considerations, some of us venture to think it unlikely that our organs of sense, evolved as they have been by the animal kingdom for subsistence and continuance of the race, have already informed us of every existing class of phenomenon, and every real kind of 'mental interaction.' The possibility that the universe contains many truths of a kind as yet quite unsuspected, must have been one of the factors which caused certain of us, which caused such a man as Professor Sidgwick for instance, to enter upon a rather repugnant region of inquiry, at a time when it was even more widely despised and disliked than it is at present. I have said already that as a physicist I sympathise with colleagues who dislike the 'atmosphere' of this quest. But it is a dislike which I have had to overcome, for when an avenue of truth is placed before him, woe be to the scientific man who resolutely shuts his eyes.

The inquiry has led us, then, to the view which Professor Newcomb so well expresses, namely, that some of the 'instincts of our ancestors did not err so greatly as we have supposed, and that beliefs which our fathers called superstitions are well grounded in the regular order of

nature.'

I entirely acquiesce; and with the first line of the second paragraph also I can heartly concur: 'If these are truths, we can scarcely

exaggerate their importance.'

It is indeed their profound importance that vociferously enjoins caution in acceptance of them. Popular incredulity is, and will be for some time yet, eminently desirable. It would be a calamity if any large proportion of the human race were to veer suddenly round from complete rejection to wholesale acceptance; for the sudden

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change would initiate a new era of superstition, and would neutralise some of the benefit of that sound schooling in reverence for fact which the nineteenth century gave us.

The wisest course is for the phenomena to be studied, criticised, and, if it so happens, accepted, first by students of science, who can assimilate and digest them into pabulum meet for the multitude. I do not say that the more advanced investigators should, artificially and in a spirit of presumptuous Providence, hang back and withhold their results from general knowledge, in fear lest they should do harm. I do not urge any inaction or secrecy from motives of expediency; there would be lack of faith and over-much presumption in such a course. If we have received what we consider truth, it is our duty, after due pondering, to proclaim it. But in so far as other scientific men, acting as they believe also in full accord with truth, feel impelled to throw doubt upon our investigations and thereby to induce the multitude to hold aloof, suspend judgment, and continue in unbelief for a time, they are, I expect, doing useful service. which our view of truth prevents us from doing, their view justly enables them to do; and by the interaction of the two groups, a steady and balanced progress may be hoped for.

Of course hostility could go too far. It might become so violent as to check all inquiry; it might surround the subject with so much ridicule and obstruction as to cover up the facts once more with a cloak of inattention. But that, I think, is hardly likely to happen again.

Thanks to the wisdom and sanity, the caution and candour, of the founders of the Society for Psychical Research, quorum pars non fui, the inquiry is already verging on a sort of respectability; it need no longer be pursued in holes and corners. Men of letters and statesmen are now willing to discuss our results, and presently even the courts of orthodox science will be open to receive communications on this subject, even as they have at last had to recognise hypnotism, in spite of its alien appearance.

Meanwhile Professor Newcomb says that our facts, even if true, are not science. Certainly they do not yet belong to orthodox science. But he says more than that, he says that they do not belong to the region of science at all, and, in giving his reason, he enunciates one of the few general considerations which I disallow, or at least fail to understand. He says they are not science because they are disconnected facts, because the evidence for them is sporadic and not continuous:

That coal will burn when brought into contact with fire is a proposition belonging to the domain of science. But if we could only say that someone in England had at some time made coal burn, then, a few years later, someone in Russia, then someone in America, and so on, such facts, though they mounted into the hundreds or the thousands, would not establish the law that coal was combustible, and therefore would not belong to science.

That seems an extraordinary statement. Generalisations based on a moderate number of instances, without an adequate link of theory, do not indeed belong to highly organised and deductive science, truly; neither did meteors a century ago; and surely there are or have been facts in biology, in geology, in meteorology, and especially in the reports of geographical explorers, which could equally be disclaimed as unscientific, if tried by this singularly severe test. A votary of a deductive science may not have a very high opinion of the 'Baconian method' of investigation, yet surely the objection to 'induction' is here expressed too strongly.

Nor is ability to reproduce and display a recorded phenomenon a necessary condition essential to acceptance of testimony concerning it, else must the historic appearance of certain new stars be regarded as incredible, and themselves be ousted from the scientific domain.

In another part of his essay Professor Newcomb draws an interesting and instructive parallel, or contrast rather, between the present outcome of two discoveries of Sir William Crookes's. Crookes discovered cathode rays; and behold every laboratory in the world was at work, and presently X-rays and radium resulted. About the same time Crookes also discovered, or at least published some observations upon, certain unexplained physical movements and materialisations; but in this direction, Professor Newcomb implies, nothing has securely been established at all. Very few have even tried to repeat the experiments.

The question he wishes to raise is, why this difference?

An answer is given by Professor Newcomb himself, though I should word it differently. He says these latter things do not belong to science. I say they have been observed before scientific men were ready for them. The general public, if not led by physicists, would have seen no whit more sense or meaning in the cathode rays, than the men of science were able to see in the unexplained physical movements.

But whereas for the first class of discovery every laboratory in the world was already equipped, for the second research there exist, or at any rate did exist, no fitted laboratories at all. The first discovery might have been made by any one of a hundred professors. The second observation depended for success on the presence and the willingness, the leisure and complacency, of a subject with extraordinary and exceptional faculties. The canons of evidence in this subject, moreover, are far from established; while constant precaution has to be taken against fraud.

Discoveries of the first class belong to the domain to which all men of science, and indeed the general public, have become by habit inured. Observations of the second class belong to a new and mistrusted region, full of danger, and strewn with the bones of former explorers.

There was a time when a not dissimilar assertion could be made of the first class of observation likewise.

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Roger Bacon investigated things belonging to the first of the two enumerated classes, but he suffered for his temerity, and his discoveries underwent the fate of practical extinction. The world was not ready; laboratories did not exist; open-minded men were few and far between. Ordinary people might have repeated some of his observations, had they chosen, but it would have been useless if they had; they would have been obliged to forsake them and flee. It was safer to regard the ill-understood results as magical and diabolic, and to torment and ridicule the unfortunate pioneer; ridicule which, by the way, has survived, in witty fashion, even down to the latest Oxford pageant, when the greatest experimental philosopher in the history of that university was exhibited as a showman with a genuinely comic penny-in-the-slot machine.

In modern times pioneers are treated in more friendly fashion, they are pitied rather than abused, and unless they are impatient or impulsive they may well rest content with the reception accorded to their occasional utterances.

They can afford to be patient; time is on their side. And if it should really turn out that they are self-deceived, if it be really only a will-of-the-wisp that they are pursuing, then nothing ought to give them greater satisfaction than to have the futility of their quest pointed out, and to have their feet once more set upon the solid macadamised road of orthodox science.

Let us now enter upon Professor Newcomb's criticism more in detail. The two phenomena specially selected for criticism are:

- (1) Thought transference, or telepathy of an experimental and controlled kind between persons generally in the same room, or at a comparatively short distance from one another.
- (2) Phantasms of the dying; which, as he well knows, we endeavour, as far as may be, to explain by unconscious and spontaneous telepathy from one person to another across a considerable distance. For the least strained assumption is that the dying person unconsciously transmits an impression, or acts as telepathic agent, just before he dies; and that is why we commonly speak of these death-wraiths as phantasms of the living.

Our own position with regard to the two groups is as follows:

In the experimental cases of telepathy the difficulty is to be quite certain that all known processes of sense have been excluded; and this is often the only difficulty, since in those experiments which can be regarded as successful, the hypothesis of chance connection is quite preposterous. It is quite clear that the connection is due to some cause; the only possible question is whether that cause or connexion is telepathic, whether, in fact, all normal means of communication have been excluded with absolute security. This can perhaps only be shown conclusively by increasing the distance between the two experi-

menters to several miles, which has been done successfully in some instances. So far for the experimental cases.

For the spontaneous cases, however, the opposite difficulty holds. When the agent is in Australia and the percipient in England, no one can suppose that the causal connexion between event and phenomenon lies in hyperaesthesia of the ordinary channels of sense. The main point in dealing with these cases, therefore, is to ascertain whether there is any causal connexion at all; that is to say, any connexion beyond the possibilities of chance.

All this is explicitly stated in our *Proceedings*, vol. x. pp. 27, 28, and Professor Newcomb's objections fall under the same heads, which

I will consider separately.

To group 1, that is to experimental telepathy, our critic opposes the contention that the more thoroughly you take precaution against collusion and mal-observation, the less notable is the result obtained. I am not prepared to admit that, but it is a straightforward question of fact, which some study of our records might answer, but which renewed experiment will answer better.

Unfortunately he also goes on to say that we have kept no record of non-successes: 'the probability of success cannot be stated because we have no record of the failures, the number of which defies estimation.' But with that I really must join issue. It is a thoughtless slander which should not have been perpetrated. We are quite aware of the necessity of recording failures as well as successes. should indeed be in an infantile stage of the investigation if we were blind to the possibilities of chance-coincidence, and if we only recorded a few successes obtained out of many thousands of experimental trials! In every series of telepathic experiments that we have ever published, the number of failures has always been recorded, and has invariably been taken into account in any deduction. Some of our investigators have even taken the trouble to see what sort of a result would be obtained by chance alone-drawing out pictures in pairs, from a set of 2000 diagrams, for instance, and seeing what, if any, correspondence ever exists between the components of any single pair. The series is recorded in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, vol. vi. pp. 398-405.

Another singularly mistaken statement follows: 'nothing bearing on [experimental telepathy] is found in its recently published *Proceedings*.'

But in *Proceedings*, part 54, published in October 1907, are to be found the experiments of Miss Miles and Miss Ramsden, who have carried out experimental thought-transference over some considerable distances. And another report fills the latest part of the *Proceedings*, namely a detailed account of sittings with Mrs. Piper, where the whole subject of cross-correspondences is developed, which are definitely experimental. And if telepathy is not the explanation of these,

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ely ese, as I myself am inclined to think it is not, though clearly the record does 'bear upon the subject,' then something still more surprising and far-fetched will have to be postulated.

• I assert, therefore, much more strongly than Professor Newcomb can deny, that direct experiment has established the possibility of an immediate kind of thought-transference between individuals.

He considers it extremely unlikely that such a faculty as thoughttransference should exist. But of that I really cannot judge: all we can say is that it is not very usual, in a form sufficiently developed to lend itself to experiment.

Its unusualness itself gives him another argument against the possible existence of the telepathic faculty. When we go to sleep in London, he says, we are surrounded by millions of other intelligences, some of them in a state of emotional excitement. How is it that we do not become aware of all these thoughts? How is it that we can keep our own ideas secret at all?

Well, it is a definite question—possibly susceptible of an answer; like the somewhat similar question, How it is that, with sensitive ears and a noisy larynx close to each other in the same head, we do not deafen ourselves by our own speech? In wireless telegraphy the difficulty is a real one: the receiver has to be thrown out of action and short-circuited whenever the sender adjacent to it is in operation, and the receiving human operator must be isolated from stray noises. Whereas in ordinary speech we all know that we can carry on conversation in a crowded hall, and with both communicators talking at once sometimes. Protection has been provided for in the structure of the head.

But reverting to the cognate case in telepathy. We must admit that, however it happens, it is an undoubted fact that the faculty of isolation, the power of secreting and isolating thoughts, exists, and is absurdly familiar to the human race. So much so, that to suggest any leakage of thought from one individual to another excites incredulity. A sceptic is nearly always on strong and popular ground; prejudice is always on his side. Clearly most people are opaque to telepathic impulses, and are presumably retentive of their own thoughts. It is only the few here and there who are found to be leaky; or, more likely, it is only the few here and there who can make any use of the leakage.

The fact could hardly be otherwise, as things are; for if telepathic communication had been common, instead of exceptional, humanity would have been aware of it from time immemorial, and it would have been incorporated as one of the root-experiences of the race. It is not in the least more unlikely a priori than is the power we possess of communicating with each other by vibrations of the air and by marks on paper. The tacit assumption underlying Professor Newcomb's objection is that every faculty possessed, or initially

possessed or residually possessed, by the human race must be common and familiarly known. But that assumption is clearly gratuitous.

We will pass to group 2—the case of phantasms, visions, premonitions and such like. First, he says that tales of these are often untrue or exaggerated. I agree: tales of them often are; and rigid inquiry is necessary to secure a trustworthy record. Inquiry and collection of documentary evidence is a troublesome process, but that trouble has had to be taken; and in the book, Phantasms of the Living, as well as in Mr. Myers's book and our Proceedings, a considerable number of substantially true narratives are embodied. Here and there one has been admitted which was found not to stand subsequent test. Such lapses have been exceedingly few—not more than four in number, I believe—but they did occur; humanum est errare, even among the leaders of the Society for Psychical Research. Of these broken-down cases the 'Hornby' case, which Professor Newcomb quotes, stands out strongly; for both its assertion and its denial were made exceedingly public.

But I notice a singular phenomenon. Now that it has failed it is emphasised as having been a case of unique value. Professor Newcomb says of it: 'I only recall a single case in which the correctness of a telepathic narrative was tested by independent and conclusive authority.'

Why this emphasis? Surely not because it is a discredited case? Might some of the established cases be regarded as equally weighty and well evidenced, if only they had happened to break down? That is, if only the evidence for them had happened to turn out weak!

I ask this, not in a spirit of mockery, but of wonder. I have noticed the same tendency so often, and am never able to explain it in a polite and conciliatory manner, as I would wish.

The first objection of Professor Newcomb to the veridical nature of any hallucination amounts, then, to this: that all such correspondence between appearance and reality is of an imaginary character, that visions are seldom recorded at the time, and that they grow more wonderful in the memory. If the stories were dissected down to their bare bones, he thinks, they would evaporate in common-place.

Very well, that is one definite objection which has to be faced. On the strength of our record I meet it with a direct negative; and so it becomes a matter upon which to go to the jury.

Some objection is directed against the antiquity of some of our records. It is true that at first we had to deal with an accumulated mass of evidence, with the result that in *Phantasms of the Living a* few cases are published as much as twenty years old at date of publication (1886). The cases now reported to us are chiefly recent ones, and we rarely, if ever, publish any more than four or five years old.

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But it is not the interval between event and publication which really matters much: the important interval to abbreviate is that between occurrence and record. It does not really signify how long ago. things happened, provided the record is contemporary. Professor Newcomb seems to mix up two distinct intervals of time, as others have done before him. Nevertheless, one disadvantage does attend even well-recorded incidents of long ago, namely, that many of the actors or witnesses must be dead, so that further and supplementary inquiry is hampered.

Unless events are recorded so as to be beyond the chance of invention, lapsed memory, and casual coincidence—to say nothing of deliberate sophistication—our aim is to exclude the narration of them altogether; and many a would-be contributor to our *Journal* has been dismayed by the stringency with which tests are applied and questions asked. A few weak cases must no doubt have been admitted, but extremely few, and never with our good will. Rather would we reject many sound cases than admit one feeble one. We do not wish to rely on weak evidence, or to present it even by way of illustration, still less as material from which any inference can be drawn.

So now we come to Professor Newcomb's second objection to group 2—that of chance. Are the veridical or coincidental cases—corresponding in time with the death or other catastrophe betokened by them—more numerous and fuller of detail than can be accounted for by chance? Or will chance coincidence furnish a normal explanation?

It is a question which has been under our consideration always, and from the first. The whole subject of coincidence and chance has received very careful attention at the hands of the Society, and 170 pages in Vol. XIV. of its *Proceedings* are occupied with an elaborate discussion of problems thus arising.

Without repeating anything that is there said, it is clear to common-sense that chance must be responsible for a greater crop of coincidences among a group of occurrences which are plentiful, than among those which are rare.

But surely, it will be said, *dreams* are extremely common, and some must therefore accidentally be fulfilled. Yes, they are, too commonnever evening wears to morning but most sleepers dream—and accordingly the Society has always admitted the much greater chance of casual coincidence in the case of veridical dreams.

But visions—actual hallucinatory figures or apparitions—and sounds, conveying impressions so clear and distinct as to be recorded and mentioned to others before actual correspondence is known: these are not very common among sane and healthy people. They seem not to be numbered even by hundreds per annum, certainly not by anything like millions. People liable to have them frequently are

encouraged by us to make a note of all such occurrences as they intend to count, whether they succeed or whether they fail. If they do not act on this suggestion, their record of successes has perforce to be ignored as inconclusive, for the data are incomplete.

But to a large number of percipients of this class the experience is unique in their lives—and in that case they are asked to testify to that effect. They do not quite see the bearing of this inquiry, and their natural tendency would be—assuming that they are given to exaggeration—to claim for themselves something like a faculty for ghost-seeing. When they disclaim it, and are manifestly upset by the strangeness of the occurrence, they can be believed.

Nevertheless, the second objection—the plea of accidental coincidence, even of apparitions—must be faced. When shots are innumerable, some of them must hit. So if phantasmal appearances are really exceedingly numerous, if everybody has them, a large number must coincide with reality by sheer accident.

Well, now, this is an a priori possibility which in our Proceedings has been fully admitted, strongly emphasised, and definitely refuted. The census of hallucinations—a most laborious piece of work—was undertaken by Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick and others, entirely with the object of inquiring into the actual facts. Their aim was to find out what proportion of people do have definite hallucinatory visions, and not simply to assume, as Professor Newcomb does, that everybody has.

As many sane and healthy people as possible were to be asked, by a definite and considered form of question, whether they had had a single hallucination in their lives; and the statistical collectors were thoroughly instructed to regard the answer 'No' as just as valuable as the answer 'Yes.'

But Professor Newcomb urges that a certain number of coincidences must be due to chance. Granted. The only question is what number may be so expected. That is discussed in the Census Report, and to that I now turn.

It is clear that if all spontaneous hallucinations were veridical or coincidental, an explanation by chance would be absurd; but some of them are certainly not coincidental—they occur when nothing particular is happening to the person represented, so the Council of the Society realised strongly that an estimate must be formed of the proportion which one set of cases bears to the other.

Mr. Gurney was the first to begin such an inquiry, in the year 1885, and his results are given in Chapter XIII. of *Phantasms of the Living*; and his introductory pages, at the beginning of Volume II. of that work, are well worth reading. He obtained answers from 5705 persons, and, although this number is admittedly too small for safe deduction, yet, as far as they went, the results very strongly tended to negative the hypothesis of mere chance. He urged that a more

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extended inquiry should be undertaken in due time. The matter was brought by Professor Sidgwick before the International Congress of Experimental Psychology, at its meeting in Paris in 1889, and, with the approval of that body, a special committee was appointed, with Professor Sidgwick as chairman, to carry out the statistical inquiry and to report. Of this committee the chief workers must have been Mrs. Sidgwick and Miss Johnson. The committee's Report, published in 1894, constitutes Vol. X. of the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. It is not only well worthy of study, but its study is an absolutely essential equipment of anyone who at any future time attempts to discuss seriously the subject of the coincidence between phantasmal appearances and what they purport to represent.

Chapter XIII. of the Report is headed 'Chance Coincidence,' and the committee open it as follows:

We are now in a position to estimate the improbability that the death-coincidences are due to chance. The fact that each of us only dies once, enables us to calculate definitely the probability that that death will coincide with any other given event, such as the recognised apparition of the dying person.

Some figures are then quoted from the Registrar-General's Report for the decade 1881 to 1890, and, after discussion, the chance that any one person taken at random will die on any given day is estimated to be one in 19,000.

We ought, therefore, to find that out of 19,000 apparitions of living persons, or persons not more than twelve hours dead, one is a death-coincidence—occurs, that is, on the day of the death of the person seen, and within twelve hours of the death on either side.

Now of the 17,000 persons whose answers are included in the Report, those who had experienced hallucinations numbered 1684. Among these hallucinations the number of apparitions was 381; namely, 352 realistic apparitions, twenty cases of partial apparition, and nine visions of a person alive. But twenty-eight of the informants said that they had had several unreported hallucinations; and since the data are incomplete in their case, it was thought safer to omit this small group altogether from the numerical discussion.

The retained number of apparitions thus became 350 out of the 17,000 inquiries. An advocate of chance, however, would insist that these are only the apparitions remembered—that more may have been really seen and forgotten; thereby increasing the opportunity for casual coincidence with reality. So the probabilities of forget-fulness are carefully discussed in the Report of the Census Committee. Ultimately they decided to assume, as an extreme precaution, that perhaps three times as many hallucinations had been forgotten as remembered; thus raising the total number to a possible 1300, and allowing even exaggerated scope for the play of chance.

The next thing to ascertain was the number of death-coincidences

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nded more —of real and trustworthy death-coincidences—in this group; and here the path of safety lay not in increasing but in decreasing the number; so after making every allowance for possible exaggeration and selection, and excluding everything that could be considered in the least suspicious, they came to the conclusion that thirty safe death-coincidences were to be found among the 350 cases; that is to say, one in twelve about; or, making the above large allowance for forgetfulness, one in forty-seven. But this is equivalent to 400 in 19,000, or 400 times the most probable number.

Or, looking at the matter in a different way, if death-coincidences only occur by chance, 570,000 apparitions would be needed to produce thirty chance coincidences; and of the total number we may assume that about a quarter, or 142,500, would be remembered. That being so, we should expect to have to collect 142,000 cases, instead of only 350, in order to obtain thirty death-coincidences merely by chance.

But all this is based on the supposition that the apparition, in order to be counted as coincident, may follow or precede the death by as much as twelve hours on either side; whereas in the great majority of cases the coincidence in point of time is asserted to be far closer than this. And it is clear that if the apparition occurs within one hour of the decease, the probability against its chance occurrence is increased twelvefold.

The committee, therefore, conclude that the number of death-coincidences in their collection is not due to chance; and they feel well assured that if anyone, with the most elementary acquaintance with the doctrine of chances, will critically examine their record, they will be bound to come to the same conclusion. Of that there is really no doubt, but I fear it is hardly to be hoped that opponents of a telepathic or other supernormal explanation will take this trouble. If they do, they must fall back on other lines of argument—such as misrepresentation, fraudulent collection, or some other device. That is legitimate, if they can substantiate such a claim, but the doctrine of chance coincidence is not legitimate: it is negatived in a scientific manner by the facts.

Assumption and prejudice, however, are powerful weapons in this subject—more powerful than calm and critical inquiry. It is easier and more effective to make plausible assumptions than laboriously to collect and discuss data.

An objection that may be made to the inquiry is that pathological phantasms are common enough; medical evidence is abundant for hallucination under the influence of drugs, or of illness, or of insanity. But none of these cases were included in the census; it was directed solely to the waking hallucination of sane and healthy people. And we find that such hallucinations are rare. Everyone may have momentarily mistaken an old coat or a shadow for a person; but that is an illusion, not a hallucination. An illusion is a wrong interpre-

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tation of an actual object. A hallucination is a perception as of an object which is not there; though in the veridical cases it is proved to correspond with some reality elsewhere, while in the non-veridical cases such correspondence is not established. Edmund Gurney's careful definition of a hallucination is the following: - 'A percept which lacks, but which can only by distinct reflection be recognised as lacking, the objective basis which it suggests.'

It will be asked, how do we know that pathological cases were excluded? How do we know that the instructions to collectors to avoid them were obeyed? Well, there is a definite answer to that, too. Since the census report, and independent of it, Dr. Henry Head published in a medical journal a report on hallucinations associated with visceral diseases, among which occur phantasms caused pathologically by diseases of the visceral system. These have certain generic characteristics, so that they constitute a distinct group.

In an S.P.R. paper (Proceedings, vol. xix. pp. 267-341), Mr. Piddington took the trouble to compare these pathological hallucinations with those recorded in the census; and thereby discovered that the census cases, i.e. the sane and healthy group, had totally different generic characteristics from the pathological group. Since that time we have felt even more confidence than before in the conclusion of our census committee.

But it may be further asked, What ground have we for attributing sane and healthy veridical phantasms to telepathic influence, at least as a working hypothesis?

One answer is that it is the least forced or supernormal explanation we can think of. But another answer depends on the following facts.

In addition to the spontaneous cases of phantasms, we have some experimental cases—that is to say, cases in which the percipient sees an apparition of someone who is trying to transfer an idea of himself to the percipient's mind, without any previous knowledge on the part of the latter that such an attempt is being made.

There are fifteen successful experiments of this kind already recorded by our Society, in which ten different experimenters have taken part. The records are all at first-hand, and in every case the evidence of the percipient has been obtained as well as that of the experimenter.

Nevertheless we do not, in any of these cases-whether spontaneous or experimental-make any positive assertion as to what the particular cause of the coincidental phantasmal appearance may be. More than one cause may exist, and different causes may operate in different cases. All we can say for certain is that in most cases the real and undoubted coincidence is not due to chance.

The final report of the committee is thus summed ap-

Apparitions which coincide in time with the death of the person seen are the most important, because they are the most namerous, and because they afford the means of estimating precisely the improbability of explanation by chance. We have shown that—after making the most ample allowance for all ascertain. able sources of error—the number of these experiences remains far greater than the hypothesis of chance coincidence will account for; thus confirming the conclusions already arrived at by Mr. Gurney in the thirteenth chapter of *Phantasms of the Living*.

And, finally, in italics, they say:

Between deaths and apparitions of the dying person a connexion exists which is not due to chance alone. This we hold as a proved fact. The discussion of its full implications cannot be attempted in this paper—nor perhaps exhausted in this age.

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## WHAT SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT DO?

It is now three years since the Liberal party were returned to power by a large majority of the electorate, and with an immense majority in the House of Commons after ten years of exile in the desert of Opposition. Many useful laws have been passed during these three years, and much admirable administrative work has been set on foot. But no one will pretend that anything like all the larger objects of policy placed before the country at the General Election of 1906 and approved by the country at that election have been yet accomplished. The defence of Free Trade was no doubt one of the ruling ideas in the mind of the country during that great election. But there were also several great constructive pledges given by the Liberal leaders and endorsed by the country. In so far as it has lain in the power of the Government to carry out those pledges—as, for instance, with the repatriation of the Chinese labourers in South Africa-they have been faithfully observed. No Government in modern times has, within its powers, more conscientiously observed the pledged faith of a General Election. But on the legislative path there has been a lion standing, and wherever it has happened that the Government has been compelled to tread that path in order to carry out its larger designs that lion has hitherto held its ground. The House of Lords, in other and · plainer language, has blocked the way.

Among the most prominent constructive pledges of 1906, for instance, were undoubtedly the Reform of the Education system set up by Mr. Balfour in 1902, and the strengthening of the laws limiting the sale of intoxicating liquor. Next in order, without doubt, came such measures as the Abolition of Plural Voting, and the Reform of the Scotch Land system. Along all these lines the Liberal Government has been checked. The House of Lords has resisted, and has sustained its resistance. Legislatively, it is only in finance measures, such as Old-age Pensions, that the House of Commons has exhibited and vindicated real governing power. Beyond that limit its forward movement is entirely subject to the caprice and calculation of the assembly which is now openly and seriously spoken of as 'the Upper Chamber.'

Such is the bare and simple statement of the political situation

at the opening of the year 1909. There is no mistake as to its significance. No great political party can afford to accept the doom of sterility, but it is precisely that doom with which the House of Lords threatens the Liberal party. Its aim is nothing less than this—to chal. lenge the power of a Liberal Government to govern. That challenge is expressed in various forms and phrases of scepticism as to the volume of public opinion which lies behind each individual measure, but it is really an attempt to shatter the authority of public opinion itself That attempt is based upon a number of astute calculations, such as the presumed fickleness of a great democracy, its liability to fatigue and indifference, or its sectional and class divisions. It rests fundamentally on a shrewd perception of the fact that on any but a few supreme questions public opinion can easily be wearied. The public mind—such seems to be the calculation—will, if it is thwarted after one or two vigorous expressions, soon cease to strive after the objects for which it was at first enthusiastic. This is supplemented by a solid and abounding hope of public ingratitude. It is believed that British public opinion possesses the unpleasant characteristic of revenging itself upon the wrong person. The nation, it is confidently expected. will punish the Government that has been thwarted in place of the Chamber that has thwarted it.

It would be a perilous blunder, indeed, to underrate the cleverness of these tactics. The Machiavellian attitude of the House of Lords towards Labour measures shows that the Government is face to face with a really formidable enemy. The policy of isolating the middle class, and of defending the particular interests of the House of Lords by sacrificing other interests for which it has a less fond regard, is certainly not lacking in a form of astuteness. Lord Lansdowne may not be one of the world's great men, but he is certainly a very clever and a very shrewd leader. His leadership has revealed the fact that the British aristocracy are still capable of producing a chieftain of considerable parts, and of following him loyally, even at times to their own hurt. The ascendency of Lord Lansdowne is a new factor in our politics of first-rate importance. It is gradually superseding the shadowy directorate of Mr. Balfour. It has eclipsed the importance of the Opposition in the House of Commons, and is turning the House of Lords into the citadel of the Conservative forces. It threatens not only the very existence of the Liberal party but also the relative position of the House of Commons in the British constitution.

For the action of the House of Lords during these years raises a question far deeper and broader than either Education, Licensing Land, or any of the matters involved in the several acts of rejection upon which that body has ventured. It raises the whole question of the right of a majority of the House of Commons to govern the country unless that majority has also behind it a majority of the House of Lords. We can hear in imagination the speeches at the

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next General Election. 'Liberals! What is the use of returning them? They can do interesting little things in administration, but can they legislate? See what happened in 1906, after all your trouble! Did they settle the Education question? Did they give you your promised Licensing law? Did they give you any real Land Reform? No, they did nothing of these things. What is the moral? Why, to vote for those who really can legislate, and take what they like to give you.'

It requires no gift of imagination for us to hear that cry of the assailing party sounding on the hustings of the next General Election in every part of England. There is only one real counter-cry by which it can be drowned. The Liberal party will undoubtedly fall into grave peril unless it can defeat the anger of a thwarted people. There is only one real way to avert the blame from the House of Commons; that is, to throw it on the House of Lords. The policy of the Liberal Government, if they wish to escape annihilation, must, from this time forward, be aimed at that one object.

It may be said that the Liberal Cabinet has already done its best to make this clear. 'Has not,' we may be asked, 'Mr. Asquith made a speech in which he declared that the House of Lords should be the "dominating issue"? Has not Mr. Lloyd George thrown down his gage of battle at the gates of Lansdowne House? Has not Mr. Winston Churchill trailed his coat and dared the House of Lords to trample upon it?' All that is true. As far as speeches go the Liberal Cabinet has done its duty. But the real crisis is one of action and not of speech. The real policy has to be decided not on the platform, but in the Cabinet councils which are being held at the present moment, and will continue until Parliament is reopened on the 16th of February.

As to the general lines of the policy which is required for the situation, the Liberal party throughout the country are, I imagine, agreed on several points. One is that the Liberal Government have exposed their front to quite enough unrequited blows. which Mr. Asquith once described as 'ploughing the sands' will certainly lead in 1909, as in 1895, into a quicksand. The party in the country as a whole are willing to acquiesce in the decision against an immediate dissolution, but if a dissolution is not sought, they profoundly object to the pursuit of a policy which has no proper climax except a dissolution. They object to being made fools of, and they are not sufficiently Christian to be ready to fight the House of Lords by the simple method of 'turning the other cheek.' They are willing to give the Liberal Government full latitude as to the choice of a time for the General Election, and they entirely sympathise with the Government in its refusal to be hustled into so vital a decision at the time which best suits the House of Lords. But, admitting these conditions, they wish that the House of Commons campaign should be carried on with at least as much astuteness as is shown by the House of Lords, and

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that the interval between this and the next election should be occupied not by accepting defeats, but in planning and delivering blows. Their general instruction to the Government is that they should choose the lines of advance along which victory is possible, and not those along which the Liberal columns will be certain to fall into inevitable ambushes.

For there is one great law which governs politics, and which it behoves the Liberal Government to remember at the present moment, It is the law that 'Nothing fails like failure.' The English people will never accept any excuse for confessed impotence. The British party fight is very largely a gladiatorial show, and the thumbs go down very easily against the swordsman who pleads for mercy. Grown-up Englishmen are very largely governed by the laws of their public schools, and in adolescence, as in youth, they have a rooted aversion to the boy who comes forward with the plea, 'Please, sir, it was the other boy.' The very fact that our Constitution is flexible introduces a peculiar elasticity into the rules of English public life. The result is that no party can permanently find refuge in the apology-' We could not do this or that, the Constitution was too strong for us.' The answer of the average English elector, bound by no written Constitution, is perfectly simple and straight—'Why not change the Constitution?' One of our stock subjects of humour in English life is the workman who blames his tools. One of our favourite subjects of mirth is the gentleman at Mr. Pickwick's skating party who blames his skates. The Liberal party will get very little mercy from the electorate if it goes back to the country with empty hands and vague denunciations of the House of Lords.

'What then'—the question will inevitably be asked—'what then do you suggest? You are against a dissolution, and you are against "ploughing the sands." What third course remains?'

There is a third course. There is a furrow to plough which is not a furrow of the sands, but a furrow of gold, and over that furrow the House of Lords has no power. The most striking success of the Government at the present moment, perhaps, is the Old-age Pensions Act. That is only a mere essay, a mere experiment in that branch of reform which is called financial, but which includes some of the greatest possible achievements along the lines of social change. It may perhaps be regretted in some quarters that the House of Lords should drive the energies of the present Government entirely into financial channels. But they have elected to do so, and they must stand by their choice. If the Lords really wish to carry their defiance even to the point of throwing out a Budget, then the Government will be fighting on the safest possible grounds. They may safely cry with Mr. Winston Churchill, 'Do it if you dare!' For if there is one characteristic of the Englishman on which the politician may to some extent rely, it is that he will always, however suspicious he may be of change,

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rally to the support of his threatened rights. Once a reform becomes a right, the Englishman becomes its champion. The Government have nothing to fear from such a challenge. But those who have watched Lord Lansdowne's cautious tactics may be quite certain that he will never commit the colossal blunder of risking the existence of the House of Lords upon so perilous an issue.

The Liberal Government, therefore, may at present be confidently said to be still able to advance safely along lines of financial reform. As long as that great power remains with them they would be risking their trust in challenging a dissolution. The country rightly expects them to exhaust their powers before they ask for more. And what great powers these are! Social insurance, land reform, equality of chances for poor and rich—all these things lie as mighty purposes towards which a Liberal Cabinet can, by this financial road alone, move without obstruction or defeat. The Budget of last year gave us but a first taste of what bold finance can do to set right the affairs of this country.

But there is one absolute condition if this policy is to be pursued successfully. A great Budget along these lines will take up the whole of the energies of the House of Commons. The application of the guillotine closure on any drastic scale to a great policy of finance reform would be highly undesirable. The only way, indeed, in which finance reform could be seriously thwarted would be by the conflicting claims of other measures which would occupy the time of the House without any chance of being placed on the statute book. time that the House of Lords successfully throws out a measure sent up to them by a Liberal Government they gain in power and courage. Success breeds audacity, and out of such defeats comes weakness to the House of Commons. There must be an end to these beatings of the air.

This is not the place to specify particular measures. But if our third course is to be pursued, then one large, general, governing principle becomes increasingly clear. No great measure must occupy the time of the House of Commons if it is certain of defeat at the hands of the House of Lords. There are a large number of measures to which this rule does not apply—measures like last Session's Housing Bill, or, possibly, a Poor Law Bill. There are measures which stand on the shadowy line between the contentious and noncontentious-measures like the Irish Land Purchase Bill, which stands at present among those handed over from last Session. will be for the Cabinet to decide in detail which of those Bills can be consistently proceeded with. But, speaking broadly, the Cabinet will doubtless remember that it is only by a general 'Self-denying Ordinance' that this policy can be made acceptable to the various advocates of particular measures. To pick out one measure and place it in front of all the others would be to create a sense of

injustice which would irritate and divide the forces behind the Government. The rank and file will understand a general agreement to postpone all great contentious measures. The Welsh party, for instance, will, in regard to Welsh Disestablishment, probably acquiesce in a policy which governs other measures of the same grade. But, if Welsh Disestablishment is to be held back, they will naturally revolt against any attempt to push forward large measures of reform that affect other parts of the country, and whose promotion would necessarily and inevitably prejudice the cause of Welsh Disestablishment by pushing it into a second place.

The only wise policy, therefore, is to concentrate for the present on Finance legislation. When that line of advance is exhausted, then will be the time to return, with increased power and prestige, to the great contested measures of the last two years. Then will be the time to gather together the threads of all these great proposals that have been rejected by the House of Lords and to send them up afresh on the eve of the inevitable General Election. But then, again, it will be useless to do that unless some penalty be attached to the second act of rejection. To use Mr. Winston Churchill's famous phrase, there must be 'a touch of ginger' in the dose. There must be a sting at the tail.

For if the Government are to fight out the question of the House of Lords, the country will naturally expect that they should have a defined policy. At present the country have before them, as the nearest approach to a Liberal policy, the famous Bannerman resolution of the House of Commons. But since the passing of that resolution a new Cabinet has come into power and a new Prime Minister. It will not be enough for the Government to rely on that resolution. They must frame a Bill. A necessary addition to the policy sketched in these pages is that the Government should produce before the General Election a Lords' Veto Bill. The shadowy proposals of the Bannerman resolution must be given statutory form. That Bill must be sent up to the House of Lords and discussed by that body, and it is on the issue between the two Houses that the country must decide.

What that decision will be it would be entirely premature to speculate. It may be that the British mind, with a timidity that sometimes characterises it at crises, will decide to fall back for a time to the government of the feudal period. Times of progress are sometimes strangely intermingled with phases of reaction, and it is not absolutely inconceivable that these islands may actually choose to be governed by the House of Lords. But precedents contradict that expectation. The one great occasion on which this country has been asked to decide definitely between Lords and Commons was when, on an old unreformed suffrage, nearly eighty years ago, they were asked to vote for or against the first Reform Bill. If the rotten boroughs did not

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vote d not save the House of Lords on that occasion what will save them now? A shrewd observer must notice that not even the Lords themselves show faith in themselves. The recently issued Report of the Lords Reform Committee admits the need of drastic change. If that is the view of the House of Lords, what will be the view of members returned to the House of Commons on that issue? Does Lord Lansdowne seriously think that 'Down with the House of Commons!' will be a popular cry for the Unionist Party? He is far too shrewd a man for that. He probably foresees that out of a General Election on this issue two parties would emerge with only one point of agreement, and that would be the radical reform of the House of Lords.

At any rate the Liberal party would have nothing to fear. They would have raised a great issue. They would have a great policy to hand on. Even if they had to spend a few years in opposition they would have a great cause to fight for—nothing less than the cause of the people's House. And when once their present powers of good are exhausted it will surely be more seemly and satisfactory for the Liberal party to be in the position of powerful and honest critics of government than to sit on idly in the seats of the mighty, the scorn and mock of all who care for the substance more than the shadow, and for the dust of the conflict more than the calm of possession.

HAROLD SPENDER.

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## THE LOST EMPIRE OF ENGLAND (?)

A former Archbishop of York, when considering the public life of his day, noted two dangerous tendencies. The first was that power was falling into the hands of the uneducated. The second was that the party leaders, instead of addressing themselves more and more attentively to the task of seeing that the electorate was well-informed, were growing, on the contrary, more and more indolent. Any phrase that flattered the uninstructed was preferred to the task of government and genuine leadership. The particular phrase that roused the Archbishop's ire was 'Vox populi vox Dei,' and he concluded his vigorous denunciation by inquiring 'Was the voice of the people the voice of God when they shouted "Crucify Him, crucify Him"? Was it the voice of God when they shouted, "Not this man, but Barabbas"?'

This is absolutely the last word on the subject. The Archbishop detested Laodiceans. He denounced Agnosticism as 'cowardly.' He was incapable of believing that any man worth calling a man could not make up his mind. To soft-headed suggestions for abolishing war he would reply that no State founded on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount could possibly last for a fortnight. He did not believe in making people sober by Act of Parliament; he 'would rather see England free than sober.' His instructions to young men were: 'Eschew dreams: master the facts of life within the sphere in which you are summoned to act.'

The phrase 'Vox populi vox Dei' offended him as a Churchman by its irreverent presumption. It offended him as a statesman by reason of its compressing as large a number of errors into as few words as possible. Moreover it was a catchword, which he disliked as much as did the late Sir James Paget. In brief, he concluded—given a weak Government, and an ignorant people in a passion, and anything may happen: on this particular occasion the most frightful tragedy in history. But, whatever happens on other occasions, we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William Connor Magee (1821-1891), Bishop of Peterborough and Archbishop of York. A great ecclesiastic, a great statesman, a consummate man of the world, incontestably the greatest Irishman of the century. The present generation appears to have forgotten his existence.

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may be sure of one thing, viz. that popular violence will never further popular interest.

At the present moment we are face to face with this situation; we have a weak Government in England and a huge discontented population. Take the case of Old Age Pensions. Was there ever such a case of a man asking for bread and receiving a stone? The British working man, ruined by Radical legislation, asks for work, and is told that he must exist somehow, on nothing, till he is seventy years of age, when he will draw 5s. a week out of somebody else's pocket. It is too cruelly cynical for words. The poor man wants 25s. a week to-day. The only way to get it for him is to keep the work in the country, and this the Radicals refuse to do, although they have the impudence to call themselves friends of the people; they are, on the contrary, the bitterest foes of the people.

It is not as widely understood as it ought to be how persistently the Radicals have attacked their country's interests. They began by ruining the land of England in the name of cheap food. Then the manufactures began to fail; the Radicals approved of this, saying that we could get cheaper goods abroad. Finally, as a result of attacking both land and manufactures, we find our sons and daughters starving on the streets. What matter? say the Radicals. Cannot we get cheaper children from abroad? We can—and we do. But what sort of children, food and goods? This gospel of cheapness has brought us to the verge of ruin. Naturally—for we are not a cheap race.

Their policy consists of varieties Such are their achievements. of the cult of the jumping cat. 'Vox populi vox Dei' has been watered down to suit the intellect of an enfeebled generation, and now appears as 'seeking a mandate,' 'feeling the pulse of the nation,' 'insisting that the will of the people shall prevail'—and in fact doing everything that a statesman ought not to do, and leaving undone everything that he ought to do. Another phrase is 'Trust the people,' which means 'Trust the people to do the work that I am paid to do'; in short 'Trust the people to save me trouble.' There is a vast fund of common sense in the British working man. When the late Prime Minister started a campaign with the battle-cry 'The will of the people shall prevail '-by which he meant that the House of Lords ought to be abolished—he met with a disconcerting reception. The House of Lords is the last bulwark of English liberty; and the people know it. In this case the mass of the voters showed sound political instinct. They dislike braggarts and they dislike chatterboxes; and as the House of Commons does nothing but brag and chatter, it is falling into well-earned discredit. The House of Lords, on the other hand, neither brags nor chatters, and it understands public affairs far better than the House of Commons. Its prestige consequently increases daily.

It is unnecessary to labour this point; what is too often over-

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looked is that the really important affairs for the poor man to-day are the affairs of the Empire. Now on these questions the conditions are precisely reversed. In domestic affairs the English people have centuries of sound traditions behind them, and consequently do not go astray, or, at least, dangerously astray, in pronouncing judgment. In Imperial matters, on the other hand, they have no traditions, and next to no information. How easily they are misled we saw exemplified in the success of the abominable falsehoods told to them about Chinese slavery.

How is it possible to impress on voters—say—in the Midlands, that their bread and butter depends on a strong Army and Navy? Radical M.P.s deny this elementary truth. But the electors would be serious enough if they had been taught the elements of Imperialism at school and their local Universities. And why should they not?

If we are only granted time all will come right. Unfortunately that is the whole question; and meantime we are face to face with the sullen anger of a disappointed people, and the malice of an antipatriotic Government. Before we consider whether the Radical party has, any longer, a right to be represented as patriotic, let us consider what it means when it talks about 'the people.' There is no nobler ideal of government than that expressed in the phrase 'Government of the people by the people for the people.' By 'the people' Conservatives mean all the subjects of the King. What do the Radicals mean? They begin by eliminating everybody who through luck or industry commands large means. Formerly England was proud of her great merchant princes. Now the party in power calls them 'bloated plutocrats,' or something equally offensive, and looks on them as fit for nothing but to be plundered. They then eliminate everybody with any pretensions to rank or birth, stigmatising them as 'aristocrats,' with some abusive adjective in addition. Art is dismissed as 'trifling,' the learned professions as 'parasitic,' the fighting services as 'unproductive.' People who live in small houses are sneered at as 'villadom'; those in larger houses as 'fat bourgeois' -as if there were something disgraceful in the ancient and honourable name of burgher. So, at last, 'government of the people by the people for the people 'works out in Radical hands at the most ruinous form of class legislation.

Surely no man worthy of being called an Englishman would object to paying extra to help his poorer fellow-subjects. But under our present vicious system there are more and more poor; and they grow poorer and poorer every day. The taxpayer is being crushed out of existence in order that the German Navy may be built to consummate our ruin. This is accomplished by allowing English imports into Germany to pay toll to the German Government while imposing no similar toll on German imports into England. If this is not antipatriotic, it is impossible to say what is. Moreover, there are other

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antiother equally weighty grounds for denouncing the Radical party as the foes of the country.

Who was it who banged the door in the Colonies' face, bolted and The Radical party; and Radicals boast daily of that infamous performance. If their object was the destruction of the British Empire, this was a very dexterous move. They now 'defy' us to preserve the two-Power standard in the face of the new navies of the world, and they may safely do so; for we cannot do it without a tariff, and a tariff is refused. The question of maintaining the solidarity of the Empire is of course bound up with the question not only of a tariff but of a preferential tariff. Upon the arrangement of such a tariff with the self-governing Colonies plus the demonstration of our ability to sustain, in war, the interests of the Empire, depends absolutely the permanence of our connexion with the autonomous daughter States of Britain. It must be admitted that the Radicals have done their work very thoroughly. First, they grossly insult our only friends, and then they strip us bare of all defences. German Admiralty and War Office could not desire a more satisfactory state of things.

War is ultima ratio; to take advantage unrelentingly. To get in the first blow, and get it in as a surprise, is half the victory. If gold will help to that end, gold should be employed, and may legitimately be employed. It saves human lives. These are the facts of life; but the Radical loathes facts. He drivels about a 'non-aggressive attitude'; as if a man in the 24-ft. ring would stand much chance of success if he confined himself to a 'non-aggressive attitude'; he would very soon be knocked out.

We should face the present situation with more dignity if we were not so ignorant of history. For many centuries our foes have been all to the south; so of course our ports and defences look southward. With the exception of one short period of rivalry with Holland we have had no foe to the eastward till the last fifteen years. Consequently we have no preparations. To provide the necessary ports and defences is not 'unfriendly,' but only the most ordinary common sense.

Similarly, people continue to talk about Germany as if that mighty Power were still the Prussia of the Convention of Olmütz. The best way to understand the question is to talk it over in German with Germans; one does so to some advantage if one has known the country and the language for more than thirty years. The following abstract is the 'boiling down' of many a long talk with men of character and ambition and patriotism, who know what they are talking about:

For us the conquest of England is a historical necessity. We are quite sure of our future; sooner or later we are certain to beat you by force of moneybags. We have a population already half as large again as yours. We increase more rapidly than you. Our vitality grows higher daily; yours is lower and

lower every day. For this there are reasons. Your land is ruined by Free Trade, and your rural population is scattered or has migrated to the towns. Every week your enterprising citizens leave the country, while their places are taken by the scum of our population. All that is a great source of weakness to you and of strength to us. We have composed all our internal differences; you have new differences growing more and more bitter every day.

If you changed your financial policy you could deal us a serious blow, for we are growing rich on your spoils. But you will not dare to do that; your Radicals will not allow it. We are in no hurry. You might still make your selves strong by union with your Colonies; but, there again, your Radicals will

not allow that.

We shall build and build against you until the burden is too heavy for you to bear, and then you will have to take our orders. There is one chance of a settlement with you at an early date: it is that we might catch you napping. If, at any time, we could strike with a clear majority of ships in our favour—owing to your Fleet being scattered—that would do. For you have no Army; if you had one we should not dream of invading you. When once we are in the country the result is a foregone conclusion.

So speak these manly, courteous, downright Germans; gallant friends to-day, gallant and most formidable foes to-morrow. How far short of this robust and intelligent tone do we fall in England! One day we are indignant at remarks which might 'hurt the Germans' feelings,' as if the Germans were neurotic imbeciles and not live men. Another day we grow violent over German' espionage '—as if espionage were not a perfectly legitimate preliminary to warfare. In fact, we indulge in every emotion except the sober intention to ascertain the facts and profit by our knowledge.

On the 25th of September 1908 the distribution of the Fleet was as follows:—'Six battleships (Channel Fleet) were at Scarborough, eight were at the Home ports, viz. three at Chatham, three at Portsmouth, two at Devonport; four of these were ready for sea and four were refitting. At the same date nine (Home Fleet) were at Cromarty, two were in the neighbourhood of the Nore, and one was at Devonport.' This was the disposition of the Home and Channel Fleets on the date named, as described by the First Lord of the Admiralty on the 4th of November 1908. Interrogated as to whether such a thing was likely to occur again, the First Lord replied in the affirmative.

Thus we have it on the authority of the First Lord of the Admiralty that he has already on one occasion placed the Home and Channel Fleets in precisely the position in which my German friends would like to find them for greater convenience of destruction, and we also know that he intends to repeat that operation.

On the 25th of September eighteen German battleships were at Heligoland; but the First Lord was officially unaware of the fact.

It is not necessary to understand the technicalities of naval warfare in order to appreciate the situation of the 25th of September 1908; it suffices if one understands that six is a smaller number than eighteen.

The Germans are as cautious as they are brave, and have no intention of running any risks. They know that many opportunities of attacking, with an overwhelming superiority, will be granted them, and they will choose that which is most convenient for themselves. In the meantime, they are not perfectly sure of their ships or of their crews; but they are continually practising for the great day; all honour to them; all shame to us if they succeed.

There are limits to their courtesy in discussing the invasion of England. You must not inquire why their High Sea Fleet never goes on the high seas; the answer being of course that it is not meant to go on the high seas, and is only built for one rush and for one campaign. Also, if they say that their fleet is built to protect their commerce, you must accept that explanation. Do not ask why it is always in Europe instead of suppressing piracy off Singapore; they do not jest about such matters.

With respect to this question of warfare, one of the greatest difficulties to be overcome is the jeer that Radicals always level at civilians who 'pretend to understand warfare.' It is an appropriate jeer to come from the party which appointed a brilliant Chancery lawyer to destroy the British Army. Technicalities we may not understand, but we can understand that it is no use throwing stones at a man who is armed with a rifle; you do not even annoy him; and he chooses his own time to shoot you down. This is the position to which we were nearly reduced on the 25th of September 1908.

'No blood tax,' 'No militarism,' 'Universal brotherhood,' and so on, cry the Radicals; all of which sentimentalisms are synonyms for one ugly word—cowardice. Compare these catchwords—which always get a cheer from the audiences of this anæmic generation—with the phrases on the lips of Germans: 'Deutschland über Alles,' 'Alle für Kaiser und Reich.' 'Our future lies on the Sea,' 'The trident must be in our grasp.' These are words befitting a great, proud, successful and ambitious people. While we cower and shiver at the thought of war, they prepare; exultingly noting the dementia of a great nation which has deliberately confided its interests to its unavowed but, none the less, most dire enemies.

Lord Roberts tells us that the advance-guard of invasion is already here, 80,000 strong. One would suppose that this would be conclusive. Cite that grave warning to Radicals and what do they say? Many things—all foolish—but the most ridiculous reply that I have encountered is the fatuous return question 'Where are they?' Where do these mock innocents suppose they are? Do they expect to have them paraded in Hyde Park for their inspection? Of course it is the business of a secret agent to remain in secrecy. Anybody except one wilfully blind could see that.

If—or rather since—Lord Roberts has spoken in vain, it is clear that the Radicals must be left alone. It is useless to appeal to them.

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fare ; it een. We must face the fact that a large part of this people openly exults in its cowardice, and is working its hardest to ruin the Empire. Every Conservative and Liberal Unionist ought to do his utmost to stop them; although the outlook is well-nigh hopeless, yet must we make

a last desperate stand.2

It is really no longer common sense to talk about a 'non-party attitude.' The two parties aim at different things; one seeks to keep the work in the country, the other to drive it out. One seeks adequate national defences; the other has already done its utmost to ruin the Navy and to destroy what was left of the Army. One seeks to preserve the Empire—(which is the dearest interest of the British working man, and not, as Radicals mendaciously assert, an aristocratic preserve)—the other rejoices to damage it. One seeks to get bread for the working man, the other offers him a stone. Other great States have been ruined by internal dissensions, and there is no reason in the nature of things why England should not be so ruined. But the Empire must be rescued if possible, and it can only be rescued by fighting the Radical party.

We come to the condition of the people—a frightful spectacle. Too many Englishmen are living in conditions to which we would not condemn our pet animals. The infernal gospel of cheapness, to which the Radicals are so devoted, is responsible for this. Here we may profitably consider another of Magee's famous addresses. It was on the Ten Commandments. It is hard to be original about the Ten Commandments; but Magee performed this difficult task. At that date the ruin of English agriculture was rapidly drawing near, and with it the loss of our agricultural population—the most serious blow yet dealt at the strength of this country. The first wealth of a country, said Magee, is its manhood. The Ten Commandments are the basis of a well-ordered State, and dire was the punishment of misconduct enjoined by Moses. But, on the other hand, how handsomely was virtue rewarded! How careful was Moses of the health of the chosen people, of their food, and their family life! How was every man cherished and rewarded so long as he was a good citizen! As for the 'stranger within the gate '-he might have the leavings of the chosen people. Now, said Magee, remove the reward for virtue, and maintain the dire punishment for wrong-doing, and where is your well-ordered State? We have travelled far in thirty years; we have

Radicals charge us with 'seeking to make party capital out of the Navy': it is time that this lie was nailed to the counter. There is a party that habitually makes all possible party capital out of the Navy: and that looks to make more. It is the party which made England ridiculous at the Hague, which seeks to score by reducing indispensable expenditure on stores, repairs and manœuvres; and which looks forward to denouncing 'Tory Extravagance' when we set things right, as we shall soon have to do. This is the Radical party in the House of Commons, whose notion of a 'non-party attitude' is that we should sit still while they ruin the country. This stupefying impudence probably constitutes a record.

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forsoon of a This done exactly what Magee warned us not to do. We do not cherish our manhood. We only cherish our good-for-nothings; they are the only class that the State encourages—the rest may go hang.

At the present moment millions of us lead lives without joy or hope or self-respect, often with the scantiest and poorest food. The stranger within the gates is our spoilt darling; and the Englishman may take his leavings—if there are any. What is the good of talking about the Ten Commandments to a poor fellow whose work the Radical party has taken away from him, so that he sees his dear ones in misery, while a foreigner battens on his job? Human nature is strained to the breaking point; and unless we can get the present Government out we may have to face a dire thing—Revolution.

Ignorance is our enemy; it seems as if it would be our conqueror. How great that ignorance is may be realised from some remarks of the late Professor Huxley made twenty years ago. We were then just beginning to talk 'Imperialism.' At that date Huxley did not like it. He thought that England would do better to renounce a policy which he thought 'grasping,' and to subside, contentedly, into a second Holland, a country without dependencies, whose history was wound up. Even Huxley was really ignorant of the fact that Holland was possessed of the largest Colonial Empire in extent after our own. He was also unaware that England had conquered that Empire (much of it twice) and handed it back to the Dutch, which is hardly a 'grasping' policy. So I listened in respectful silence and mentally sketched the 'Lost Empires of the modern world.' Lord Rosebery's definition of the British Empire cannot be too clearly kept in mind: the 'greatest secular agency for good now existing in the world.'

Any suggestion for overcoming our ignorance must be made on the supposition that Germany grants us time. We are now existing on German sufferance. If she chooses to strike she can write the 'Lost Empire of England' at her leisure. Supposing that one more chapter in the history of 'the luck of England' remains to be written (and we hardly deserve it), can any measure be taken to insure an educated public opinion in this country? If Huxley was ignorant, how great must be the ignorance of others! And indeed we know that it is complete, and is the chief source of Radical power.

To return to the consideration at the head of this article, a great State ought not to be at the mercy of popular passion. A gust of popular passion put the present Government into power; another gust will shortly destroy it. But we should strive to create a large body of educated opinion that will make these cataclysms impossible. Is there any agency to this end? I venture to indicate the Education Office.

Teaching does tell. The English habit of despising teaching is a weakness; there is no reason why we should cherish a weakness. In the matter of teaching Colonial history, Oxford has been able to

<sup>\*</sup> Later he changed his point of view.

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make a beginning, thanks to the generosity of the late Mr. Alfred Beit. Elsewhere in England there is, I believe, no teaching on the subject. The great Universities of Liverpool, Sheffield, and many others. receive subsidies from the Treasury for the excellent purpose that the pick of teachers in Board schools may proceed to the Universities for two or three years. Here, then, is machinery ready to our hands. Here is a very good test case. Have we really decayed so far, mentally, that we dare not stipulate for teaching the history of the British Empire? The machinery is widespread. The most brilliant of our elementary teachers would imbibe the principles of sound Imperialism at their University,4 and would in turn impress them upon the rising generation. Of course the Radicals would oppose this; all the more reason why we should see it carried through as soon as possible. The Empire, as it exists at present, is an inverted pyramid. Its conditions are vastly complicated. Debating will do no good; writing and speaking may influence a few dozen minds: but what the country requires is some agency that will influence tens of thousands of minds. The Treasury is responsible for saving money. A stable public opinion would save the Treasury hundreds of millions sterling; and a circular to the Universities and colleges which receive its subsidy would cost it nothing.

This proposal is not on its defence. It is the present state of things that requires defence, and can find none. Could there be a more dangerous state of public opinion than that the safety, honour, and welfare of the King's dominions should be a matter on which two opinions are tenable by those who draw the King's pay? The five vital points of Imperial Policy are:

(1) An organised system of teaching Imperialism throughout the country in the interests of public economy. Otherwise we are 'blown about by every wind of doctrine.'

(2) Immediate introduction of Tariff reform.

(3) Immediate and stringent prohibition of further alien immigration.

(4) Immediate provision of a real army for home defence. One form of compulsion should be this, that if a man will not fit himself to fight for his country, neither shall he vote.

(5) An immediate inquiry into the state of the Navy. The Admiralty cannot but profit by this; the refusal to grant it is unintelligible except upon one hypothesis. If all is right, it is well; if anything is wrong, the country asks nothing better than to set it right; but it means to know what has been done that was wrong, no matter who did it, Tory or Radical.

<sup>4</sup> What is more likely to occur is that these great Universities will not wait for the Treasury to take the initiative. They will decline to see the Empire fooled away on any pretext whatever. I refer to Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Bristol; also Newcastle and Nottingham, which are almost Universities.

On page 4 of the Morning Post of the 24th of December 1908 we read as follows:—'This question of secrecy is one which affects very materially the comparative efficiency of the Navy. The first and foremost offender, however, is not the Press or the naval officer, but the Admiralty Office. Most of the leakage takes place there, and leaks away in a direction where nothing is heard of it. Not once or twice have confidential papers of the utmost value gone astray at the Admiralty.' No comment could add to the appalling significance of this statement.

It should never be forgotten that the Conservative cause is the cause of the poor. What do we seek to conserve?

- (1) Our people;
- (2) Our trade;
- (3) Our defences.

Surely there can be no two opinions that these vital interests ought to be conserved. Nevertheless, woeful though it is to believe, one great party devotes its whole attention to attacking them; and that the party which calls itself the party of the people par excellence. The question of honour apart, the well-to-do people in this country would not suffer much under a German conquest. The poor, on the contrary, would suffer horrors. It is in their cause that we labour; and the following is a specimen of the wisdom in high places with which we must needs contend.

On page 6 of the Standard of the 3rd of October 1908 anyone may read the reported speech of a politician who says that those of us who are labouring to rouse the country to a sense of its imminent peril are 'a small class of publicists who, for selfish and unpatriotic ends, desire to set the nations at variance—well, they are the footpads of politics and the enemies of the human race': their words are 'the yapping of those parish curs who foul the kennel in which they live.' We also read that 'Our rivalries are only in trade and education'—that is all; only in trade, the fiercest rivalry in international life, and in education, whereby our rivals are beating us. Only that!

We also read 'We are not organised, and, pray God, we never should be organised, as a great military nation, with a people in arms.'

Who is it who says these things in language rather distressing to copy? Who is it who prays the Lord of Hosts to hinder our preparations for defence? It is one of the King's Ministers—the Right Hon. Lewis Vernon Harcourt.

If the country approves this language, and all that this language implies, we are conquered before we fight. The country has received warnings innumerable, and has rejected them. It has heard Magee, and has forgotten him. We have seen the budding of the Imperial sentiment in the great University of Cambridge, and we have lived to see it wither like a gourd. Seeley and Maine and Fitzjames-Stephen

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appear to have lived in vain. We have a great Education Department, and it is apparently not allowed to use its powers in this direction. Lord Roberts has spoken, and if the country will not heed him it will

not heed though one rose from the dead.

On the other side of the account what is there? This much discernible: (1) That the Tariff Reform League grows daily stronger; (2) that the Imperial Maritime League has arisen, and is doing vital work in regard to the Navy which no other organisation is attempting; and (3) that the efforts of the National Service League (over which Lord Roberts presides) are visibly producing great effect. Also that, wherever we go, we find a rising tide of anger and alarm at the danger to which our country is exposed by the maladministration of the present Government.

It sometimes appears as if the fiat had gone forth, that the Anglo-Saxon had served his turn in the development of the designs of Omnipotence, and that a new epoch in the history of the world's civilisation

was about to open under the presidency of the Teuton.

If that be so, and if we are destined to fall into the backwaters of history, and to make way for a stronger race, it is idle to struggle. But we are not here to anticipate the designs of Providence; we are here to do our duty to our country; and if any man can say or write one word to rouse his country, and he fails to say or write that word from indolence or fear of obloquy, then is he an accessory before the fact to the murder of his country.

After all, the one essential thing which inspires the life of a nation is righteousness: the rest is commentary. We are losing our Bible, and with it much of our manliness. While we drivel and dream,

the Germans think and plan.

This paper began with a quotation from New Testament history cited by an Archbishop of York in support of his political views; it may well close with a quotation from Old Testament history cited by the *Graphic* of the 21st of November 1908. A two-page engraving represents both sides of the House of Commons fast asleep; and thus far has the hand written on the wall:

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHA . . . .

WALTER FREWEN LORD.

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## THE PREVENTION OF CRIME ACT

WE have all heard of the American politician who ended his election address with the words, 'These, gentlemen, are my principles; but if you do not approve of them I can change them.' The Prevention of Crime Act reminds me of the story. Anyone who reads Part II. of the Act in the light of the Minister's speech in presenting the Bill to Parliament will find proofs of a volte-face without a parallel even in recent legislation. In view of an unintelligent and mawkish opposition the Home Secretary not only flung aside a measure that was the outcome of years of thought and of conference between the Home Office and His Majesty's judges, but he adopted a scheme which accentuates the very evil with which that measure was intended to deal. is one of many signal proofs of the incompetence of the present House of Commons as a legislative assembly. And it is a strange and yet not unnatural phenomenon that the more untrustworthy the Lower House proves itself to be the more virulent is the outcry raised against the House of Lords.

Part I. of the Act, which deals with the reformation of young offenders, is not matter of controversy. It is only Part II. that concerns us here. In introducing the Bill on the 27th of May last year Mr. Gladstone began by stating that our present system is sufficiently deterrent to 50 or 60 per cent. of prisoners. But he went on to specify the classes to whom it was not deterrent. The first he described as 'those who are criminals chiefly because of physical or mental deficiency rather than by reason of a settled intention to pursue a life of crime.' A scheme to deal with prisoners of this class, he said, was under consideration; they are outside the scope of the new enactment. And then he added, 'A second and far smaller class of prisoners consists of more formidable offenders, men who are physically fit, who take to crime by preference, decline work when it is offered them, and refuse the helping hand. They laugh at the present system of imprisonment.'

To these words I claim special attention. The new enactment has no reference to the great mass of the prison population. It applies only to a small section of a minority of our criminals—a minority for whom the law as hitherto administered has no terrors, men who are

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criminals not through weakness or misfortune, but by deliberate choice. Mr. Gladstone went on to emphasise this. He said:

Men of this class, for whose benefit this Bill is designed, are usually skilled and competent, and if they think fit they have no difficulty in earning an honest livelihood. Our object is to prove to these men that a life of crime will not pay. . . . We have reached a point at which the present treatment does not deter those who are attracted by, and deliberately take up, a life of crime.

This, be it remembered, is the language of the Secretary of State, expressing conclusions based on the experience not only of the Home Office, the prison authorities, and the police, but of all philanthropists engaged in work for the reclamation of offenders, and lastly of the judicial authorities generally, including the judges of the High Court. On these principles the Prevention of Crime Bill was framed. But, as an American humourist wrote—

A merciful Providence fashioned us hollow, In order that we might our principles swallow.

And so, in obedience to an agitation promoted by the professional 'humanitarians,' by means of money given to help the unfortunate, the Secretary of State swallowed his principles. If such a House of Commons as that of the present Parliament made it impossible to give effect to those principles the Home Secretary might have abandoned Part II. of the Bill. But instead of taking this, the usual course, in such circumstances, the Home Secretary accepted an amendment which completely reversed his policy and destroyed his scheme. The enactment, so far from being a modified advance in the direction indicated by his speech of last May, is a retrograde step, a stride in the opposite direction.

Let there be no mistake about this. Mr. Gladstone was explicit that habitual criminals were a minority of the prison population, and that his Bill dealt only with a small minority even of that limited class. And, as he declared emphatically, 'for these men the present system of punishment is little better than a farce.' In illustrating and enforcing his statement he referred specially to burglars. Now, a burglar is liable to penal servitude for life; and if the offender be an 'habitual' the Judges generally impose a considerable term of penal servitude. But this, we are assured, is 'little better than a farce.' And yet the Act provides that these very men are in future to have for the greater part of their detention a less rigorous discipline as regards hours, talking, recreation, occupation, and food. They laugh at the present system of imprisonment—these are the Home Secretary's words—what then will be their merriment over the preventive detention of the Act!

It will be said, perhaps, that the judges can avoid the mischievous effects of the Act by imposing longer sentences of penal servitude. A 'strong judge' who can afford to ignore the howls of the humanitarians

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may occasionally adopt that course; but in the vast majority of cases the inevitable effect of this evil measure will be to reduce the penalties of crime for those who are not deterred by the penalties hitherto And this is all the more deplorable and scandalous because the benefits of the Act are confined to the only sort of criminals who are undeserving of any consideration whatever. When the Bill was before the House of Lords I pleaded for an amendment which would make it a boon to 'habituals' of another class, who merit pity and profit by leniency; but this was resisted by the Government on the ground that the benefit was intended only for 'really hardened criminals.'

But, it may be urged, is it not worth while to make new efforts to help even such men as these? Let Mr. Gladstone himself supply the answer. These men, he declares, 'refuse the helping hand.' And while to habituals of another type penal servitude is often torture, 'men belonging to this class when in prison are excellently behaved; they are orthodox worshippers in church and in many cases regular attendants at Communion.' And yet 'when they leave prison it is practically certain that they will return.' No words of mine could supply such an indictment of Part II. of the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, as may be gleaned from the language of the Minister who fathered it.

And if the matter were less serious the grounds on which the Bill was sacrificed might afford no little amusement. The carefully engineered campaign against it was carried on both in Parliament and in the press. From the many newspaper letters on the subject which lie before me I select, e.g., one which appeared in the Daily News of the 26th of November from a leading member of its staff. The writer exemplified the iniquity of the Bill by supposing his own detention for life under its provisions 'for some sin to which he has a sudden temptation.' And he added, 'This Bill is certainly the best and boldest counter-march that the rich have yet attempted against the new stirrings of democracy.' I quote these sentences to illustrate the sort of drivel to which Mr. Gladstone capitulated. No one could have written them who had read either the Bill or the Minister's speech, or who had the most elementary acquaintance with the facts.

Of the House of Commons I suppose I ought to speak with bated breath. But I will risk I know not what penalties by repeating that the debates on this Bill afford signal proof of its incapacity as a legislative And yet its shrewder opponents were careful not to explain the grounds of their opposition. This remark applies specially to the Irish party, whose defection sealed the fate of the Bill. One of the most sensible speeches made against the Bill in Committee was that of an English M.P., who urged that 'if the bill were carried burglars would be more disposed to act on the theory that dead men told no tales. He therefore should be glad to have sentences mild even to excess, so that criminals should not be led into more desperate crimes with a view to escaping punishment.' This describes the policy of the statute as distinguished from the Bill of the 27th of May. That policy finds practical expression in countries where brigandage prevails, by paying backsheesh to the criminals. And, absurd as the suggestion may seem, I have no hesitation in saying that if our professional burglars on discharge from prison were allotted a reasonable pension, payable during good behaviour, the system would not be sillier, and it would certainly be more economical than that which now obtains.

In proof of this I will quote another extract from the Home Secretary's speech. He said:

Let me present one object lesson to the House. Every night 8000 police march from the stations to their beats in the Metropolis. That large number is needed because there are at large in London some hundreds of potential house-breakers, whose avowed and known object is plunder. There are perhaps in some of the suburban districts fifty policemen watching possibly for one burglar. For each man caught the whole machinery for detention and punishment has to be set in motion, and at great expense.

Now, these potential house-breakers are all well known to the police; and at one time or another they all pass through the mill of arrest, conviction, and imprisonment. But, as Mr. Gladstone added, 'for these men the present system of punishment is little better than a farce.' It might seem, therefore, to anyone outside Earlswood or Bedlam that, instead of having fifty policemen to watch each of them, we should cage him when caught, and hold him until he gives adequate proof of repentance and reform. And this was the proposal of the Bill. The wisdom of Parliament, however, has rejected that proposal, and decided that these scoundrels must on no account be permanently removed from the practice of their profession, but, as an alternative policy, that their temporary periods of seclusion must be made less irksome than in the past.

Mr. Gladstone might have made his object lesson far more telling. His words suggest that there are hundreds of burglars on the prowl every night in London. But this is a popular blunder. The 1907 report of the Commissioner of Police, which he had before him, enumerates only 547 burglaries as committed in the Metropolis during that year. This, however, was a record number, and the report plainly hints that the great increase which it betokens was due to the fact that the Criminal Courts had been treating such offences with unwonted leniency. Now some of these crimes were the work of petty thieves who take advantage of the carelessness of those who leave doors or windows unfastened. Of the 547 burglaries, not more than eight or nine a week should be attributed to the professionals, and in ordinary years the average would not exceed one a night. We may conclude, therefore, that the professionals on the war path on any one night do not number

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more than some half a score. And it is to watch these few outlaws that every night 8000 police march from the stations to their beats.

In a single decade burglaries might be made as rare as homicides in London if the policy of the defunct Prevention of Crime Bill were The plague is due entirely to the systematised imbecility of the system which was so ably exposed by the Secretary of State in introducing the Bill, a system which has now received definite sanction

and further development by the Prevention of Crime Act.

On two grounds which deserve consideration many have hesitated to approve of the rejected Bill. To some it seemed to introduce a novel principle into English criminology; and doubts have been felt by others whether drastic methods of dealing with criminals be not opposed to the teaching of Christianity. Both these objections may be fully met. Within comparatively recent times the felon went to the gallows. But this was not because death was regarded as a fitting punishment for every petty theft-our forebears were neither savages nor fools-but because the criminal was deemed to be an outlaw and the enemy of society. He was hanged not to punish the crime, but to protect the community. And when transportation succeeded the gallows the same principle obtained. It was imposed in order to get rid of the criminal. And in the early days of penal servitude the same result was practically achieved. But the extreme severity of the discipline enforced in convict prisons soon put an end to the imposition of long sentences, save in very exceptional cases. It thus became impracticable to get rid of the offender, and so attention was concentrated on the offence. Hence was developed the punishment of crime system of the present day.

Fitting the punishment to the sin is the formula used to describe this system. When my children were babies I had at times to take notice of their misdeeds; and if one of them annexed his brother's toys, or punched or pinched him, I dealt with the matter to the best of my lights, having regard to the discipline of the nursery and the good of the delinquent. But not being either an infidel or a fool, I never presumed to adjudicate upon the act as a sin. That is the prerogative of Him who alone can read the heart. And yet the trespass was of the simplest kind, and I was thoroughly acquainted with my child's disposition, character, and 'antecedents.' But judicial dignitaries seem quite unconscious of the mingled profanity and folly of professing to do this very thing in regard to an elaborate crime committed by one

of whom they know comparatively little.

Of course there is a certain element of equity in the system, but, as I have sought to show in numerous articles written for this Review, it works serious mischief in practice. It saves the hardened criminal from the fate he deserves, and its operation in the case of the weak and the unfortunate is deplorable. The Prevention of Crime Bill marked a return to the system of dealing with the criminal; and the only novel element which characterised it was that even the most inveterate offender, instead of being sent to the gallows, as in former times, was not only to be allowed opportunity to live a useful and by no means miserable life, but to regain his liberty on giving proof of repentance. But the point I wish specially to enforce is that the preventive detention of the Bill should be regarded as the alternative not to our present practice of releasing inveterate criminals—that is both silly and wicked—but to putting them to death.

This brings up the second ground on which many worthy and intelligent people shrink from a proposal which seems to them to savour of unchristian severity. Such misgivings are entitled to respect, and it will be my effort to show that they are unfounded. But here I am in a difficulty; for the appeal to Christianity, which is perhaps the most potent influence with the mass of men on this subject, can be met only by an appeal to the Bible, and a Biblical discussion may be deemed out of place in dealing with secular subjects. But I would plead the immense importance of such a discussion in relation to great public questions which are claiming solution in England to-day. Just as the weak and the unfortunate in our prison population receive barbarous treatment because they are identified with the professional criminals whom a false and mawkish sentiment saves from the due reward of their deeds, so the deserving poor are allowed to sink into the gutter because an ignorant and false charity expends itself in efforts to help the professional unemployed.

My appeal here is to 'all who profess and call themselves Christians.' Much as I deplore the infidel position I understand and respect the man who with an honest mind rejects the Bible. But I neither respect nor understand the position of those who claim to follow Christ and yet so pervert His teaching that the Sermon on the Mount becomes the text-book of a pestilent socialism. That sermon is prefaced by a most emphatic warning against the very perversion of it which is so common to-day. Here are the great Teacher's words, immediately following the 'Beatitudes': 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law'; or, as Dr. Weymouth's version renders it, 'Do not for a moment suppose that I have come to abrogate the law.' One might have supposed that even 'the wayfaring man, though a fool,' could not fail to recognise that the Bible from cover to cover enunciates two independent principles of Divine action-namely, law The Epistle to the Romans, e.g., testifies that the police magistrate is a minister of God as really as is the parson in his pulpit. The one is a minister of law, the other of grace; and grace and law are equally Divine.

And to men who will not hear the Bible the book of Nature testifies trumpet-tongued to this same truth. Goodness and severity are there proclaimed with the utmost fulness and definiteness. The notorious fact that Nature is red in tooth and claw exemplifies the

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Divine law of the elimination of the unfit. And while it is both our privilege and our duty to modify and check the operation of that law in the case not only of the weak but of the wicked, it is no less our duty to respect the great purpose which underlies it. Medical skill, for example, saves unnumbered lives that Nature would claim as a prey, but Nature exacts a relentless vengeance if we permit the diseased or the feeble in mind or body to spread infection or to propagate their kind.

But this is a digression. If men would study the Mosaic law unbiassed by the prejudice which malice or ignorance is apt to raise in the religious sphere, they would discover that it is not only the most equitable but the most merciful code of ancient or modern times; for, unlike our 'Christian' code, which is based on pagan precedents, it is permeated by severity toward the wicked, but by mercy toward the weak. It is wholly free from the imbecility which marks our punishment of crime system. It deals with the offender and not with the offence. And as the result chance crimes, the outcome of sudden temptation or untoward circumstances, were treated with a leniency wholly unknown to English law until very recent times; but stern severity was meted out to the deliberate or high-handed offender. The doom of the Sabbath-breaker is the typical instance given us of a high-handed offence (Numbers xv. 30, 32). Regarded per se the act of gathering firewood on the Sabbath was a trivial offence, and if committed ignorantly it would have been met by a public acknowledgment; for such is the significance of the ritual prescribed in a preceding verse (v. 27). But here there is no suggestion of ignorance or mistake. With full knowledge that Sabbath observance was the law of the commonwealth the man deliberately and ostentatiously broke that law before all the people. It was not a case of refusing to do what violated conscience, but of deliberately setting himself against the law and trampling on it. It was in fact an offence of the type which, if tolerated, would make civil society impossible. But, let theorists judge of it as they please, the fact remains that this code, which decreed the death of the deliberate law-breaker, was sanctioned by Christ in His teaching. Certain it is, therefore, that there is nothing un-Christian in adopting drastic measures of repression for criminals of the class for whom the Prevention of Crime Bill was framed.

The humanity-mongers may here seek to excite an ignorant prejudice by picturing the horrors of having people put to death after every Sabbath for gathering firewood on the day of rest. But not another instance of the kind is recorded in the Pentateuch. As already noticed, the act, if committed inadvertently or in ignorance, was treated with leniency as marked as was the severity meted out to the anarchist who offended deliberately and on principle.

The effect of such a law, intelligently and firmly administered is

to suppress the crimes against which it is directed. When dining with some American gentlemen one evening in the year after the Chicago Exhibition they told me there had been 2000 homicides in that city during the year; and they questioned me about such crimes in London. I reminded them that the population of London was more than three times as large as that of Chicago; 'and yet,' I added, 'we have not so many crimes.' I asked them what number of murders they would expect in a population of over 6,000,000. After discussing the matter together for some time they suggested 300 to 400. They were absolutely incredulous when I told them that during my official life at Scotland Yard the annual number of murders in the Metropolis was from twelve to twenty. That conversation reached America. and soon afterwards I received a letter from a well-known public man asking me if it was correctly reported, and what explanation I could offer of such extraordinary facts. And a similar application was made to me later by one of the learned societies. I replied that London, like Chicago, harboured a horde of the worst criminals in the world, but that it differed from Chicago in that we had an efficient police, and that a murderer, if apprehended, was brought to trial expeditiously, and if condemned was sent to the gallows speedily and with certainty. What other explanation can possibly be offered of the fact that in this huge province of brick, which contains thousands of the riffraff of the world, life is safer than in any other large city in Christendom?

And a law which adjudged the death penalty to the professional burglar would not greatly increase the labours of the hangman, but it would put an end to the trade of the burglar. And the effect of the death sentence would be far more efficacious in suppressing burglary than in preventing murder; for while murders are due to hate, or to some wilder passion, not uncommonly inflamed by drink, crimes against property are committed only for gain; and a 'good burglar' must be sober and cool-headed. Not one murder in a dozen, moreover, is deliberate in the full sense in which that term may be applied to every burglary committed by a professional. And this explains why in the case of the burglar no reversion to the death sentence is needed. In adopting crime as his profession 'he calculates and accepts its risks.' If then its risks be so increased as to outweigh its advantages he will not become reckless and desperate, as hysterical humanitarians suppose, but he will give up the business. As Mr. Gladstone said in commending his Bill to Parliament, 'our object is to prove to these men that a life of crime will not pay."

The whole passage is well worth quoting. Here it is:

We do not anticipate that the mere withdrawal of habitual criminals will have a sensible influence on crime. We attach more importance to the deterrent effect of the powers given by this Bill. Men of the class for whose benefit this Bill is designed are usually skilled and competent, and if they think fit they

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will have no difficulty in earning an honest livelihood. Our object is to prove to these men that a life of crime will not pay.

As I have already shown, the effect of the statute, as distinguished from, the Bill, is to prove to these men more plainly than ever that crime will pay. The professional criminal of the doctrinaire humanitarian is a poor wretch whom a hard world has forced into a career of crime. But the real professional is correctly described by the Home Secretary's words. And when Mr. Gladstone disparaged the effect which would be produced by 'the withdrawal' of these men, his object was probably to bring the deterrent value of his scheme into stronger relief. The number of really skilled professionals is ludicrously small. Upon one occasion during my Home Office days something went amiss with the key of the office safe in one of our large convict prisons, and when search was made among the convicts for a 'cracksman' to open the lock the only man who could be found to undertake the job was a fellow who had worked in a safe-maker's The ordinary burglar could no more open a safe than he could forge a bank note; and the ordinary thief who roams the streets at night is quite incapable of breaking into a house that is properly secured. The men who have the dexterity needed for offences of this kind are few in number; they are well known to the police; and it stands to reason that the operation of the Prevention of Crime Bill would in a few years have secured for us immunity from their crimes. The dangers of the battle-field do not hinder men from becoming soldiers; but if war involved the death of all engaged in it enlistment would cease. And so here, the chance of a term of imprisonment will not deter those who love adverture and hate work from taking to a criminal career. But make it clear to such men that persistence in crime will involve a permanent loss of liberty, and they will become 'moral by Act of Parliament.'

I have enforced and exemplified this in my previous articles on this subject, and in my book entitled Criminals and Crime; and a reference to what I have there written will show that, so far from my being opposed to humane treatment even for outlaws, the provision of an asylum prison for them is precisely the scheme I have been advocating for years. My protest against the Prevention of Crime Act is that it eliminates from the scheme the very element which alone would make it efficacious and therefore justifiable, the element, of indeterminate detention. The professional criminal,

I believe, could thus be suppressed.

But the clock has been put back by the recent legislation. reforms which justice and reason demand will be delayed by the passing of this unfortunate enactment. It is merely a question of delay, however; and the delay would matter little were it not that the maudlin sentiment excited on behalf of these outlaws by their friends the sham humanitarians diverts attention from the case of unfortunate offenders of a different type, our treatment of whom is a disgrace to modern civilisation. If the professional unemployed received their due—starvation and the lash—the workless workers and the deserving poor generally would come by their own. And so here, if the professional criminals were eliminated the public might be induced to consider the case of the wretched victims of our punishment of crime system, who constitute the mass of our prison population.

Among all who speak with authority on the crime problem my proposals for the elimination of the professional criminal have received unqualified approval. But the reforms I advocate for the amelioration of the lot of prisoners generally are regarded by many as extreme and impracticable. And yet I am confident that such reforms will not be long delayed. The need of them is increased every day by legislation like the Children's Act of last year, which adds to the long list of petty statutory offences of a non-criminal kind. Such offenders are still to be committed to gaols which are not deemed good enough for the professionals. And while for the gallows-birds of the Prevention of Crime Act new quarters are about to be erected in the Isle of Wight, the victims of the short sentence system—that delight of the sham philanthropists—are kennelled in cells which ought to be used only for the punishment of the idle and the refractory. Drastic reforms are needed both in prison-building and in the treatment of prisoners; and the fiasco of the new statute may be made the starting-point of a new crusade for their accomplishment.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

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## OUR CONSCRIPTS AT CRÉCY

EVEN in the aristocratic Froissart's narrative the real heroes of Crécy are the archers. They stood like a wall; their shafts pierced steel plates, brought down horse and man in helpless confusion, and cleared the way for 'certain rascals that went afoot with long knives, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights, and esquires.' The whole affair seems clearer than daylight to us who read of it now in our arm-chairs; and we scarcely pause to waste a moment's pity on the French knights who charged so valiantly up that hillside, only to be met again and again by those withering volleys, and at last to have their throats ignominiously cut by the Welsh footmen. These poor benighted Frenchmen, we feel, suffered only the inexorable penalty of their own folly; they might have known, as we all know from our cradles, how irresistible was the English archery. And yet, even among well-read Englishmen of the present day, few could give any definite answer to the question: 'How did Edward the Third bring this irresistible force of archery to Crécy, and combine it so skilfully with his mailed chivalry and his light infantry, while Philippe de Valois commanded only a mob of feudal levies, untrained townsfolk, and foreign mercenaries?' The general impression seems to be that England, the land of manliness and liberty, produced archers by some sort of spontaneous generation. It was natural they should grow with us, and not in France, just as mushrooms spring up in one field rather than in another; let us, therefore, thank God for creating us in His own image as Englishmen, and for decreeing that we need never train for war, but shall always 'muddle through all right'! Such was the leading thought of that speech in which the late Lord Salisbury, by a double blunder, exhorted the nation to imitate the volunteer archers of Crécy and the volunteer riflemen of modern Switzerland. Such, again, was the ruling idea of that Oxford tutor and military specialist who argued that Crécy was won, not by English organisation, but by the longbow; as though that historic weapon had been warranted, like Mr. Winkle's gun, to go off of its own accord and 'kill something'! The last eight years, however, have seen a healthy change in public opinion. The British public is more willing now to

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consider that proficiency with the longbow required no less practice than proficiency with the rifle; or that war is a science which needed study even in the Middle Ages, and needs tenfold care nowadays. Many readers will gladly listen now to a truth which would have been scouted only a few years ago—that the age of England's greatest military supremacy was an age of undisguised conscription; that in those days we played in Europe the part of modern Germany, while France believed, or affected to believe, that her national valour would always pull her through when the real crisis came.

Let me quote first from an author beyond suspicion—the brilliant French archivist, Siméon Luce, who at his too early death was the greatest living specialist on the Hundred Years' War.

Edward the First and Third (and this makes their reigns a decisive epoch not only in English but in general medieval history) were the real creators of modern infantry. We must not, however, ascribe the honour of this creation solely to the military genius of the two English kings; they were driven to it by necessity, the mother of invention. The device which they used is essentially the same which has been employed in every age by countries of small extent, and therefore of scanty population—viz. compulsory military service. Although the name of conscription is obviously modern, the thing itself is of ancient use among the very people who know least of it nowadays; and it may be proved that Edward the Third, especially, practised it on a great scale. The documentary evidence of this fact is so plentiful that to draw up the briefest summary of it would be to write a whole chapter—neither the least novel nor the least interesting, be it noted—of English history; and that is no part of my plan here.<sup>1</sup>

It is hardly creditable to English scholarship that, after nearly thirty years, this novel and interesting chapter is still unwritten. Even Professor Oman's Art of War in the Middle Ages gives but a faint idea of the extent to which Edward the Third's armies depended upon conscription at the period of their most brilliant victories; and an Oxford lecturer recently assured his audience that these victories were gained by 'disciplined and paid volunteers.' It may, therefore, be worth while to present English readers with a selection from the vast body of evidence to which Luce refers, and which is, in fact, even more abundant than he could have known.

Conscription is, of course, prehistoric and universal; no nation could have survived in the past without it; and, even while we cry 'Peace, peace!' which of us can answer for the future? Even France, far as her military organisation stood below that of Edward the Third, claimed definitely and continuously the immemorial right of bringing every able-bodied citizen into the field. The only difference was that Edward carefully trained his subjects for the realities of that warfare to which both parties looked forward in theory; while the French kings were content to leave nine-tenths of their population in the condition of paper-soldiers. Like the Nonconformist minister

S. Luce, Bertrand du Guesclin, p. 126 (Paris, 1882).

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who lately rebuked Lord Roberts for talking of preparation-it may almost be said, like Mr. Haldane himself—they held that 'training for war is unnecessary. If danger arises our citizens will not be wanting in pluck.' After a generation of such peace and prosperity as the Middle Ages very rarely enjoyed, the danger arose at last. Frenchmen ate and drank, married and were given in marriage, until the day when Edward landed near Cherbourg; and then they suddenly found themselves face to face with men who had not encouraged sloth and selfishness under the specious name of 'pluck.' A scientifically trained army was opposed to a multitude of whom fifty per cent. were extemporised soldiers of yesterday; and with the almost inevitable result. By far the worst carnage at Crécy was among those untrained citizen-levies who straggled into the field like sheep, were butchered like sheep, and failed even to point a wholesome moral by their death. French military experts of the fourteenth century only quoted this and similar cases in proof of the uselessness of national levies; and this at a time when Edward was making his own ploughmen and artisans into some of the finest troops the world has ever seen! In this, however, he rested upon the manly traditions of In 1181 Henry the Second had reorganised the Saxon centuries. militia, which had done yeoman service at Hastings but was no doubt grown somewhat rusty. In 1252 his grandson issued a writ to the same effect, imposing on all males between sixteen and sixty the obligation of service for home defence. In 1285 the famous Statute of Winchester enacted 'that every man have in his house harness for to keep the peace after the ancient Assize . . . and that Views of Arms be made every year two times; and in every Hundred and Franchise two Constables shall be chosen to make the View of Arms; and the Constables aforesaid shall present before the Justices assigned such defaults as they do see.' This part of the statute, which remained in force until 1623, provided a carefully graduated scale of armament in proportion to the owner's property. 15l. a year rental must appear on horseback, with steel breastplate and helmet; from the very poorest, on the other hand, nothing was required but 'knives and other small arms.'

How this Statute of Winchester was actually worked we may gather from the invaluable records lately printed by Mr. W. Hudson for the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.<sup>2</sup> These documents, chance survivals from masses of similar records, show us how the Norwich Militia was mustered between 1355 and 1370. We see at once that this statute was enforced with a strictness exceptional in the Middle Ages. The Assize of Ale, for instance, which was passed only nineteen years before this, provided minutely for the price of beer; offenders were to be fined for the first, second, and third offence, after which they were condemned to a public 'castigation' and

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xiv. p. 263 f.

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exposure in a tumbril. Such was the theory; yet in fact this Assize was so generally broken that the fines inflicted formed a regular sort of Excise duty, paid (as Mr. Hudson's minute researches have proved) by practically every ale-seller in Norwich. In contemporary France, again, the law of personal service had been similarly degraded into a disguised tax.

Whenever the French kings, during the first half of the fourteenth century, were in pressing need of money, they ordained a levée en masse with the alternative of redemption; or, in other words, they levied a war-tax. Thus in 1337 and 1338, and again in 1347 and the following year, we find Philippe de Valois proclaiming a general levy in defence of the realm; but we must not blink the fact that the main object of these proclamations, and their almost exclusive effect, was to fill the tax-gatherers' coffers. In all the grants of subsidies made by the towns during this reign, it is stipulated that the citizens shall be exempt from military service except in the last resort.<sup>3</sup>

Far otherwise was it in the English towns, by the testimony of many other documents besides the Norwich rolls. No doubt many well-to-do citizens bought themselves off, and many others escaped by secret influence; what else could we expect in a society where the incorruptible judge or official was extolled as a ninth wonder of the world, and where the police system was as yet so rudimentary? Yet, while the rolls of the Norwich Leet Court show how impossible the magistrates found it to collect more than twenty-five per cent. of the fines unquestionably due to them, the muster rolls, on the other hand, prove that the constables arrayed double that percentage of the males who came strictly under the Statute of Winchester. A thousand men regularly appeared in arms, out of a population of some 8000 souls—i.e. a somewhat larger percentage than is brought under training by modern systems of conscription. Apart from the two fully armed constables, the lists show us that this contingent was divided into companies of one hundred, each under its own 'centener' and its five 'vinteners.' The fully armed men wore a bacinet, or steel cap, with visor and gorget; a leathern or quilted doublet; a breastplate, armplates, and gauntlets. Their offensive weapons were sword and knife, together with bow, bill, or club. Downwards from these 'fully-armed,' and the 'half-armed,' who lacked only gorget and armplates, the list tails off to those poorest who could bring only the minimum knife and club. Any one of these company rolls brings the whole muster vividly before our eyes; let us take almost at random that of Conesford:

CENTENER. John Mountford, fully armed, with spear and banner.

VINTENER. Thomas of Horning, fully armed, with spear and pennon.

Henry Noggon, fully armed.

Gilbert Sadler, fully armed.

John Marshall, with sword and knife.

Nicholas Stutter, fully armed.

3 Luce, loc. cit.

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John of Honingham, with bill, sword, and knife. Richard Taylor, with sword, club, and knife. Robert Rubbleyard, with club and knife. Thomas Pottage, with club and knife.
Roger Guise, with club and knife.
Geoffrey, Brisel's man, with club and knife.
John of Elmham, with sword, club, and knife.
William Skinner, with sword, club, and knife.
William of Bordeaux, with club and knife.
Simon Priest, with club and knife.
Adam Glaswright, with sword, club, and knife.
Thomas Yonge, with sword, club, and knife.
William Cobbler, with club and knife.
Edmund Smith, with club and knife.
Richard of Poitou, with sword, club, and knife.

And so on to the next four vinteners, each with his spear, his pennon, and his score of men. The Statute of Winchester (like the equally famous injunction to practise the longbow under penalty of death) may well have been interpreted with medieval latitude; but there was real earnest at the bottom of it. The more closely those ages are studied, the more clearly it will be realised that the English citizen lived a life essentially different, even in time of peace, from that of his French brethren, who paid taxes on the condition that no man should claim their personal service.

In time of war, of course, this difference was at once emphasised. On the first outbreak of hostilities Edward demanded from London a draft equivalent to 50,000 men from its present population; and during the next eighteen years he summoned nearly 3000 men, with a considerable tribute in ships, from this city of 40,000 inhabitants. From Norwich he claimed frequent contingents of 120 men, and of 100 from neighbouring Lynn. It was, indeed, doubtful how far the king had a right to drive men abroad; and Edward, in two different statutes, promised that none should be impressed to serve beyond the limits of his own county, except to meet an invasion of the realm. But all France, according to Edward, should by rights have been his realm; and Gascony was his undoubted heritage. When, therefore, he demands from Lynn, for the campaign of Crécy, '100 men of the strongest and most vigorous of the said town, each armed with quilted doublet, habergeon, or plate-armour, bacinet, gauntlets of steel or whalebone, and other arms suitable for footmen,' his writs are naturally headed 'Edward by the grace of God King of England, lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine.' 'The King of France,' he pleads, 'is striving traitorously to disinherit Us of Our title of Gascony'; and We have ordained 'to come with men of Our realm to the rescue and defence of Our Duchy aforesaid.' Almost as significant is the warrant to the Welsh lords early in 1346, bidding them 'choose, array, and select' 3450 men to be sent to Portsmouth, 'because, for the necessary salvation and defence of Our Realm of England, We have ordered Our

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passage to the parts beyond the sea.' This Welsh contingent mustered so slowly that Edward sent a more peremptory command on the 20th of April, 'under pain of forfeiture of all that ye can forfeit:' the same time we find him commanding 'our well-beloved Guy de Brian to choose and take fifty miners from Our forest of Dean, at his own discretion . . . giving the said Guy, by these presents, full powers for taking and arresting all whom he may find rebellious, and for committing them to Our prisons, there to remain until We shall be otherwise advised concerning them.' Similar writs were sent to mayors and sheriffs throughout the land; and, though the king perhaps got little more than half the numbers he demanded, yet he certainly raised some 22,000 men for this one campaign from a population of about four millions. Many of these were the regular feudal levies; many, no doubt, were hired substitutes. But the constables were specially warned to look closely into the fitness of such substitutes; and Crécy, as Professor Oman points out, bears sufficient witness to their quality. Moreover, this citizen-militia brought into our army a practical, workmanlike spirit, and habits of rough brotherly discipline, which went far to assure our final success. Businesslike people, when they are compelled to fight, may be trusted to see that the real problem is how to kill the greatest number of foemen in the safest and most expeditious manner; and we may be sure that few belted knights did more actual execution in the field than 'Bartholomew Brown, with bow, arrows, and sword,' or 'Robert Rubbleyard, with club and knife.'

It will readily be believed that, in so rough an age, all this conscription caused much friction and much injustice; Shakespeare's famous caricature doubtless contains a good deal of truth, though he wrote only in the last decrepit years of the system.4 An interesting inquest, on page 74 of Professor Gross's Office of Coroner, tells us how, in 1322, Richard Clerke and John of Ashby were pressed for Scotland, and how they met by chance at Cold Ashby with 'John the Constable, who had chosen them to serve.' They pursued him into a house, ran him through with a lance, and then took sanctuary in the church, whence they were dragged forth by their fellow-conscripts, not for execution, but 'to serve our Lord the King,' who could ill spare men of pith and mettle, even though they had spitted one of his constables. We have other less vivid but more general evidence of similar friction. The Londoners, in sending their first contingent, stipulated that this should not be made into a precedent; though in fact they continued, as we have seen, to supply heavy drafts for many years longer. Again, the king's later writs often contain those tell-tale instructions for the imprisonment of refractory conscripts which we have already seen in the case of the Dean miners. Then, towards the end of the reign, London began to send money instead of men; and the last

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stages of the war were fought out by armies mainly raised on the indenture system, by which captains and sub-captains contracted to enlist certain numbers of volunteers at stated rates of pay. But even these volunteers, we must remember, were raised from a nation roughly trained in arms and in discipline.

Nor did compulsory service damp volunteer energies in medieval England any more than it does in modern Switzerland. In the very year of Crécy the Scots poured into England, flattering themselves that they would find none but 'ploughmen and shepherds and feeble chaplains'; but at Neville's Cross they met the militia of the northern counties, which inflicted on them one of the most disastrous defeats in the Scottish annals. Among this militia were large numbers of volunteer parsons, whom the chronicler describes as marching forth from York and Beverley with litanies on their lips, but with sword and quiver on thigh, and the good bow under their arm. In 1360, again, we find parish priests turning out personally for the defence of the realm; and in 1383 priests and monks were among the 'crusaders' whom Bishop Despenser led against the French.

It is a chapter of history interesting in itself, and doubly interesting in its modern application. We must beware of pressing historical analogies too closely, especially over an interval of five centuries. But when we hear our fellow-citizens talk glibly of the un-English system of compulsory service, let us remember that this was an essentially English institution during the century which is singled out by historians of all schools as specially important for the formation of our national character. During that century our own civic and political liberties grew by leaps and bounds, while non-conscripted France declined from servitude to servitude. The regulations under which Edward brought his conscripts to Crécy remained on Statute Book until after the defeat of the Armada; nor was the tradition altogether lost in the days of our own grandfathers. Trafalgar and Waterloo were won to a great extent by conscripted men; and, face to face with the stern realities of those times, few politicians dared to argue that the Briton was too free to bear his share of an imprescriptible national duty, or too brave to train in defence of the country which had given him birth.

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## THE REAL LAFCADIO HEARN

Verily to be counted on the fingers of one hand among thousands are those who are fit to write the biography of another man, especially if that other man has once been a friend. Scrupulous accuracy, in so far as is possible, reticence, comprehension, generosity, are necessary concomitants of his outfit. Resentment, injustice, jealousy, must be carefully placed under lock and key. Harsh judgments as to his friend's behaviour to him personally, if it be reprehensible, must be refrained from. Change of opinion, transference of affection, must be passed over without criticism, for how can readers tell but that righteous cause was given for both?

Dr. George Milbury Gould, whose book Concerning Lafcadio Hearn was published a short time ago, can hardly be said to have taken care that scrupulous accuracy, reticence, or comprehension accompanied him when he started on his task of putting together his reminiscences of the artist who honoured him with his intimacy.

'His mind seemed to flush with religious or ethical enthusiasm while the Mosque of his real heart was only a chasm of gloomy negation.' This, his reticence.

'Deprived by nature, by the necessities of his life, or by conscious intention, of religion, morality, scholarship . . . and other constituents of personal greatness, it is more than folly to endeavour to place him as a great man before the world.' This is Dr. Gould's generosity and comprehension.

'The dead die never utterly,' Hearn says in the conclusion of that prose poem, A Street Singer. 'They sleep in the darkest cells of tired hearts and busy brains, to be startled at rarest moments only by the echo of some voice that recalls their past.'

To my heart and brain, as I read Gould's preface, came the fanciful idea that the dead artist might awake startled at the echo of this pitiless and discordant voice—he who, in his wonderful prose, has introduced us to Kimiko and Yoko, who has told us the pathetic tale of 'Haru,' and the exquisite story of the 'Shirabyeshi,' who has shown us the flushed splendour of the blossom bursts of spring, the rising of the sun behind the peaks, the dying crimson of autumn foliage, in the loved land of his adoption—he who, with noiseless tread,

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has led us into places of beauty, beyond the folding of the mists, up through vast green silences of temple gardens, deciphering strange inscriptions, expounding the mystery of the soul of a great nation.

As year by year Lafcadio Hearn achieved a higher position in the American Press, he was beset by people anxious to open a correspondence on religious and literary subjects. Shy as he was in personal intercourse, he would pour out his heart on paper. With the impulsive temper and undeniable lack of worldly wisdom inherited from his Irish ancestors, he endowed these friends whom he had never seen, or knew only by photograph, with every quality necessary to the closest communication. It is a way with poets and dreamers to think they hitch their wagon to a star, only to discover too late that the luminary is but a farthing dip!

Dr. Gould apparently was impressed with the idea that he had a great literary gift. Friendship with an author who would give him advice and assistance was all that he needed for the career of letters. He had heard of Hearn's defective sight—who had not in America at that time? Optics were his special branch of the medical profession. He wrote an ardently appreciative letter to New Orleans of a translation by Hearn of one of Gautier's tales. It is worthy of note that after his rupture with Hearn he alludes to these translations as showing the artist's 'ghoulish pleasure in the gruesome and sensualistic.'

In answer to this communication, Hearn expressed his sense of 'the value of literary encouragement from an evidently strong source.'

Thus was a correspondence opened. In one letter Hearn touches upon the question of his eyesight. 'Had the best advice in London. Observe all the rules you suggest. Glasses strain the eye too much—part of the retina is gone. Other eye destroyed by a blow at college—or, rather, by inflammation consequent upon blow. Can tell you more about myself when I see you, but the result will be more curious than pleasing.'

One summer morning the door of Gould's consulting room in Philadelphia opened, and Lafcadio entered.

The two men were both nearly of an age, entering the forties. The closest communion began between them. Hearn stayed at the Goulds' house, mixed with the Gould family on the most familiar terms. He did his proof-reading and correcting in a room especially set aside for him, and wrote long letters, as was his shy way, for Gould's perusal.

'Let me pray you,' he says in one of these letters, 'not to make mention of anything written to you thus, even incidentally to newspaper folk, or to any literary folk who would not be intimate friends.'

On reading these lines we peer out as the proprietor of the china shop may have peered out trembling, after the breakage of his wares.

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What letters of poor Lafcadio's may not this Philadelphian doctor still hold in reserve?

With that love of the American for 'blowing the trumpet and beating the drum,' before fame of any sort, Gould arrogates to himself the effecting of a complete change in Hearn's character at this time. 'He learnt the sense of duty, in short, I gave him a soul!' The 'Stern Daughter of the Gods' seems continually to act as prompter at Dr. Gould's elbow—one marvels that she never inculcated duty to a friend!

'I succeeded in bringing to his recognition,' Gould also tells us, that human beings are not always, and may never be wholly, the slaves of the senses and the dupes of desire.'

In 1885 Hearn, in a letter to Krehbiel, makes a confession of faith owning a spiritual dignity and breadth which I do not think Gould was capable of improving upon.

What matter creeds, myths, traditions, to you or me who perceive in all Faiths one vast truth—one phase of the universal life? Why trouble ourselves about detailed comparisons, while we know there is an Infinite which all thinkers are striving to reach by different ways, and an Infinite Invisible, of which all things visible are emanations? Worlds are but dreams of God and evanescent; the galaxies of suns burn out, the heavens wither, even time and space are only relative; and the civilisation of a planet but an incident of its growth.

But let us take Gould's statements and examine and disprove each as we go along.

At the very outset I protest at the inaccuracy of his insinuation that 'mystery and uncertainty surrounds Lafcadio's birth.' On the first page of a Bible, given to Charles Hearn by his grandmother, are entries relating to the date of marriage, and the birth of each of his children. There we read the announcement of the birth of Patricio Lafcadio in the month of August 1850, and of Daniel James in 1854.

The Hearn family pedigree runs back for well over 200 years. Daniel James, the first member that floats into our ken, figures as private chaplain to Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, coming apparently with him from England. We conclude that a slice of Irish land was bestowed upon Daniel James for the efficient manner in which he supervised the moralities and conventionalities of the viceregal Court, for we find his successors and heirs as 'of Corieagh,' in the County of West Meath. The Archdeacon married twice (both wives were Irish) and had six children, all of whom again married into the Protestant Irish squirearchy, contributing to that Hibernian and Anglo-Saxon stock that has produced so remarkable a number of eminent artists and poets. The characteristics of this hybrid race, its humour, its enjoyment of histrionic situations, its imagination, its eccentricity, so amply demonstrated in Lafcadio Hearn's case, seemed to be entirely unknown to his biographer, Dr. Gould.

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For three generations the Hearns appear in collegiate, military, and county annals as honourable and well-conducted country gentle-

Lafcadio's grandfather, Colonel of the 43rd Regiment, married Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Holmes. In one of her offspring we see the first manifestation of the peculiarities of the racial type.

Charles Hearn was a gallant officer and chivalrous gentleman, but

showed no artistic bent.

In Richard Hearn, Charles's brother, we find the variation so startling, owning so many characteristics in common with his famous nephew, that a few words about him may not seem out of place.

When quite a youth he astonished the family circle by declaring his intention of going to Paris to make his living as an artist. Beautiful are some of his pictures done in the Millet style-peasant women carrying wood, charcoal burners, little children driving geese, all that one might see on a summer day in Fontainebleau Forest. With his apostolic beard, kindly brown eyes, and extremely subversive views on the subject of institutions which most men look upon as sacred, 'L'artiste Irlandais ' was quite a personality in Paris, much beloved of the American and French circle of artists at Barbizon.

Satanically proud like his nephew, he once, I remember, sent me over some pictures, which I induced the then President of the Royal Academy to find a place for on the Academy walls. They were hung sky-high, but an appreciative purchaser was found. Wounded at the position in which they had been placed, he would not hear of any acceptance of the money. Does not this recall his nephew's rupture with Harpers, the publishers, when on board ship, going to Japan, he found that the artist who was being sent out to illustrate his letterpress was receiving double his emolument? Not only did Lafcadio repudiate his contract, but refused to receive the royalties from books already written. Harpers were obliged henceforward to transmit the money through a friend.

The tragedy of Charles Hearn's marriage was enhanced by the fact that when he went to Corfu he was in love with another womanthe one indeed who subsequently became his second wife. soon lights on a warm hearth' is an old saying. The beautiful Greek girl caught his fancy for the moment, but how could enduring love be built on such a basis? Different mode of thought, different nationality, different religion soon made a rift in the ill-advised union,

ending in separation after a few years of marriage.

When Patricio Lafcadio was but two or three years of age, his father's regiment was ordered from Corfu to the West Indies. 'It is not improbable that his wife and child accompanied him, and that Lafcadio's 'memories of a place and a magical time, in which the sun and the moon were larger and brighter than now, a time that was softly ruled by One who thought only of ways to make me happy,'

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refers to the West Indies instead of the Greek Island, and that 'the weird little song that always brought sleep' was crooned to him by a Creole nurse. It would be a curious coincidence if it were so, and if the author of the now famous Two Years in the West Indies had spent however short a time there in his early childhood. A diary kept by an aunt proves beyond question that both he and his Greek mother were in Dublin in 1853, before the birth of his brother Jimmy.

Belonging to an alien religion, not even talking their language (Lafcadio tells us that they could only speak a mixture, Italian and Romaic), in an atmosphere where social and religious distinctions are drawn with a rigidity that would be comic if the people who cherished them did not live up to their tenets with such relentless earnestness, what wonder that existence in Dublin was intolerable to Charles Hearn's wife.

A Mrs. Brenane, grand-aunt of Lafcadio's (who had married a Roman Catholic and had gone over to the Roman Catholic faith) was living in Dublin at this time. A friendship had sprung up between her and Charles Hearn's Greek wife, a friendship cemented doubtless by the fact of belonging to beliefs at variance with the people among whom their lot was cast. To Mrs. Brenane's care, when she definitely separated from her husband, Mrs. Charles Hearn confided her son Lafcadio, then only eight years of age.

My earliest remembrance of Aunt Brenane [a niece writes] is in the year 1866, when she came to stay with us at —. She was then living at Redhill with the —, who were, I believe, distant relatives of her husband, and Roman Catholics. In 1866 she was still comfortably off, and used to wear marvellously quaint, old-fashioned dresses of very rich silk. She was like an old thing in a book. In that same year, I remember, we heard her talk of Lafcadio Hearn, who was then being educated at Ushaw with a view to entering the priesthood. In the autumn of 1868 we children were told that Aunt Brenane had lost all her money in some mercantile venture—I think of Oriental wares—recommended by —, with whom she was living. She died in January 1871, having to be supported at the last by her relatives.

Lafcadio's tribulations seem to have begun when he came to an age for religious instruction.

My boy [he says of his son later] will have what I never had as a child, natural, physical, and mental freedom. You cannot make a Goth out of a Greek, nor can you change the blood in my veins by speaking to me of a something vague and agnostic and mystic, which you deem superior to all that any Latin mind could devise.

He was taken very much against his will to church. There he first learned to know the 'peculiar horror that certain forms of Gothic architecture can inspire—I am using the word "horror" in a classic sense, in its antique meaning of ghostly fear.'

One day, in an unexplored corner of the library, he found great folio books containing figures of gods and demigods, athletes and

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heroes, and describes the beating and fluttering of his heart as, breathless, he gazed upon unspeakably lovely faces and forms.

Oh! the contrast between that immortal loveliness and the squalor of the saints and the patriarchs and the prophets of any religious pictures!—a contrast, indeed, as of heaven and hell. . . . In that hour the mediæval creed seemed to me the very religion of ugliness and of hate. And as it had been taught to me, in the weakness of my sickly childhood, it certainly was. Even to-day, in spite of larger knowledge, the words 'heathen' and 'pagan' (however ignorantly used) revive within me old sensations of freedom and joy.

This new-found light soon became the source of new sorrows—the books were taken away. After some weeks they were returned to their former place all unmercifully mutilated, most of the figures erased, others pasted over.

The flame of genius is not easy to quench. In his reminiscences he tells us that he fell back upon the simple manifestations of nature, in the green of the fields, in the blue of the sky, in the poise of plants and trees, in the faint blue line of far-off heavens. 'At moments the simple pleasure of life would quicken to a joy, so large, so deep, that it frightened me.'

In one of the letters forming the charming series written to Mrs. Atkinson, his half-sister, from Japan, Lafcadio mentions his having been sent, when quite a child, to a school kept by some old woman. 'She treated me cruelly and I ran away,' is his observation regarding this incident. Whether this school was in Dublin or at Redhill it is impossible to say. Accuracy as to dates and times was never one of Lafcadio's gifts. We only know that he arrived at Ushaw College, coming from Redhill, Surrey, on the 9th of September, 1863, aged 13.

Strangely wanting in perception must those have been who sent Lafcadio Hearn to Ushaw College to prepare for the priesthood. To subject so vagrant, original, and untamable a soul as was his, even in his earliest years, to the necessary discipline and ecclesiastical training of such an institution was almost to court disaster.

He himself wished to go to sea, but was unfortunately too nearsighted to pass the medical examination.

I am enabled to give quotations from various letters written by the boy's schoolfellows at Ushaw.

No one could be here [this is from an ecclesiastic, now a high dignitary in the Roman Catholic Church] without knowing and remembering him. He was much in evidence and played many pranks of a very peculiar and highly imaginative kind. He was full of fun, wrote very respectable verses for a boy, was an enormous reader, worshipped muscle—had his note-books full of drawings of brawny arms, &c., &c.

As a boy his imagination was highly developed, and as a student he shone only in English writing; he was first in his class the first time he composed in English, and kept first or nearly first all the time he was here, and there were several in his class who were considered very good English writers—for boys. In other subjects he was either quite middling or quite poor. I do not

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suppose he exerted himself—except in English—and it took him all his time to keep his imagination in order.

I should say he was very happy here altogether. He always seemed to have plenty of friends, he had any amount to say, and was very original, so wild in the tumult of his thoughts, that you felt he might do anything in different surroundings.

He was not altogether a desirable boy—from the Superior's point of view—and yet his playfulness of manner, and brightness, disarmed any feeling of anger in his many escapades.

In spite of his great career, the fact that he became a pagan robs us of the

interest in him we otherwise should have had.

His descriptive talent was already noticeable at Ushaw [another school companion, Mr. Achilles Daunt, of Kilcascan Castle, County Cork, tells us]. The wild, monstrous, weird in literature was what chiefly attracted him; and he used to amuse himself with compositions at that time. He was of a sceptical turn of mind, and once shocked several of us by demanding evidence for beliefs which we had never dreamt of questioning. . . . His fancy was gloomy (which I understood was the result of a very sad childhood). It was said at the College that, owing to some family dissensions, the child was more or less neglected, kept solitary in a solitary gloomy old house with dark, panelled walls. Knightly feats of arms, combats with gigantic foes in deep forests, low red moons throwing their dim light across desolate spaces and glinting on the armour of great champions, storms howling over wastes, and ghosts shrieking in the gale—these were favourite topics of conversation. He cared little or not at all for the school games, cricket, football, &c., and this not merely because of his want of sight, but because they failed to interest him.

I also cared little for them, and he and I were in the habit of walking round an oval among the shrubberies in the front of the College, indulging our tastes in fanciful conversation until the bell again summoned us to study.

A companion one day alluded to the length of his home address. Lafcadio said his address was longer: 'P. L. Hearn, Esq., Ushaw College, near Durham, England, Europe, Eastern Hemisphere, the Earth, Universe, Space, God.' His friend allowed that his address was more modest.

'Use my name of course,' adds Mr. Daunt in giving these details; 'it affords me much pleasure "to swell the triumph and partake the gale" of poor "Paddy," as we called him.'

It is to this schoolfellow, we imagine, that Lafcadio refers in one of his letters written to Ellwood Hendrick from Japan.

Your letter was—well, I don't just know what to call its quality; there was a bracing tenderness in it that reminded me of a college friendship. Two lads, absolutely innocent of everything wrong in the world in life, living in ideals of duty and dreams of future miracles, and telling each other all their troubles, and bracing each other up. I had such a friend once. We were both about fifteen when separated. Our friendship began with a fight, of which I got the worst; then my friend became for me a sort of ideal, which still lives. I should be almost afraid to ask where he is now (men grow away from each other so); but your letter brought his voice and face back, just as if his very ghost had come in to lay a hand on my shoulder. . . .

Another schoolfellow writes—there are quotations from numbers of letters that I have not space to insert, many of them contributed

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by pupils at Ushaw who were unaware until lately that their old comrade Paddy Hearn and the celebrated writer 'Lafcadio Hearn' were one and the same person:—

Life at college is of so uniform a character that there is not much to impress itself specially on the mind about individual students. We were in the same class or form. Hearn had the reputation at Ushaw of being wild, though I never heard what his wildness consisted in. As far as I can recall, his appearance was somewhat ungainly, and he was exceedingly short-sighted. In reading he had to bring the book very close indeed to his eyes. I understand that his defective vision was partly due to an accidental injury inflicted by a schoolfellow. He did not shine in school competitions except in literary composition. He had a great taste for the strange and weird. He had, I believe, a certain humour of a grim character; I remember his writing a parody of 'Casabianca,' on a boy being flogged, beginning:—

The boy stood on the bloody floor Where many oft had stood.

The poem was dropped in one of the college corridors and fell into the hands of the authorities, who were credited with being very highly amused by it. There was always something mysterious about him. I cannot say that he was unhappy in his school life; he was certainly not unpopular. I have a distinct recollection of his telling us about his confessor rising to his feet in anger when he confessed something of which I did not hear. It is related in the accompanying cutting. The confessor, I believe, was Father William Wrennall, not a grim man by any means, but an exceedingly gentle man.

It is impossible, looking at the benevolent spectacled countenance of Monsignor Wrennall, as portrayed in the Chronicles of Ushaw, to resist a smile of amusement, realising the shock he must have received when, animated by his Celtic spirit of whimsical humour, the irreverent young scamp, Lafcadio Hearn, elected to inform him that 'he hoped the devil would come to him in the shape of a beautiful woman, as he came to the Anchorites in the desert.' The trick—boasted of to his schoolfellows—was played when the boy was fifteen years of age, full of fun and mischief. The incident is cited by Gould, and repeated by all the critics, with a relish worthy of scandalous-tongued old women, as showing Lafcadio's mental and spiritual degeneracy from his earliest years.

We have no proof that he was expelled from Ushaw. Pupils sometimes disappeared, without comment, at the end of the summer term. Most probably he was obliged to leave, as we have already shown, because his great-aunt, who had hitherto paid all school fees and expenses, was reduced to penury by an unlucky investment.

All things considered, the authorities of the college, if they did not expel him, exhibited considerably more leniency to Lafcadio than the college authorities at Oxford, under very much the same provocation, exhibited to young Shelley. The great poet did not live long enough to justify the Oxford dons, but years after, when Lafcadio

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Hearn had become the father of a boy, and began to think of his son's future, he writes:—

What shall I do with him?... Send him to grim Puritans that he may be taught the way of the Lord? I am beginning to think that really much of the ecclesiastical education (bad and cruel as I used to imagine it) is founded on the best experience of man under civilisation; and I understand lots of things I used to think superstitious bosh, and now think solid wisdom.

The record of his stay in London, where he drifted from Ushaw, is meagre. From letters written to Mr. Achilles Daunt, his chum at Ushaw, he seems to have lived somewhere in the East End near the Docks.

Too proud to seek help from the Protestant members of his family, his father in India, married again, with a young family of children to support, Mrs. Brenane ruined, what was there but starvation?

'There is some good,' he says later, in his grimly philosophical way, in the ghostly part of me, but it would never have been developed under comfortable circumstances. Hard knocks and intellectual starvation have brought my miserable little animula into some sort of shape.'

Enough has been revealed of Lafcadio Hearn by his Letters and Life to show that even in these dark moments he had already begun that unceasing cultivation of his power of observation, and that persistent polishing of word and phrase that manifested itself so remarkably in his journalistic work two years later. He tells us of romantic dreams nourished at a public library, where sometimes he was too faint with hunger to read, of visits under the gloom of a 'pea-soup fog,' to that vast necropolis of Dead Gods, the British Museum, of wandering down to the Docks, to look at the ships that had come in from Eastern and tropical lands, ever the scent of the salt spray in his nostrils, the wail of the fringe of sea in his ears.

When the city roars dustily around you, and your heart is full of the bitterness of the struggle for life, there comes to you at long intervals in the dingy garret or the crowded street, some memory of white breakers and vast stretches of wrinkled sand, and far fluttering breezes that seem to whisper 'Come'... The glad waves leap up to embrace you... the free winds shout welcome in your ears, white sails are shining in the west; white sea birds are flying over the gleaming swells. And from the infinite expanse of eternal sky and everlasting sea there comes to you with the heavenly ocean breeze a thrilling sense of unbounded freedom, a delicious feeling as of life renewed, an ecstasy as of life restored. And so you start into wakefulness with the thunder of that sea-dream in your ears and tears of regret in your eyes to find about you only heat and dust and toil; the awakening rumble of traffic, and 'the city sickening on its own thick breath.'... I would give anything to be a literary Columbus, to discover a romantic America...

Poor Lafcadio, it was anything but a romantic America that he discovered when he reached Cincinnati a year later. The records of

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he of his poverty at this time seem almost legendary—sleeping in dry goods' boxes in the street or in a boiler in a vacant 'lot.'

I dream of ugly things—things that happened long ago. I am alone in an American city, and I have only ten cents in my pocket; and to send off a letter that I must send will take three cents. That leaves me seven cents for the day's food; the horror of being without employ in an American city appals me . . . because I remember.

He at last obtained newspaper work on the staff of the Cincinnati Enquirer.

Some months elapsed when occurred that incident which Dr. Gould, in the peculiar language of which he every now and again makes use, cites as proving Hearn's love of 'gloating over the clotted villainies of mediæval horror.'

I, on the contrary, think it as pathetic as any record in the range of literary annals.

A horrible murder had been committed. The news reached the office at a time when all the members of the staff usually employed to report such things were absent. At the end of his tether to know what to do, the editor turned towards one of the 'cub reporters,' 'a quaint dark-skinned little fellow, who always sat in the corner, his head bent close over the paper, scratching away with the diligence of a beaver.' Eagerly the youth accepted the editor's offer.

Dr. Gould feels impelled by 'his sense of duty' to give us almost the whole of this vivid masterpiece of description. As a delineation in its most appalling physical details of blood-curdling realism it thrills us now, as it thrilled the city of Cincinnati in 1874.

His triumph was complete. A possibility of snatching time for work on his own account, and a decent salary, were henceforth assured.

Who is most to blame in the circumstances? The editor who fed his public on such noxious stuff, the public who devoured it, or the half-blind starving boy who at last saw a gleam of light break through the gloom of hunger and misery that surrounded him?

In spite of the drudgery of his newspaper work at this time, in the small hours of the morning, after his police rounds, and the writing of columns in his inimitable style, he might be seen under a miserable jet of gas, sometimes until broad daylight, with his one useful eye close to book and manuscript, translating from Gautier.

One of his long-cherished dreams was the blending of a Latin and Anglo-Saxon style, to create in fiction something that would unite the element of strength, characteristic of Northern thought, with the warmth of colour and the richness of imagery peculiar to Latin literature. Some have expressed regret that these years were devoted to such works as Clarimonde, Aria Marcella, and Flaubert's Temptation of St. Anthony.

The how or the where an artist learns the language in which his

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thoughts are to be expressed is a matter of small importance, compared with what he says when comprehension, significance, and style are his.

It was during these Cincinnati days that he is credited with having attempted to legalise by marriage a connexion that he had formed with a mulatto woman.

Dr. Gould has not inspired us with sufficient confidence in his accuracy to permit us to accept this statement without considerable Letters from friends of Hearn in America which have not the space to quote put a very different complexion upon this business. An eighth portion of black blood, we have to remember. made a marriage illegal at that time in America. This prohibition no longer exists, but it is useless to shirk the fact that primeval passion was part of the groundwork of Lafcadio's work and faith, as it is of most of those to whom art is outside and beyond conventions and social restraints. His opinion of women before he went to Japan was certainly not a high one. Deprived of his mother at an early age, placed under the care of a not very wise old lady, sent to a college to be prepared for the priesthood, and then plunged by the necessities of his position amongst some of the lowest types of womanhood both in London and America, how could it have been otherwise? Years after, when wisdom had ripened his judgment, this is how he alludes to this incident:-

When I was a young man in my twenties I had an experience like yours. I resolved to take the part of some people who were disliked in the place where I lived. I thought that those who disliked them were morally wrong, and so I argued boldly for them, and went over to their side. . . . The real feeling was a national sentiment, jealous love of country, moral questions much larger than those I have been arguing about which really caused the whole trouble.

We are told that these social eccentricities laid him open to adverse criticism, and made his position in Cincinnati untenable. Only those, however, who know what journalism is in the United States, with its relentless competition, its striving for emolument and place, can conceive the unpopularity of, from their point of view, an 'alien,' who by his proficiency, had deprived them of a chance of promotion. When, added to this, he endeavoured to introduce reforms into the American methods of punctuation, and to assimilate them more closely to the English standard, for which in derision he was given the nickname of 'Old Semicolon,' we can easily understand his being viewed with no favour by his comrades.

With a picked few he formed the closest ties of intimacy. It is to his friendship with Krehbiel that we owe the delightful series of letters written from New Orleans and the West Indies. The transparent sincerity and spontaneous expression, diversified with flashes of deeper thought, that enliven these pages raise them into the position of masterpieces in the epistolary style.

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Some, with their practical instructions in literary labour, might be used as a manual by young authors.

Have you ever worked much with Roget's Thesaurus? It is invaluable; still more valuable are etymological dictionaries. . . . Such books give one that subtle sense of words to which much that startles in poetry and prose is due. . . . In art study you should feel the determination of those Neophytes of Egypt who were led into subterranean vaults and suddenly abandoned in darkness and rising water, whence there was no escape save by an iron ladder. As the fugitive mounted through heights of darkness, each rung of the quivering stairway gave way immediately he had quitted it and fell back into the abyss, echoing; but the least exhibition of fear or weariness was fatal to the climber. . . All this might seem absurd, perhaps to a purely practical mind, but there is a practical side also. Do your best now, your very, very best; the century must recognise the artist if he is there. If he is not recognised, it is because he is not there . . . you must succeed if you make the sacrifice of working for art's sake alone. . . If you only knew the pain and labour I have to create; there are months when I cannot write . . . the thought will not come.

Thus, by unceasing labour, did Hearn attain that extraordinary dexterity in handling English prose, that dignity of ease and style that in his last book, Japan: an Interpretation, has reached its full perfection, carrying the reader along as if borne on the bosom of a full, deep-flowing river. He has the power of conjuring up a scene, bringing it before our eyes with a vividness of presentment that fairly captures the senses. When he describes the old palace, his residence in New Orleans, 'we see its huge archway, the courtyard with its banana palms, their giant leaves splitting in ribbons in the sun, the hoary dog sleeping like a stone sphinx, we hear the echo of his footsteps as he passes across the cold, cheerless rooms, vast with emptiness.'

I have been tempted in this essay to give more biographical details than I had at first intended, but gradually genealogical details, and as much evidence as possible on his early years and the development of his character and genius, were found necessary to disprove the misrepresentations which have been made about Lafcadio Hearn. In America he has become as legendary a person as was Shelley in England eighty years ago.

The reason for this to a great extent was his reserve towards the general public, and his manner of dropping those whom he had known, one by one, or of letting them drop him, which came to the same thing. By some this unwarranted estrangement was bitterly resented, and has led to much unfavourable criticism of his life and aims. If we study the question, however, we shall see that this quality of so-called inconstancy to his friends was rather constancy to his art—to the best that was in him.

To one for whom he cherished the deepest affection to the end he writes:—

I am going to ask you simply not to come. . . I wonder if my friend will stand this with equanimity. He says that he will never misunderstand. I am

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only fearing that understanding in this case might be even worse than mis. understanding, and I can't make a masterpiece yet; if I could, I should not seem to be putting on airs. That almost is the worst of it!

The very simplicity of his life in the East made it the more mysterious to those accustomed to the luxury and complexity of Western civilisation. He ate rice and lotus with chopsticks, and wrote a study, marvellous in its impartiality and erudition, of one of the people most difficult to understand on the face of the earth. He slept on a wooden pillow, Japanese fashion, and dreamed exquisite dreams. Seated on a mat on the floor, he wrote these dreams down, for the delight of mankind, in the most lucid and artistic language.

As to his disputes with publishers, it is the old story; a publisher's refusal to give what the author asks, and the author's refusal to conform to the publisher's requirements. 'Alden,' he writes, 'has refused my Shadowings and Retrospects, and the Century have rejected a sketch and asked me to send them something "snappy." To such a soul as his, sensitive to an almost abnormal point, such treatment as this would sting him to an anguish of resentment and bitterness—then it was that he would take up that 'pen of fire' and write sentences charged with volcanic energy.

There are certain catch-words and phrases used in relation to Lafcadio Hearn that show how misinformed the general public is yet as to the vital facts connected with his genius and life. One writer expresses his profound pity for a man 'whose life was marred by sightlessness and lovelessness.' Hearn's keenness of vision, in spite of the loss of one eye and the near-sightedness of the other, remains a problem only to be solved by the sensitiveness of the perceptions of genius. 'One minute,' as his wife says, 'was the whole time of his observation; still he saw everything.' As to his 'lovelessness,' let us study carefully his fourteen years' residence in Japan. We may hold what opinion we like upon the subject of the marriage of one of our race with an Oriental. Hearn is not alone amongst Westerners in thinking the sweet, childish, unselfish Japanese woman a much more lovable creature than 'the superb, calculating, penetrating Occidental Circe of our more artificial society.'

'I have at home,' he writes, 'a little world of about eleven people to whom I am everything. It is a very gentle world. Only happy when I am happy. If I ever look tired it is silent and walks on tiptoe. I dare not fret about anything or others would fret more.'

What was ever nobler than his renunciation of his post as English Instructor at the Japanese College? It could not be held by any but an Englishman, and he had made up his mind, for the sake of legalising his marriage and legitimatising his children, to nationalise himself a Japanese. He never seemed to doubt the necessity of this step, though it reduced him to beggary.

Of criticism worth the name Hearn has as yet had none. The

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artist must be judged by the completeness of his work, a man by the end of his life. Gradually the turbid waters settled into purity and calm., 'I can't find pleasure in a French novel, written for the obvious purpose of appealing to instincts that interfere with perception of higher things. I would not go to see the Paris Opera if it were next door, and I had a free ticket.'

Thoroughly did he learn the lesson that life had to teach him. Out of sickness, suffering, and want, through contempt and betrayal, through sneers and abuse did his tuition come. Never was the lesson shirked, never was the experience slurred over; in the end he proved that in spite of almost overwhelming disabilities, physical, moral, and mental, success is to him who tramples self under foot, victory to the worker!

During the last years of his life Hearn had a pathetic yearning for recognition in the English literary world. 'You will be pleased to hear that my books are attracting considerable attention in England now,' he writes. 'It is very hard to win attention there, but much more important than to win it in America.' It gives one a thrill of compunction to find this great artist writing, after thirty years of hard work, 'My average earnings for the last three years have been scarcely 500 dollars a year. . . . I shall get along somehow, but I am so very tired of being hard pushed, and ignored, and starved, obliged to undergo moral humiliations, which are much worse than hunger or cold.'

Granted that he never learnt those economies which make a balance between expenditure and income, that he always, as he said himself, 'remained a veritable blunderer in the ways of the world,' is there no indebtedness on our part, no gratitude, that ought to make us English people more kindly, less uncharitable, in our judgment of Patricio Lafcadio Hearn, our own kith and kin?

It always seems to me that a country ought to honour him who devotes heart and brain to perfecting her language, to filtering and handing it down intact to future generations—as much as she honours him who dies on the field of battle for her sake.

NINA KENNARD.

## AN INSURANCE AGAINST UNEMPLOY. MENT SCHEME

To the Basle scheme for insurance against unemployment special interest is attached, and for two reasons. It is the newest of all these insurance schemes, the one founded on the latest statistics and most in accordance with latter-day notions. And it has the crowning merit of being framed on economical lines: towns that adopt it will certainly find, at the end of a few months' trial-providing, of course, they work it in the spirit in which it is devised—that they are spending less money on their unemployed than they have spent on them for years before. Although this scheme was framed only some few months ago, the cantonal government of Basle City have long been hard at work trying to devise an insurance scheme for the solution of the unemployed problem. Already, in 1899, they drew up an Insurance against Unemployment Bill which they hoped would content all classes, and they succeeded in passing it through the cantonal Parliament. When the measure was submitted to a plébiscite, however, it was rejected by a majority of nearly five to one, chiefly because it was drawn up on compulsory lines. The aristocrats of labour, men fairly sure of constant employment, bitterly resented being called upon to pay fees for insurance against unemployment. The Bill was nothing but an outrageous attempt to tax the better class of workers for the benefit of the worse, they declared roundly. So high did feeling run on the subject that the Government decided to give up all thought of organising insurance against unemployment on a compulsory basis, and to try what could be done in the way of contriving a voluntary system.

In 1901, the Basle Home Department drew up a scheme under which the Government, instead of founding a State Insurance against Unemployment Office, were to induce the Labour Unions to found private offices of their own. It was proposed that every Union which would undertake to provide, under given conditions, allowances for such of its own members as were out of work through no fault of their own, should receive an annual subsidy from the State. This scheme met with but scant support, however, because under it, as its opport

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nents urged, nothing would be done for the very men who most need help when out of work, *i.e.* the poorer class of casual labourers, who do not belong to a Union.

By 1902 the Government were at their wits' end, for all classes were clamouring that the unemployed problem must be dealt with, and they did not know how to deal with it. They had recourse, therefore, to that general refuge of perplexed Ministers-a Commission. In their case, however, the appointing of a Commission was no mere excuse for postponing legislation; on the contrary, it was an honest attempt to obtain the data necessary for legislating wisely. This is proved by the eminently common-sense fashion in which they set their Commissioners to work. For they organised them into what was practically a temporary Government department, and entrusted to them the task of providing the unemployed with work, as well as that of studying the unemployed problem and trying to solve it. This they did as a means of bringing them into touch personally with the class for whose benefit legislation was to be framed; thus giving them opportunities of learning by actual experience how the difficulties with which the work is beset could best be overcome.

The Commission consisted—and consists, for it is still sitting—of twenty-one members, among whom were employers of labour, labour leaders, and labourers; clergymen, professional men, tradesmen, men of all classes in fact; and their chairman was a Minister of State, Regierungsrath Wullschleger. They threw themselves heart and soul into their twofold task, investigating minutely the causes of unemployment, and weighing the pros and cons of its various remedies, while striving to help the unemployed and keep them from becoming unemployable. It was not until they had been hard at work for nearly five years, that they drew up the recommendations on which is founded the insurance against unemployment scheme with which we are here concerned.

The framer of the new scheme, Herr Wullschleger, has evidently benefited by the painful experience of the framers of other schemes of the kind, and has learnt useful lessons from their mistakes. For he has carefully avoided the pitfalls into which they stumbled, and has found a crevice through which to make his way in more than one of the stone-walls they vainly sought to climb. Before ever he set to work in Basle, several systems of insurance against unemployment had already been tried, not only in other Swiss Cantons, but elsewhere; and they had failed. Some had failed because they were framed on compulsory lines; others, because they either favoured the unskilled labourer to the detriment of the skilled, or the skilled to the detriment of the unskilled; others again, because Poor Law officials were allowed to have a hand in the administration of them. His scheme, therefore, is contrived on voluntary lines: under it no one need insure unless

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he wishes; and among those who do insure everything that can be done is done to hold the balance even. What is more important still, perhaps, neither Poor Law officials, nor yet Poor Law authorities, are to have anything whatever to do with the working of it.

The great difficulty in the way of framing on voluntary lines a workable system of insurance against unemployment lies in the fact that it is, of course, always the men who are most likely to be unemployed who are the most eager to insure. Of this, there is proof wherever a voluntary system has been tried. In one town, indeed, no fewer than 69 per cent. of those who had insured against unemployment were actually unemployed in the course of a single winter, and had to be helped. And steady men of the better class, who are out of work only just now and then, do not care to insure in an office crowded with men who are out of work frequently. For if they do, the fees they pay must go, in part at any rate, to provide the money for the out-ofwork allowances of these other men. The Basle Commissioners were convinced, that to try to organise an insurance office in which workers of all classes would insure, would be sheer waste of time, as skilled. well-paid artisans would never, of their own free will, insure against unemployment in an office that opened its doors to casual labourers. much less to women. Under the scheme for which they are responsible, therefore, no attempt is made to club together the diverse classes of workers, or to frame for them a uniform system of insurance. It is proposed, it is true, that a general State Insurance Office shall be opened for the benefit of wage-earners of all degrees; but it is proposed also that private insurance offices shall be opened for the benefit of special sections of wage-earners; and that so long as these private offices shall grant insurance policies under the same conditions as the State Office grants them, and shall regulate their financial affairs on lines approved by the State, submitting their accounts to State auditors, the State shall contribute to their funds at a fixed rate, besides making good any deficit there may be in the funds of its own Office. What is aimed at, in fact, is securing all-round insurance against unemployment; and that this may be secured, not only is a State Insurance Office to be organised, but a helping hand is to be given to any Friendly Society, Trades Union, or other Labour Association that is willing to organise, under certain conditions, a private insurance office for its own members. Thus, practically, the scheme is twofold; and it is founded on two separate measures, both of which will, it is hoped, be passed by the Cantonal Parliament next month, be ratified by the people in the course of the spring, and become At the end of three years they will be submitted to the Cantonal Parliament for revision, as the Government regard insurance against unemployment as an experiment for the time being.

By the Basle 'Law concerning the establishment of a State Insurance Institute for the unemployed,' the Government is authorised

to organise and maintain, at the cost of the State, an Insurance Office; and also to supplement its funds out of the State exchequer, should its liabilities not be covered by the fees of its policy-holders, together with the free gifts of their employers. The Office will be placed under the direction and control of a managing committee, consisting of a president and ten members, who will hold office for three years. president and five of the members will be appointed by the Government, and the policy-holders will elect the other five from among themselves. They will receive two francs each for every meeting they attend; and they will also have repaid to them any expenses they may incur while discharging their official duties. The actual work of the Office will be done by a paid manager, appointed by the Government on the recommendation of the committee, and by other paid officials appointed by the committee itself. They will be under the close surveillance of the committee, the members of which will be personally responsible to the Home Department, and through it to the Government, for the management of the business of the Office. If any policy-holder have a grievance against the manager, he may appeal to the committee to redress it; and, if his appeal be rejected, he may appeal against the committee to the Home Minister. If the manager have a grievance against the committee, he, too, may appeal to the Home Minister.

Once a year the committee will draw up a report giving the details of the working of the Insurance Office, and there will be a general meeting of the policy-holders, under the presidency of the Home Minister, to consider it. At this meeting all the members of the committee who were appointed by the Government must be present, together with the manager; and any policy-holder will have the right to criticise their doings, and to make suggestions for the improvement of the working of the Office. Special meetings will be held whenever either the majority of the members of the committee, or one-fifth of the policy-holders, desire it. The Office accounts will be submitted to three auditors, the chief of whom will be appointed by the Home Minister, and the other two by the policy-holders.

As the Basle Government regard insurance against unemployment as an experiment, they have very wisely secured for themselves a free hand to adapt, so far as possible, the financial details of the new system to circumstances; and they have also secured for the managing committee a free hand to turn to account, in the working of it, the experience they gain as time passes. Within certain wide limits, the Home Minister, representing the Government, will be able to change by decree the amount both of the insurance fees and the unemployed allowances; and the members of the committee will be able to determine for themselves the lines on which they will act. It will be for the committee to say whether the State Insurance Office shall be worked together with the State Labour Bureau, and by the

same manager, or whether the two institutions shall be worked separately, although, of course, in close connexion. In the Bill general rules are laid down as to who shall, and who shall not, have the right to insure against unemployment, in the State Office; but it is left to the committee to determine the precise conditions under which policies will be granted; the precise conditions, too, under which they will be forfeited. The advantage of this arrangement is that changes may be made both in the working of the law and in its financial details without any change, requiring the consent of Parliament, being made in the law itself.

One of the peculiarities of the Basle system of insurance against unemployment is that it is almost the only system of its kind, so far as I know, under which women benefit. When once the State Office is opened, any man—or woman—who, being a wage-earner, has lived in Basle Town uninterruptedly, during the whole of the previous year, and during that year has worked there for at least three months, may insure against unemployment, subject to the following conditions:—

He—or she—must be between eighteen and sixty years of age; he must be employable, *i.e.* physically and mentally able to work; and he must not be insured against unemployment in a private office that is subsidised by the State. In certain circumstances to be determined by the committee, persons belonging to Basle, but working in some other Canton, will also be allowed to insure in the State Office.

Any person who holds an insurance policy in the State Office will forfeit it if he become partially or totally unemployable; if he leaves Basle; if, excepting in the circumstances to be determined by the committee, he goes to work out of Basle; or if he insures against unemployment in a State-aided private office. He will forfeit it also if he does not fulfil the obligations laid on him either by the law, or by order of the Insurance authorities; if he knowingly makes to these authorities false statements; or if he does anything that entails loss on the Insurance Office.

In order to insure against unemployment, a man—or a woman—must pay every month a fee of not less than fivepence or more than one shilling, the exact amount being fixed by Government decree. In the case of persons who have insured against unemployment for a number of years without ever being unemployed, the fees may be reduced. Under the Basle system a policy-holder will have no claim against the State Insurance Office until he has paid his fees for at least six months. Then he has the right, so long as he continues to pay them, to an unemployed allowance six days a week, for eight weeks at most, every year, if out of work through no fault of his own. The allowance will not begin until he has been unemployed for at least four days. The exact amount he will receive will be fixed from time to time by Government decree; but during the first

five weeks he is unemployed, it cannot by law be less than 10d. a day, or more than 2s. 1d.

It is expressly forbidden to grant an allowance to anyone who is unemployed through some fault of his own. This is a point on which stress is laid and the cases in which allowances must be refused are carefully defined. No man-or woman-may claim an allowance, if he has thrown up his work without some good and sufficient reason; or if his unemployment is the result of his having demeaned himself in such a way as to justify legally his summary dismissal; or if it is the result of a strike, or of illness, or of an accident. As soon as the strike is over, however, or the weakness entailed by illness, or accident, is passed, he recovers his right to an allowance. A policy-holder forfeits his claim against the Insurance Office authorities, if he either make a false statement to them knowingly in matters relating to his claim; or if he, without good and sufficient reason, refuses work offered to him. The members of the committee will, of course, be the judges as to what reasons for refusing work are good and sufficient; but it is expressly stated in the law that a man may refuse a post vacant owing to a strike or a lock-out, without forfeiting his claim to an allowance. He may, also, if he has a family, refuse one that is out of the Canton. The State Insurance Office will pay the travelling expenses of policy-holders who, being unemployed, accept work abroad.

Under the Basle system, it must be noted, a person who insures against unemployment does not secure the right to a money allowance if unemployed. What he does secure is the right either to a money allowance or to employment, the same thing, perhaps, in the eyes of an honest man, but not in the eyes of a lazy ne'er-do-weel. In no circumstances can the authorities be called upon to provide allowances, excepting in the case of persons for whom they cannot provide work. The State Insurance Office will be carried on in close co-operation with the State Labour Bureau; and whoever announces himself to the Office as unemployed, proving at the same time that this is through no fault of his own, will in the first instance be referred to the Labour Bureau. And the manager of the Bureau is in close touch with the employers of labour not only in Basle, but throughout Switzerland; he knows, therefore, exactly where there is most chance of work being found. He is in close touch, too, with the Works Department, and can bring pressure to bear on its officials to induce them to have public undertakings done, so far as possible, just when labour is in least demand. He will do his best-it is his business-to find a place for every unemployed policy-holder who presents himself; and it is not until he has failed, has failed, too, through no fault on the part of the place-seeker, that the question of granting an allowance will arise.

Practically, the only policy-holders who under the Insurance Act will have the right to allowances are those who, being unemployed, are

eager to be employed, and are striving to obtain employment. And as the Labour Bureau manager is an expert in dealing with the unemployed class, in sifting and sorting them, it will be no easy task for even the eleverest of professional work-shirkers to deceive him, and, by passing himself off as a work-seeker, to obtain an allowance. Besides, a man who either applies for an allowance, or who is receiving one, may at any time be put to the test by work being offered to him; for, if he refuses it without good reason, or if he accepts it and throws it up, or loses it by doing it badly, he, of course, forfeits all claim against the Insurance Office. Thus there is no fear that the Basle Insurance against Unemployment Office will ever be flooded by loafers to the detriment of honest industrious men; for the loafer will have no inducement to insure in it, as the chances are, all that he would obtain from it, were he to insure, would be a pressing offer of work, the very thing for which he has no desire whatever.

Whereas the first of the Insurance against Unemployment Bills was framed for the benefit of the poorer class of workers, especially casuals and women, who as a rule do not belong to Labour Associations, the second was framed for the benefit of the better-paid class—the Trades Union class. The object of the former is to enable the Government to organise and work a State Office open to all sorts and conditions of wage-earners; while the object of the latter is to induce every Friendly Society, Trades Union, or other Labour Association to organise and work a private insurance office, one open only to its own members. And hard as it was to frame the former, it was still harder to frame the latter. For the only way in which a Government can induce an Association to organise anything is by subsidising it; and, if they subsidise it, ordinary prudence demands that they must have some control over its expenditure. Yet to devise means of controlling its expenditure, without interfering with its management, is a task which would certainly puzzle, even if it did not pass, the wit of man. And they cannot interfere with its management without making themselves responsible for it, to a certain extent, besides running the risk of exciting the resentment of its officials. The Basle 'Law for helping Private Insurance against Unemployment Offices' is a compromise, of course; and how it will work time alone will show. Still, it is certainly contrived with great skill; and is probably as safe a measure as, given the conditions, could be contrived.

Under this law any Labour Association or Friendly Society that has existed in Basle City for not less than six months, and has at least fifty members who are resident there, may open a State-aided Insurance against Unemployment Office for the benefit of its own members, provided, of course, that it can obtain the permission of the Government and that it fulfils the conditions they impose. Before it can receive one penny out of the public exchequer, however, it must convince the Home Office that it is organised on sound business principles and that

it is solvent. It must undertake to keep the accounts of its insurance office quite apart from its other accounts, and to allow them to be audited by State officials. It must undertake also that its insurance office shall grant allowances to its unemployed members under the same conditions as the State Office grants them to its policy-holders; and that it shall grant them only to the 'genuine unemployed,' i.e. employable men who are out of work through no fault of their own and are eager to be in work. As a means of testing whether applicants for allowances are, or are not, genuine unemployed, these private insurance offices are required by law to place the name of every applicant on the list either of the State Labour Bureau, or of some Labour Bureau recognised by the State. Under no circumstances may they grant allowances excepting to men for whom the Bureau manager cannot provide suitable work. In one respect persons insuring in private offices will have an advantage over those insuring in the State Office, as private offices may, if they choose, make allowances to their policyholders for seventy consecutive days; whereas the State Office can make them to its policy-holders for only forty-eight days, i.e. six days a week for eight weeks.

The Government have the right, under the Insurance Law, to refuse to grant State aid to a private office, and also to withdraw it at any time, when granted; but they have not the right to interfere in any way with the working of the State-aided office, or with the affairs of the Trades Union or Friendly Society to which it belongs. Still, if in their opinion the working expenses of the office are excessive, they may insist on their being reduced; and, until they are reduced, may stop all State aid.

Any Association that opens a State-aided insurance office will be free to fix the amount both of the insurance fees its members pay and of the allowances they receive when out of work. It will decide for itself whether all its members shall pay the same fees and be able to claim the same allowances, or whether the amount of the fees and of the allowances shall vary according to their earnings. In the Bill, however, it is laid down as a general principle that the fees must be high enough to cover, in normal times, the cost of the allowances; and that no allowance shall exceed in amount two-thirds of the average earnings, when in work, of the person who receives it. The fundamental idea of the Bill is, indeed, that if the members of a Union or Society cannot afford to pay fees high enough to cover the cost of the allowances, they ought not to open an insurance office of their own, but to insure in the State Office. State aid is given to private insurance offices not to enable them to grant, in normal times, higher allowances than they could otherwise afford to grant; but to enable them to bear the strain entailed on them in times of exceptional distress. What the State aims at is to secure that their financial arrangements shall, from the first, be on a sound basis. It, therefore, helps each one of them

to form a reserve fund large enough to cover all its liabilities; it helps them also to tide over those critical early days before the fund can be formed. The aid it grants, however, is of course granted only temporarily, and will be withdrawn as soon as it has served its purpose.

The amount of State aid any private insurance office may receive is determined by two factors, *i.e.* the sum of the insurance fees paid to it, and the sum of the unemployed allowances it pays. It is not, however, the fees and allowances of all its members that are reckened, but only of such of them as have lived in Basle during the whole of the previous year, have worked there for at least three months, and have insured against unemployment for at least six months. With its other policyholders the State has nothing to do.

Practically, under the Basle system, each office will receive two grants, the precise amount of which will, within certain limits, be fixed by the Government every year, and will vary according to its financial condition, and the economy or extravagance with which it is managed. The law decrees, however, that the one grant shall not be less than 20 per cent., or more than 40 per cent., of the sum of the insurance fees paid to the office during the year; and that the other shall not be less than 25 per cent., or more than 50 per cent., of the sum of the allowances it has paid. The 20-40 per cent. grant must go to form a reserve fund. which cannot, in ordinary circumstances, be touched by the insurance office; while the 25-50 per cent. grant goes to form a special reserve fund, which may be drawn upon when the allowances claimed cannot be paid out of the office's ordinary exchequer—its insurance fees. end of each year every State-aided Insurance Office must submit its accounts to the Home Department, and unless these accounts prove that it is doing its work economically, in a business-like fashion, and is striving to render itself financially independent, its State aid will speedily be withdrawn.

The great merit of the Basle insurance scheme is that it is a means of helping those who are down on their luck, of helping them, too, without pauperising them; for under it, it is only those who are down through misfortune, not through laziness, vice, or perversity, who will be helped; and they will be helped only in so far as they are willing to help themselves. When the Insurance Laws are in force, wage-earners of all degrees will be able to insure against unemployment on terms which even the poor among them can afford to pay; and by insuring, they will, if they are decent men—when a decent man is out of work it is never through his own fault—practically secure for themselves immunity from the suffering entailed by unemployment.

As things are, an industrious, respectable man when out of work often eats out his very heart, and worries himself almost to death, going about half starved, seeking vainly for something to do, steadily deteriorating the while, physically, even if not morally. Under the new system he will, when employed, always insure against unemploy-

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ment, with the result that, when it comes, either work will be found for him, or he will for eight weeks—possibly even ten—be provided with the means wherewith to buy food while trying to find work for himself. Thus the State, by organising insurance against unemployment, will undoubtedly confer a great benefit on the deserving class of wage-earners, those who are always glad to work, but cannot always find work to do. It will secure for them help at the very time when it is most needed, and of the very kind that is best worth having, help in finding work, help in keeping themselves fit until work can be found, help, too, and this is an all-important point, that even the most susceptible among them can accept without losing his self-respect. On the other hand, the State will, by its venture, confer no benefit whatever on the undeserving class, the sort of men who will never of their own free will do an honest day's work. To them it will give nothing at all. nay, it will even take away from them something that they have already. For whereas now they are able to pose as genuine unemployed, and therefore as deserving objects of charity, whenever the fancy seizes them, under the new system it will be otherwise. Then they will have no excuse, even when really unemployed, for appealing for alms, either official or private; for if they have insured against unemployment, the Insurance Office will provide for them; and, if they have not insured, the mere fact that they have not, will in itself be regarded as proof that they have no great desire for employment. It will stamp them, in fact, unmistakably as loafers; and alms-givers, even of the tender-hearted, weak-headed type, never give wittingly to a loafer; while all that a well-advised community ever does for him, is to pack him off straight to a penal workhouse, and keep him there until he has mended his ways.

In Basle City at the present time the State spends out of the public purse some 50,000 francs a year on the unemployed, besides contributing to the expenses of various institutions maintained for their benefit. And private citizens out of their own purses give to them, or spend on them, at the very least 50,000 francs more. Thus the burden entailed by unemployment on the community as a whole amounts to more than 100,000 francs a year. And the greater part of this money, probably not less than two-thirds, makes its way into the pockets of the worthless section of the population, the section willing neither to work nor yet to want. For it is always those who clamour most who receive most when alms are being dealt out, and worthy folk are never good clamourers.

What the expenditure on the unemployed will be under the insurance system, it is impossible, of course, to say; but the Ministers responsible for the financial details of the two Bills are of opinion that, with careful management, 30,000 francs a year will cover the whole expense entailed by the State Insurance Office. Supposing, however, that 40,000 francs a year are required to cover it, and 20,000 more to cover the cost of the State aid granted to private insurance offices. Even, then, the burden entailed by unemployment on the community as a whole will be less by 40,000 francs a year than it is now. And they who have to raise the money will have the satisfaction of knowing that it will do good in the world, not harm, and will go to decent men, not to lazy vagabonds. Thus, even financially, Bask City will gain by organising insurance against unemployment, while socially it will gain immeasurably, if for nothing but that, under the new system, loafers will be forced either to work or to starve, and 'hunger marches' will cease to be lucrative.

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## BRITISH WORK FOR BRITISH WORKERS

FREE TRADERS never tire of telling us that the British workers are the happiest and most prosperous workers in the world. They tell us that Free Trade means high wages, that our workers receive the highest wages in Europe, and that these high wages go much farther in this country than they would in any other country, because the cost of living is much lower in Great Britain than anywhere else, thanks to Free Trade. These assurances are, as a rule, supported by statistics according to which British workers earn on an average about thirty-five shillings a week, whereas the workers in protected countries, such as Germany and France, earn considerably less.

Unfortunately, the statements and statistics which are habitually given by Free Traders in proof of the prosperity of our workers are not in accordance with the facts. The high British wages which are usually quoted are the wages paid to a minority of our workers. They are paid to a relatively small number of Trade Unionists, who occupy an exceptionally favourable position among our workers, and in giving these high wage figures no allowance is ever made for frequent and prolonged spells of unemployment, which reduce the high nominal wages of our Trade Unionists to a substantially lower level.

Great Britain has more than 12,000,000 wage-earners. only about 2,000,000 are Trade Unionists. Let us leave aside the deceptive Trade Union statistics, which apply only to a favoured section-one-sixth, if not less-of our workers; let us examine the general national condition of labour in Great Britain, and let us then glance at the conditions of labour in other countries. Such an examination will show that our workers are not better off, but are probably much worse off, than are the workers in the great industrial and protectionist countries.

Adam Smith taught:

In a country where the funds destined for the maintenance of labour are sensibly decaying, every year the demand for servants and labourers would, in all the different classes of employments, be less than it had been the year before. Many who had been bred in the superior classes, not being able to find employment in their own business, would be glad to seek it in the lowest. The lowest class being not only overstocked with its own workmen, but with the over flowings of all the other classes, the competition for employment would be a great in it as to reduce the wages of labour to the most miserable and scanty subsistence of the labourer. . . . The liberal reward of labour, therefore, as it is the necessary effect, so it is the natural symptom of increasing national wealth. The scanty maintenance of the labouring poor, on the other hand, is the natural symptom that things are at a stand, and their starving conditions that they are going fast backwards.

I am afraid that Adam Smith's description applies to a very large part of our workers.

We can easily ascertain whether, as the Free Traders assert, our workers are well employed, well paid, and prosperous, or whether they are not well employed, ill paid, and poor.

In a country in which wages are high and prices low there should be little poverty. Nevertheless, the late Sir Henry Campbell-Banner man told us on the 5th of June, 1903: 'Thanks to the patience and accurate scientific investigations of Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Charles Booth, we know that there are about 30 per cent. of our population underpaid, on the verge of hunger.' Free Traders have tried in vain to explain away that fearfully damaging statement of their leader, which rather understated than overstated the case. In the ninth volume of Mr. Booth's work Life and Labour of the People we read on page 427:

The result of all our inquiries makes it reasonably sure that one-third of the population are on or about the line of poverty, or are below it, having at most an income which, one time with another, averages twenty-one shillings or twenty-two shillings for a small family (or up to twenty-five or twenty-six for one of larger size), and in many cases falling much below this level.

I would draw attention to the fact that the average earnings of at most twenty-one shillings to twenty-two shillings apply not to one-third of our wage-earners, but to one-third of our wage-earners' families; that the scanty income of twenty-one shillings to twenty-two shill ngs a week which is 'enjoyed' by one-third of our workers is earned by the united exertions of all the members of the family.

On page 21, volume II., of his work, Mr. Booth gives us the result of his investigations into the labour conditions of London in the following summary:

	Coni	OITIO	NS	OF	Pop	ULAT	ION	OF	London	Per cent.
In lowest poor . Poor Working class Middle and v	s (con	nforta	ble			•			37,610 316,834 938,293 2,166,503 749,930	0·9 7·5 22·3 51·5 17·8
Inmates of Institutions (workhouses, hospitals, etc.)										

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In explanation of the foregoing table, Mr. Booth writes in volume i. page 33:

By the word 'poor' I mean to describe those who have a sufficiently regular, though bare, income, such as eighteen shillings to twenty-one shillings per week for a moderate family; and by 'very poor' those who, from any cause, fall much below this standard. My 'poor' may be described as living under a struggle to obtain the necessaries of life and make both ends meet; while the 'very poor' live in a state of chronic want.

According to Mr. Booth's investigations no less than 8.4 per cent. of the people of London, or 354,444 men, women, and children, lived in chronic want, subsisting, at the time of Mr. Booth's investigations (between 1887 and 1892), on less than eighteen shillings a week per family, whilst 22.3 per cent. of the people of London, or 938,293 men, women, and children subsisted on less than twenty-one shillings per family. We can gauge the depth of the poverty of these people only if we remember that London is the most expensive town in Great Britain. As the real wages of unskilled labour have scarcely risen during the last fifteen years, I think that poverty has not seriously diminished in London since the time when Mr. Booth made his investigation; possibly it has increased.

In the autumn of 1899, at a time when, as Mr. Rowntree tells us, trade in York was unusually prosperous, that gentleman made, by house-to-house visits, a most painstaking investigation into the labour conditions of York—a town which, according to Mr. Rowntree, is 'fairly representative of the conditions existing in many, if not most, of our provincial towns.' He divided the cases of poverty into two classes: primary and secondary poverty. Families living in primary poverty are by his classification those 'whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.' Mr. Rowntree arrived at the conclusion that of the total population of York, 9.91 per cent. were living in primary poverty and that 17.93 per cent. were living in secondary poverty.

Whilst Mr. Booth found that 30.7 per cent. of the people were living in poverty in London, Mr. Rowntree found that 27.84 per cent. of the people were living in poverty in York, and it seems more than a coincidence that both investigators, working on independent and different lines, and in different towns, arrived at so closely similar results. Indeed, Mr. Booth wrote to Mr. Rowntree on the 25th of July 1901: 'I have long thought that other cities, if similarly tested, would show a percentage of poverty not differing greatly from that existing in London. Your most valuable inquiry confirms me in this opinion.' It should be borne in mind that both Mr. Booth and Mr. Rowntree exclude from their census of poverty the large army of the poorest of the poor who live in workhouses, lunatic asylums, and

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ent. •9 •5 •3 other institutions. If these be added, the percentage of people living in poverty would be very materially increased.

On page 117, Mr. Rowntree sums up the result of his investigation as follows: 'It was found that families comprising 20,302 persons equal to 43.4 per cent. of the wage-earning class, and to 27.84 per cent of the total population of the city, were living in poverty.' If, in autumn 1899, during 'unusually prosperous times,' 27.84 per cent. of the inhabitants, and 43.4 per cent. of the workers, in a representative provincial town, were living in poverty, how great, then, must be the prevalence of poverty among our workers at the present moment, when employment is very bad!

Now let us look into British wages.

The Labour Department of our Board of Trade might properly be called a Trade Union Labour Department because, in respect of unemployment, wages, &c., it takes into its purview only the two million Trade Unionists, and takes practically no notice of the ten millions of unorganised workers. The wages statistics which are regularly issued by the Board of Trade are exclusively Trade Union statistics. However, some official estimates of general wages are available which show the deplorable and pitiful state of our wage earners as a whole. On page 10 of the Final Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, published in 1894, we read: 'Nearly 24 per cent. of men in employment receive wages not exceeding twenty shillings a week.' What will be the real average wage of these 24 per cent. of our working men if allowance is made for short time and unemployment?

The very conscientious Mr. Rowntree gives the following statement regarding labourers' wages in York in 1899, a year of unusual prosperity:

Allowing for broken time, the average wage for labour in York is from eighteen shillings to twenty-one shillings; whereas the minimum expenditure necessary to maintain in a state of physical efficiency a family of two adults and three children is twenty-one shillings and eightpence, or, if there are four children, the sum required would be twenty-six shillings. It is thus seen that the wages paid for unskilled labour in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter, and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency. The above estimate of necessary minimum expenditure (twenty-one shillings and eightpence per week) is based upon the assumption that the diet is even less generous than that allowed to able-bodied paupers in the York workhouse, and that no allowance is made for any expenditure other than that absolutely required for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.

Messrs. Cadbury and Shann write in their book Sweating:

The average wage for an unskilled labourer in this country is from 17s. 6d. to 11. per week, so that even with regular work such a man cannot keep himself and his family above the poverty line. . . . Generally, in the United Kingdom an unskilled labourer does not obtain a wage to enable him to keep himself and family in a state of efficiency—that is, he is a sweated worker. . . An unskilled woman's wage is about 10s. per week. . . . The present system tends to con-

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tinually recruit the ranks of the inefficient from the class above them. Their wages being so low leaves them no margin from which to make provision for sickness, unemployment, or old age.

The foregoing statements and figures of Messrs. Booth, Rowntree, and others, which have never seriously been challenged, prove that poverty, appalling in magnitude and in severity, prevails among our workers, who, according to the Free Trade text-books, are the most highly paid and the most prosperous workers in the world, and that this poverty is largely due to the fact that the wages of our unskilled and unorganised workers are quite insufficient to provide the indispensable minimum of food, shelter, and clothing. They prove that millions of our workers can obtain better food, clothes, and shelter in the workhouse than they can provide by the work of their hands.

We have a standing army of 1,200,000 paupers, and our permanent and occasional paupers number together at least 3,000,000. Our paupers are maintained at a yearly cost of about 30,000,000*l*. to the community, and were it not for the Draconic administration of our poor-laws all our workhouses would be overcrowded by workers who would gladly exchange freedom and starvation wages for the confinement of the workhouse. No other nation has an army of paupers similar to that of Great Britain.

Men who earn a precarious sovereign a week cannot save money for their old age. Hence the workhouse is the refuge of the old and the infirm. According to Mr. Booth's estimate in his work The Aged Poor, 'amongst the working classes and small traders the rate of pauperism for all over fifty-five is not less than 40 to 45 per cent.' Is there any other country in the world where more than 40 per cent. of the workers are underfed, where there are 3,000,000 paupers, and where one half of the veterans of industry have to live on charity? Can it be believed that wages are high and prices low in this country, seeing that more than 40 per cent. of our workers are living in poverty? Can it be believed that more than 40 per cent. of German, French, or American workers are living in poverty? The Free Traders know quite well that their statements about the great prosperity of the British workers are contrary to fact. If the British workers enjoyed simultaneously high wages and low prices, if the British working men were those happy, well-fed individuals described by the Free Traders, the Free Traders would not be so foolish as to rely in their opposition to Tariff Reform on the 'big loaf' argument, a pauper argument which appeals only to men who live on bread and dripping and on an occasional herring or a piece of bacon or of cheese washed down with inferior tea. The prosperous working men would not be frightened by a highly problematical rise of a fraction of a penny in the price of the loaf, but laugh at the 'dear bread' cry.

Now, the question arises: How is it that more than 40 per cent. of our workers live in poverty? Is their poverty due to their own

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misconduct or to outer circumstances? Mr. Booth analysed with very great care 4076 representative cases of poverty, and the result of his analysis is embodied in the following table:

### Analysis of 4076 Cases of Poverty

Loafers								•		•		60
Drink												553
Casual,	irreg	ular,	and	low-p	paid	wor	k	•				2546
Illness,	infir	mity,	large	e fam	ilies	3						917
												4076

It will be noticed that the percentage of poverty which is due to drink is small, and it must be questioned whether more often poverty is the result of drink or drink the result of poverty. In the Report on Physical Deterioration we read: 'People who have not enough food turn to drink to satisfy their cravings, and also to support their enfeebled hearts by alcohol. . . . The poor often drink to get the effects of a good meal. They mistake the feeling of stimulation after alcohol for the feeling of nutrition. They turn to it to blunt their sensibility to squalor.'

It will be noticed that out of 4076 cases of poverty, 2546, or 62.5 per cent., were due to casual, irregular, and low-paid employment Mr. Rowntree analysed in York 1465 cases of great poverty, and he arrived at the result that 729 cases, or 57.10 per cent., were due to unemployment, irregular employment, and ill-paid employment. In winter 1905-6, the Charity Organisation Society investigated 2000 cases of distress in West Ham, and, if we allow for 12.6 per cent of people who were found to be not in distress, it appears that 554

per cent. were in distress owing to 'slackness of trade.'

How is it, then, that a considerable part of our workers, the skilled Trade Unionists, receive very good wages whilst the large majority of our workers receive low and very low wages? I will let Lord Brassey, a very prominent Free Trader and a large employer of labour, furnish a reply. He wrote in his book Work and Wages, of page 155: 'The rate of wages in England is limited by the necessity of competition with foreign manufacturers. Employers, in England as elsewhere, only employ labour on the assumption that they can realise a profit by their business.'

They are low in those industries in which foreign manufacturers and producers compete freely, and they are high in those industries which are naturally or artificially protected against foreign competition. The wages throughout our coal trade and our building trade are high Our coal industry is protected against foreign competition, by the fact that the coal mines of foreign countries lie so far inland on the continuents of Europe and America that the competition of foreign cost

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in the British market is at present out of the question. The building trade is still more strongly protected by the fact that though one can import cement, bricks, and timber, one cannot import houses from abroad. On the other hand, in the engineering trade, cotton trade, woollen trade, chemical trade, &c.—trades in which foreign nations freely compete in the British market—general wages are low, ranging from eighteen shillings to twenty-five shillings for the large body of general workers, and they are higher in these trades only among those skilled men who, through the strength of their organisations, have created an artificial scarcity of their labour, and who, by limiting the number of apprentices, &c., have protected their members against that free competition which is the ideal of the Free Traders. It is therefore clear that practically in all cases where British wages are high, they are not high owing to Free Trade, but in spite of Free Trade—that they are high in consequence of Protection given in some

form or other.

Free Trade, free competition, has not only the effect of levelling down wages to the level of the lowest wages of competing countries, but of converting our highly skilled and highly paid workers into badly paid unskilled labourers. This process was excellently described by one of our Free Traders, Mr. Russell Rea, M.P., an unwilling witness to the effectiveness of foreign Protection in creating unemployment and ill-paid employment in Great Britain, in a paper which he read before the recent Free Trade Congress. He stated:

The nationalistic Protectionist politician decrees that a portion of the capital and labour of his country shall be diverted to particular industries. These industries come into existence. The articles invariably selected for a protective taxation are the particular articles which we English are supplying in the greatest quantities, and apparently with the greatest profit to ourselves. one British manufacturer after another has seen many of his markets restricted, and some lost entirely. He has seen that foreign Protectionist Governments, by the imposition of Protectionist tariffs, not only determine the distribution of capital and the employment of labour in their own country, but in our country too. In their own country they do this in a manner which their fellow-countrymen approve, as apparently to their advantage; but as regards our country they do it in a manner which is certainly an immediate, and sometimes a permanent, injury to individuals and individual trades; and their express and avowed object is to injure. . . . The direction of our activities has therefore been in considerable part determined by the action of others, and that the deliberately hostile action of Protectionist States.

Foreigners determine, indeed, whether British workers should grow wheat in the sunshine or raise coal in the bowels of the earth, whether they should produce delicate manufactures and earn thirty-five shillings a week or load and unload goods at the docks and earn starvation wages.

Foreign tariffs are graduated in accordance with the labour contained in the various articles imported. For instance, the duties on cotton yarn are low, those on coarse cotton cloth are higher, and those

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on fine cotton goods are highest. Thus foreign tariffs give a progressive protection not to the capitalist, as we have been told, but to national labour. In consequence of this arrangement of foreign tariffs their effect is to shut out of protected countries our highly finished articles and to let in raw materials and those coarse articles of manufacture which are produced by coarse and ill-paid labour.

I will give an example of the effect of foreign tariffs which should interest Free Traders. Jam and pickles are two articles the growing exportation of which has triumphantly been pointed out by our Free Traders as an evidence of the success of Free Trade. Mr. Winston Churchill said in a speech which will be found on page 105 of his book For Foreign Trade: "Think," Mr. Chamberlain said, "of an Empire founded on jam and pickles." But, gentlemen, I still believe that the country in which the superfine processes are performed is the country which possesses what may be called commercial leadership.' The superfine process of making jam and pickles is carried on mainly by girls who earn on an average the pitiful wage of from eight shillings to ten shillings per week.

If we study the list of our exportations to Germany, it appears that these consist mainly of raw materials and food, such as coal, gold, silver, copper, hides, wool, fish, and of manufactured articles of the coarsest kind, such as cotton and woollen yarn, unbleached cotton cloth, &c. Germany lets into her country chiefly Colonial and foreign raw products which come via England and the produce of our unskilled labour, whilst we buy from Germany chiefly fully manufactured articles produced by her skilled artisans. Thus the Anglo-German trade has the tendency to raise a large number of highly paid artisans in Germany and to degrade the highly skilled artisans of Great Britain to the ranks of unskilled labour.

Foreign tariffs on the higher-grade articles produced by British workers lead in the first place to a restriction in our exports of these high-grade articles to foreign countries. The articles which used to be made in Great Britain for export are, in consequence of the tariff, made by our competitors. These obtain a monopoly in their protected markets, and when their production exceeds the requirements of their home market they invade with their surplus produce in the first place the market of Great Britain, which they can enter free of duty, and there they create additional unemployment among our skilled workers. Thus Free Trade causes more or less severe unemployment among the highly skilled workers of this country.

The way in which foreign tariffs cause, firstly, unemployment among our skilled workers, whom they drive into the ranks of unskilled labourers, and then bring about the decline and decay of our industries, is well described on pages xviii and lv of the Report on Depression of Trade, which states:

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We are disposed to think that one of the chief agencies which have tended to perpetuate this state of things is the protective policy of so many foreign The high prices which Protection secures to the producers within the protected area naturally stimulate production and impel them to engage in competition in foreign markets. The surplus production which cannot find a market at home is sent abroad, and in foreign markets undersells the commodities produced under less artificial conditions. . . . We think that insufficiency of employment is the most serious feature of the existing depression; and it is an important, indeed an anxious, question whether, in the face of the ever-increasing invasion of our home markets by foreign productions admitted duty free, we shall be able to command a sufficiency of employment for our rapidly growing population. The great difficulty consists no longer as of old in the scarcity and dearness of the necessaries and conveniences of life, but in the struggle for an adequate share of that employment which affords to the great bulk of the population their only means of obtaining a title to a sufficiency of those necessaries and conveniences, however plentiful and cheap they may be. The effect upon this country of foreign tariffs and bounties is to narrow the market for our manufactures, and so to cramp the exercise of our industries and to arrest their growth, to render the employment of those engaged in them partial and irregular and very seriously to limit our total production of exchangeable wealth. It is on many accounts impossible for those whose industry is thus checked to turn to the production of 'something else' which will be accepted in exchange, but primarily for the simple reason that those tariffs are now applied to almost every exportable product of British industry. Nor can any efforts of producers, however intelligent or energetic, lessen these difficulties; for every improvement made by them is at once appropriated by their foreign competitors through the purchase of English machinery and the engagement for a time of English superintendents. On the contrary, it is inevitable that any industry which is engaged in a hopeless struggle against insuperable difficulties must sooner or later fall into a condition of languor and of decreasing ability to meet competition. Those engaged in it lose heart and hope; capital and talent are gradually withdrawn from it; and as it offers reduced remuneration and a diminished prospect of advancement to skilled labour, the quality of the labour employed in it tends continually to decline and its productions deteriorate.

According to the theories of our Free Traders the labour displaced by free imports turns to 'some more profitable employment.' This The floating capital put, let us is a ridiculous misstatement of facts. say, into the woollen industry by way of a loan to a mill may be transferred to some more profitable branch without difficulty and It may, for instance, be used for financing a woollen without loss. mill in France, Germany, or the United States. The fixed capital invested in the buildings and machinery of British mills is largely lost through depreciation or through the closing of mills, and the workers who are dismissed do not turn to a more profitable employment, but drift into the ranks of unskilled and casual labour. After trying in vain to find work at other mills, the dismissed weavers take up any odd job. They become porters, general labourers, dock labourers, carmen, &c. Some sell bootlaces in the street and become loafers. Many of those who are young and strong emigrate.

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The constant creation of unskilled labour in Great Britain causes great superfluity of that labour. It causes a constant underbidding of workers and a decline of wages among these workers not merely to the level of competing countries, but to the minimum level of subsistence to the starvation level. The consequence of this state of affairs is that the wages for unskilled labour are considerably lower in Great Britain than they are in Germany. According to the last report of our Consul at Frankfort, the German chemical industries are transferring their works to Great Britain not only because of the Patent Law but more especially because the chemical manufacturers have discovered that general wages are lower in Great Britain than they are in Germany, In its last report the Berlin Chamber of Commerce complained that the ready-made clothes trade was leaving Berlin for London because wages are lower over here than they are in Germany. The Free Traders who, desiring to extol the blessings of Protection, tell us that clothes are cheaper in Great Britain than they are in Germany or the United States, omit to say that these cheap British clothes are only too often made by sweated labour.

Wages are lowest and poverty is greatest among our unskilled workers, who, as dock labourers, porters, carters, &c., live not on production, but on trade, and especially on our foreign trade. Free Trade replaces our home trade by foreign trade; it converts the regularly employed skilled productive worker into a casually employed and miserably paid trader's help, a two-legged beast of burden; and it is a poor consolation for us to contemplate and admire the great growth of our foreign trade, a growth which is due to the decay of part of our industries. Our manufacturing industries must have a market somewhere. Before the time when Free Trade had destroyed our agriculture, our manufactured articles were exchanged for British corn and meat, and our foreign trade was small. Since our agriculture has decayed, British manufactures have to be exchanged for American corn and meat. Through the ruin of our agriculture our foreign trade has become large, and 'Look at our prosperity!' 'Enormous foreign trade!' 'Great Britain is rolling in wealth!' cries the Free Trader.

It must be doubted whether we were wise in lightly throwing away the security of our prosperous and expansible home market in order to gain scattered and precarious foreign markets, especially as international crises, which occur periodically and which seem unavoidable, such as the one through which we are passing at present, affect far more severely the very sensitive foreign than the sturdy home trade, especially when the home trade is protected by welldevised tariffs. Our exports to protected countries consist of raw materials, such as coal, hides, clay, &c., of coarse, partly manufactured goods, such as yarn and unbleached cotton cloth, and of fully manufactured articles. The raw materials and the partly manufactured

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articles which we export are necessaries to foreign nations, and they are largely bought in good and in bad times, but many of our fully manufactured goods are luxuries to foreigners. For instance, an American who wants a suit of genuine Harris tweed will gladly pay two or three pounds more in times of great prosperity, but he will buy a cheaper American tweed suit in bad times. The same applies to machinery and many other fully manufactured articles of exportation. In good times, when everyone is making money and cost is not counted, foreigners may cheerfully pay more for British than for domestic productions, and the protective tariff becomes ineffective. But in bad times British exports, and especially exports of fully manufactured articles which are luxuries to protected foreign nations, are cut off as with a knife. Then the protective tariff becomes a prohibitive tariff. In times of international depression our industries can no longer export freely, the British home market becomes overstocked with goods which cannot be sold abroad, prices fall, and, in addition, foreign surplus manufactures are sold in Great Britain at whatever they will fetch and depress prices still further. And whilst our 'consumers,' the men with money in their pockets, rejoice at the cheapness of things, our producers are thrown out of work by the hundred thousand, and unemployment means distress and starvation for them because the majority of our workers receive such low wages that they cannot save much for a rainy day. They pawn their belongings, break up their homes to provide food and fuel, and destitution becomes terribly prevalent.

The different standpoints and interests of consumers and producers during times of depression are well described in the Report of the Royal Commission on Depression of Trade. We read on page xi of that Report:

Those who may be said to represent the producer have mainly dwelt upon the restriction, and on the absence of profit, in their respective businesses. It is from this class, and more especially from the employers of labour, that the complaints chiefly proceed. On the other hand, those classes of the population who derive their incomes from foreign investments or from property not directly connected with productive industries, appear to have little ground of complaint; on the contrary, they have profited by the remarkably low prices of many commodities.

Unfortunately, our Free Traders look at our economic problem chiefly from the point of view of the trader and of the moneyed private purchaser. They take a greater interest in our foreign trade, which is carried on by the few, than in our domestic production, which is carried on by the million. They take a greater interest in the cheapness of 'commodities' than in the welfare of those men who produce them.

Free Traders have the boldness to assert that there is much less unemployment in Great Britain than in protected countries such as

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the United States and Germany. I shall prove that unemployment has become chronic in Great Britain, in consequence of the policy of Free Trade which places cheapness above happiness, private profit above national power and security, and goods above men; which sacrifices the producer to the consumer, and the health and strength of the nation to the 'profit' made in foreign trade. I shall prove that in no industrial country in the world is there such widespread and such permanent unemployment as in Great Britain, and that the prevalence of that widespread unemployment coincides with the rise of Free Trade.

Adam Smith wrote in his Wealth of Nations:

The most decisive mark of the prosperity of any country is the increase of the number of its inhabitants. . . . The value of children is the greatest of all encouragements to marry. . . . The demand for men, like that for any other commodity, necessarily regulates the production of men; quickens it when it goes on too slowly, and stops it when it advances too fast.

Translating Adam Smith's epigrams into modern language, I would state: The chief cause of emigration is unemployment and ill-paid Workers migrate from countries where employment is bad to countries where employment is good. Hence the state of employment in a country may best be measured by the emigration and immigration returns.—Before the introduction of Free Trade emigration from Great Britain was small. Since the introduction of Free Trade about 12,000,000 British people have left this country, and of these about 10,000,000 people have remained in the United States and in our Colonies. Lately emigration from this country has been growing at an alarming rate. Net emigration from Great Britainthat is, emigration minus immigration—amounted in 1900 to 71,188, and, steadily rising every year, it increased to 139,365 in 1905 and to 237,204 in 1907. The significance of these figures can be seen only by comparison. The Boer war, which lasted three years, cost 20,000 lives. One may therefore say that in 1907 Great Britain lost a Boer war every month. Can Free Traders point to any other industrial country where emigration has taken place on a scale similar to that from Great Britain?

Free Trade means cheapness—especially cheap labour, cheap men. Our record emigration has been caused by record unemployment. Most of our 10,000,000 emigrants have passed through the ranks of the unemployed. Free Trade has meant widespread, acute, and permanent unemployment for our workers.

Whilst people emigrate from Great Britain by the hundred thousand, immigration is habitually far greater than emigration not only in the United States, but also in Germany, although the German population increases by more than 900,000 a year, whilst ours increases only by about 400,000 a year. The demand for men regulates the supply of men. Whilst our population leaves this country in rapidly

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increasing numbers, in a veritable flight as from a stricken land, workers from the neighbouring countries migrate every year by the hundred thousand into Germany, where they find temporary work; for Germany suffers, as a rule, not from unemployment, but from a scarcity of workers. In 1906 600,000 foreign workers migrated into Germany, and in 1907 the number was even greater. During the last few years, the United States have found work for more than a million immigrants every year. Nevertheless, our Free Traders have the courage to assert that unemployment is habitually greater in the United States and in Germany than it is in Great Britain.

Let us now look at our emigration from the financial point of view. Parents and the community jointly bring up children at very heavy expense, and their emigration at a time when they might repay the cost of their upbringing by useful work means in the first place the loss of the cost of their upbringing to their parents and to the community. If we estimate the cost of bringing up a child at 200l., it will be seen that Great Britain has, since 1846, lost through emigration 2.000,000,000l., and, in 1907 alone, she lost 47,000,000l. in that way. We are not man-eating cannibals, still we are paying for our foreign imports with the flesh and blood of our best citizens. Moloch of Free Trade demands a yearly sacrifice of men. Nations which choose to rely for their food on foreign countries, and which cannot export a sufficient quantity of manufactures to pay for them, have to export men. Men are the largest of our 'invisible exports,' but these are never mentioned by our Free Traders when they explain to us how our foreign imports are paid for. Since the introduction of Free Trade we have presented foreign countries and our Colonies with 10,000,000 of our best workers, and we have saved to them the 2,000,000,000l. which otherwise they would have had to spend in bringing them up from babyhood. Free Trade means cheapness. We pay a very high price for the cheapness of 'commodities.'

My calculation considers only the cost of bringing up children, and therefore greatly understates the actual loss which this country has suffered by the unnecessary emigration of millions of its inhabitants. The greatest wealth of a country lies not in the possession of coal, gold, a large foreign trade, bank balances, and shares, as the Free Traders try to make us believe, but in the productive labour of numerous well-employed and well-paid workers. Children when grown up become producers of wealth and become taxpayers as well. Our taxation amounts to about 6l. per head of population. Therefore every million emigrants means an additional taxation of 6,000,000l. to the taxpayers who are left behind.

Our weakest industries were the first to suffer from the effects of Free Trade. Agriculture, and especially Irish agriculture, became unprofitable. In 1846 Ireland had about 9,000,000 inhabitants. Now it has only about 4,500,000 inhabitants, notwithstanding the

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rise of great manufacturing industries in Ulster which nourish several hundred thousand people. After rural Ireland came rural Scotland and England. Our agricultural labourers went to America by the hundred thousand. Our agriculture decayed. Mr. Palgrave estimated in 1905 the loss of agricultural capital which this country has suffered at 1,700,000,000l., a sum which almost equals the sum total of our foreign investments. Then the canker of Free Trade attacked our manufacturing industries. Since our rural parts have been depopu. lated, our emigrants consist chiefly of industrial workers from the towns. Rural Ireland, which used to supply the largest quota of our emigrants, supplies now only a small portion, and the majority of Irish emigrants come now from industrial Ulster.

Our emigrants not only weaken our home industry by diminishing the number of skilled workers, but they raise competitors to our home industries in foreign lands. Before the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade, Mr. Thomas Edward Vickers said: 'There has been a great emigration from Sheffield to the United States. The emigrants to America remain there. The new steel industries of America will be chiefly established upon skill imported from Sheffield.' A visit to the great steelworks of America will confirm the foregoing statement. An American author, Mr. Curtiss, wrote on the same subject: 'There cannot be the slightest doubt that the chief cause which has driven out of England so many of her skilled artisans, ingenious and enterprising citizens, has been that fiscal policy which reduces prices to the lowest level, which destroys profits, and, as profits disappear, drives down wages to starvation point.'

Free Trade, the policy of heartless mammonism, does not endeavour to find a remedy for unemployment. The champions of Free Trade and profit comfort our unemployed worker with economic conundrums and feed him with statistics. They bid him behold our magnificent foreign trade and the increase in the income of other people, as shown by the Income-tax returns, instead of giving him work. 'The only way by which to counteract the misleading teachings of the Tariff Reformers is to give the working man a solid grounding in the broad principles of political economy' wrote the Free Trader of April 1908. Classical British political economy is the economy of the trader and of the capitalist. It is not the economy of the worker, the producer.

Emigration or the workhouse are the two alternatives which the Free Traders offer to our displaced workers. But emigration is no remedy for the fearful amount of unemployment and consequent poverty which Free Trade has created. The Royal Commission on Labour reported on this point:

Depressions of trade produce a relative superfluity of labour for a longer of shorter time. Where an industry is declining without any apparent hope of recovery the temporary condition passes into the permanent. In such an ndustry the supply of labour may be permanently in excess of the demand, eb,

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an 1d, unless it drift away in equal measure elsewhere. . . . Emigration may be a remedy in certain cases, but one serious objection to it from the present point of view is that the shiftless and incapable are not fit to emigrate; and if the emigrants are to be drawn from the better class, this is in effect to remove the more capable in order to lighten the competition of the less capable.

Free Trade, after having created widespread unemployment and poverty in Great Britain leads to the deterioration of the workers and of the race. Free Trade is converting Great Britain into a country dotted with workhouses and peopled with paupers. Free Trade has had an effect upon our industries similar to that which the expulsion of the Huguenots has had upon the industries of France. The former was as criminally foolish as the latter, and the chief difference is that Free Trade was a mistake on an incomparably larger—indeed, a gigantic scale.

Through unemployment and hunger the workers of Great Britain have been compelled to become the champion strike-breakers to all Continental countries. Whenever there is a great strike on the Continent, British unemployed workers are successfully called upon to act as blacklegs. On the 9th of September, 1908, at the Trade Union Congress, Mr. J. Sexton pointed out that

whenever there was a dispute on the Continent, England was made a recruiting ground of blacklegs on behalf of the employers. Thousands of Englishmen had been sent to Germany and Sweden on this disgraceful business. Many of them were strong and capable workmen, driven to accept anything in the way of a job by the pangs of hunger. Unemployment, therefore, was the root of the evil, and that problem must be solved.

#### Mr. J. H. Wilson, M.P., said:

There was a time when British trade unionists were held in high esteem upon the Continent; but at Antwerp recently, during a strike, he saw a bill upon the walls which described a worker from this country as a 'British louse.' When they were described in that way it was time they made some effort to remove the cause of offence. Only this year over two thousand men had been sent from England to the far north of Sweden to take the place of the dock labourers there.

The foregoing extracts are taken from the official report of the Congress. Strike-breaking is apparently becoming an increasingly important British industry. Through permanent and widespread unemployment the British workers, who used to be the proud aristocrats, are being degraded to the place of pariahs, among the workers of Europe, as was pointed out to them at the Socialist Congress at Stuttgart. The tree is known by its fruit, and Free Trade is known by its result.

Will fiscal reform, the deliberate protection of British labour, improve employment, raise wages, and better the conditions of our workers? I have no doubt that it will. The foregoing sketch shows that the condition of our workers, a small minority excluded, is habitually very bad. It can scarcely be worse than it is at present when

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unemployment has grown to an unparalleled extent. Besides, the experience of other countries, especially Germany, shows that fiscal reform improves employment, and improved employment will mean better wages. Fiscal reform will certainly also mean better profits for our manufacturers, as the Free Traders so often point out; but as wages are paid out of profits, wages can be large only when profits are large. It is vain to expect large wages in unprofitable, stagnant, or decaying industries. Many of our manufacturers have lost heart through a long series of losses which free imports have caused to them. The first effect of fiscal reform will be a moral one. It will give new courage to our manufacturers and stimulate enterprise.

Free Traders have told us that it is unscientific to protect the British workers by means of a tariff against the fearful sufferings which are being inflicted upon them by foreign tariffs. I am afraid our Free Traders are insufficiently acquainted with their text-books, and I would draw the attention of our Free Trade professors to the following passage which occurs in Book V., chapter IV., paragraph 6, of John Stuart Mill's Political Economy: 'A country cannot be expected to renounce the power of taxing foreigners unless foreigners will in return practise towards itself the same forbearance. The only mode in which a country can save itself from being a loser by the revenue duties imposed by other countries on its commodities is to impose corresponding revenue duties on theirs.'

During sixty years Great Britain has followed an unnational economic policy, a policy which benefits the consumer, the merchant, and the capitalist. Her standpoint and outlook have been those of a petty and petty-minded tradesman. Her ideal has been the pursuit of 'profit' in the sense which the tradesman attaches to the word. Her motto has been that unworthy tradesman's motto of Cobden, in which he summed up the essence of Free Trade: 'Buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market.' Only the purchaser, the man with money, was to be considered. Nobody cared what became of the producers, the workers. Nobody cared what became of the nation and the Empire.

The dawn of a new era is breaking. Great Britain's economic policy of the future will no longer be the policy of the narrow-minded shopkeeper. Her economic policy will be guided by statesmanlike considerations. It will be a national and an Imperial policy. It will protect British workers against unfair foreign competition, and it will endeavour to secure for them regular work with good wages. It will endeavour to re-create the industries which Free Trade has destroyed. It will strive to strengthen the Mother Country, to consolidate the Empire, and to elevate and unite the race. It will place the welfare of the people above the profit of the moneyed individual, and its watchword will be 'British work for British workers.'

J. ELLIS BARKER.

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# DIVORCE VERSUS COMPULSORY CELIBACY

The law is full of inconsistencies, anomalies and inequalities amounting almost to absurdities. . . . It is desirable, in my judgment, . . . to express the conviction which has forced itself upon me that permanent separation without divorce has a direct tendency to encourage immorality. . . . There is, further, broad and very serious ground upon which the operation of these orders is open to question, having regard to the very large extent to which they are being obtained, namely at the rate of over 7000 a year. . . . The direct tendency of these orders appears to be to encourage immorality and to produce deplorable results. . . . From what I have pointed out there appears to be good reason for reform.

President of the Divorce Court.

WHEN in pronouncing judgment in the famous case of Dodd v. Dodd on the 27th of April 1906, the President of our Divorce Court thus expressed his opinion of the existing law of divorce and law of separation, and afterwards went on to point out both directly and indirectly how urgently reform is needed if the prosperity and happiness of the English nation are to obtain, he was loudly applauded by a vast section of the community, though perhaps as many differed from him. The great body of the clergy, unwilling to agree with, yet unable conscientiously to differ from him, remained mute; perhaps a dozen, including Canon Jephson, Rector of St. John's, Walworth; and Mr. Thomas Holmes, the well-known police court missionary, alone having the temerity openly to support him up to a certain point. On the other hand nearly all the thinking body of the laity who had pondered the question of divorce law reform seriously and dispassionately, unhampered by illogical scrupulosity, agreed whole-heartedly with Sir Gorell Barnes's views. In particular our leading barristers, solicitors and London magistrates were practically unanimous in acknowledging the wisdom of his observations. The more influential of the London and provincial newspapers, too, without exception supported him. then circumstances have arisen, indeed circumstances of the sort are arising almost daily, that tend more and more to prove how accurately Sir Gorell Barnes had gauged the depth of the injustice of the divorce

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and separation laws which obtain in this country to-day, when he pronounced those laws to be 'full of inconsistencies, anomalies and inequalities amounting almost to absurdities.' As a natural outcome the great majority of our serious thinkers are now determined that radical alterations in the English laws of divorce and separation shall be effected as soon as possible.

Let us consider, in the first place, how the law stands to-day, that is to say how it has stood since in 1857 the famous Matrimonial Causes Act was brought in by the Attorney-General of that time, Sir ·Richard Bethell, and passed in the face of strenuous opposition. Mr. G. L. Hardy, and other well-known authorities in whose statements implicit confidence can be placed, have told us that until the year 1857 it was actually, and not theoretically, impossible in England to obtain a divorce a vinculo matrimonii save by private Act of Parliament. Prior to that time second marriages without divorce, also misconduct, were of almost as common occurrence as the birth of illegitimate children; and though in the statute book polygamy came under the heading of felony, it was looked upon very lightly indeed. To pass a private Act for the purpose of obtaining a divorce, civil proceedings for damages had first to be taken and judgment recovered in one of the ordinary courts, and consequently the rule that one law holds good for the rich, another for the poor, obtained in an even greater degree than it does now in connection with divorce. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, however, amended the law that then existed by constituting a new court. To this court was given the power of exclusive jurisdiction in England-not in Scotland or Ireland-in matters matrimonial, with authority to decree in certain cases the dissolution of a marriage. At the same time it established a court of record to which it gave the designation, 'the Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes.' Then as time went on, and it became obvious that yet further changes were very seriously needed, the Judicature Act of 1873 succeeded, in the face of almost fanatical opposition, in abolishing entirely the Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes by vesting in the new High Court of Justice the juris diction that the Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes had exercised, and assigning it to the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. What we have now, therefore, is not a separate court at all, but the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice sitting in Divorce. of the plea about to be advanced in favour of divorce as opposed to separation, which, as it does not allow of remarriage, necessarily enforces celibacy, it is well that this should be remembered.

If we take it, then, as most of us assuredly must, that the tendency of the age, and the tendency therefore of public opinion, is in favour of a higher standard of general morality; that the foundation of all divorce laws must consequently be based upon restraint; that no

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law of divorce should be so lenient as to militate against the great principle of marriage, or so harsh as to bring the principle of marriage into indifference and disrepute, we at once come face to face with the grave problem, Ought we, or ought we not, in our alleged advanced stage of civilisation and enlightenment, to afford greater facility for divorce with a legal right to remarry, as opposed to legal separation which compels celibacy?

Ask almost any ecclesiastic to express an opinion upon the subject, and immediately you will be met with the retort, 'How can the point be argued when the Church distinctly lays it down that what God hath joined together no man may put asunder?' But has it never occurred to such stone-wall dogmatists that the conditions under which we live to-day differ wholly and entirely from the conditions which prevailed when Cranmer and his associates compiled the Church of England Book of Common Prayer? Has it never struck them that practically it was without the bounds of possibility that the compilers of the Prayer Book could in the least foresee the conditions that would obtain four centuries or so after their death? Indeed we have but to refer to the Prayer Book to see that in very many instances modern marriage fails in every way to fulfil the fundamental purposes for which matrimony was instituted. Marriage was ordained, we read in the Prayer Book, for a threefold purpose: first, for the procreation of children; secondly, for the avoidance of sin; thirdly, for mutual society and sympathy. Does the Church lay stress, did it ever lay stress, upon any one of those three conditions more than upon the remaining two? If not, then it becomes clear that when matrimony no longer tends towards the avoidance of sinwhen, on the contrary, it aids and abets sin, which happens when either wife or husband becomes guilty of habitual misconduct-or when it no longer in any way exists for mutual society or sympathy (which is the case when either wife or husband becomes incurably insane, or a habitual inebriate, or a confirmed victim to the drug habit, or is sentenced to a long term of imprisonment) one of the main reasons for which the marriage was made is at an end. Consequently under any one or more of those circumstances the sooner the bondagebeing now an involuntary bondage and therefore hypocritical—is put an end to and the parties are permitted to remarry, if so inclined, the better for the prosperity of both, and, more important still, the better for the happiness of the children, if there be any, and therefore of posterity.

The question of legal separation, however, is the one with which this paper intends to deal more expressly. Before coming to the important subject, let us consider carefully some of the more vital points in the law of divorce in England, and afterwards contrast them with the more important points in the law of separation. What, then, are a husband's rights, and what are a wife's rights?

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with, a man is at liberty to divorce his wife, deprive her of the privi lege of ever again seeing her children, and leave her without home or alimony—in other words let her starve—if he can prove to the satis. faction of a judge and jury that on a single occasion she has been guilty of misconduct. Can a wife divorce her husband for the same cause, that is to say for misconduct only? We know quite well that she cannot. If she can prove that he has committed misconduct she may apply to a magistrate for a separation order, which means that when she has obtained it she herself will not be at liberty to marry again until the husband from whom she is separated is dead Neither, naturally, will he be free to remarry. Also it means that the husband will be ordered to support her by paying her a proportion generally a third or a fourth part, of his income or earnings; though whether he will ever do so may be problematic. In addition, the fact of the wife's having secured a separation order ipso facto prevents her from ever afterwards obtaining a divorce. A woman anxious to divorce her husband must prove not merely that he has been guilty of misconduct—though, as shown, misconduct alone on her part gives him the right to divorce her-but that he has, in addition to committing misconduct, been guilty either of cruelty towards her (the definition of 'cruelty' for this purpose being 'such conduct as would cause injury to health ') or else guilty of wilfully deserting her for a period of not less than two years. Pending the trial of the suit the husband is, by the common law, entitled to the custody of the child or children, even though one or more of such children be still at the mother's breast. This right to the custody of the child or children, pending the trial of the suit, can be set aside 'only when some good cause is shown for depriving the father of that right.' In addition, though a divorced husband loses custody of the children, he may obtain an order of the court giving him periodical access to them, and may even have them to stay with him from time to time. The law grants neither of these privileges to a divorced wife.

Then, though in Scotland a divorce is almost invariably granted if both wife and husband are proved guilty of misconduct—in the same way that in Scotland, since the Reformation, a divorce may be obtained if either wife or husband be proved guilty of misconduct only—in England, under similar circumstances, a divorce is rarely granted. We have seen that the law of divorce is framed wholly, and quite unjustly, in favour of the husband. As though by way of compensation, the Act of 1895, which empowered magistrates to grant separation orders, is framed entirely in the wife's favour. For, in the terms of that Act, a wife may obtain a separation order for aggravated assault by her husband; or for serious assault for which the husband has been fined not less than five pounds, or for which he has been imprisoned for not less than two months; or for desertion; or for persistent cruelty and neglect. The husband cannot obtain a separation

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order to relieve him of his wife even if she commit all these offences. With regard to the separations known as judicial separations, and confined to the divorce court, the wife again benefits unfairly, for, it anxious to injure her husband, she has merely to obtain an order for restitution of conjugal rights. Should the husband disobey it, as he probably will, he is then and there deemed guilty of desertion, and the wife may at once obtain a judicial separation from him which will prevent his marrying again while she is alive. A minor, though by no means unimportant, point in this connection is that after a wife has obtained a separation order she may be forced to wait a month before any proportion of the alimony due to her need be paid. It is hardly necessary to point out that in cases where the wife was dependent solely upon her husband this needless postponement of payment may prove to be an unconscionable hardship.

The foregoing are but a few of the more glaringly unjust of all the clauses in the laws of divorce and of separation of which cognisance As these laws obtain to-day, the granting of a sepashould be taken. ration order is tantamount to granting an order to enforce compulsory celibacy until the death of husband or wife, separation being to all intents divorce without freedom to remarry. Could any law prove a greater and more direct incentive to habitual immorality? Seeing that some 7000 separation orders are granted annually, and that, according to statistics down to the year 1906, no fewer than 72,537 such orders had been granted under the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act of 1895 (the Act which Sir Gorell Barnes condemned in no equivocal terms) we may assume the number of separation orders granted between the end of 1906 and the present time to have been on the same scale, approxi-This means that we shall be within the mark if we add a further 7000 or so, thus bringing the total number of separation orders, granted since the Act came into force, to very nearly 80,000. Consequently since the year 1895 some 80,000 married men and women have been compelled by law to live the lives of celibates. Nor does the evil necessarily end there, for well we know that many women of the wealthier classes, desirous of being separated from their husbands but anxious to avoid publicity and possible scandal, obtain private deeds of separation, which private deeds debar them from remarrying during the husband's lifetime just as rigorously as a police court order prevents remarriage.

To refer again to statistics before continuing, we find that, according to certain official figures obtainable, there are in England and Wales at this moment just under 124,000 persons certified as insane, of whom over 48 per cent. are married. This means that to-day approximately 60,000 persons, many of them quite young, are, through the insanity of their partners, debarred for ever from the happiness of matrimony. With reference to these persons certified as insane, we shall of course be told by the opponents of reform that a proportion

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of them may one day recover, for which reason it would be wrong. But surely in face of the to allow the sane partner to remarry. But surely in face of the irre futable evidence we have that lunacy among almost every class in largely on the increase, is it not a monstrous injustice to the nation that persons once certified as insane should in any circumstance again be permitted to help to propagate the race? In cases so far reaching, and of such vital importance, ought we not to set sentiment entirely aside and consider what is likely to prove to be for the greatest good of the greatest number? Even Mr. Gladstone, who so vigorously denounced the Act of 1857, remarked during the great debate in that year that 'We have many causes more fatal (than misconduct) to the great obligations of marriage—disease, idiocy, crime involving punishment for life—which, if the bond be dissoluble, might be urged as a reason for divorce.' Indeed, when we again recall the Prayer Book's frank assertion that matrimony was ordained 'for mutual society and sympathy,' it comes near to being grotesque that habitual inebriety, insanity, incurable disease, sentence of long imprisonment, long desertion—as when a man marries an unsuspecting girl deserting her soon after the ceremony to disappear in some remote part of the world, thus leaving her with neither home nor money. a thing that has happened many hundreds of times-should together with several other reasonable causes that will readily suggest themselves, one and all be pronounced by the great body of the clergy, and by other well-meaning persons, to afford no ground whatever for

England and some of her colonies are almost the only Protestant countries which still adhere to the theory that misconduct alone in the wife should render her liable to be divorced, but that misconduct alone in the husband should not equally render him liable. argument against the adoption of equal justice for the sexes in this respect is that the husband, by committing misconduct, cannot affect his children, but that the wife's misconduct might affect them All, however, who argue thus, presumably forget that the man's misconduct may affect somebody else's children, also that his misconduct ipso facto makes him an accomplice, and that therefore he ought in common justice to be liable to the same penalty that the wife becomes liable to under such conditions. For we must assume, and assured, it is to be hoped, that we have progressed in our sense of equity since the beginning of the last century, when, in the year 1801, the House of Lords solemnly declared that unless a woman's reconciliation with her husband was 'neither to be expected nor desired' she ought not to be entitled to a divorce under any consideration, but that a husband ought to be entitled to a divorce whether or not his reconciliation with his wife were 'expected or desired'! Some two centuries ago a famous judge pronounced this grave dictum: 'Nothing is law,' he said, 'which is not reason'. Yet is not reason.' Yet to-day the laws of divorce and of separation

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flaunt their unreasonableness in our faces by going so far as to punish more severely a husband convicted of misconduct only, than a husband convicted of misconduct coupled with cruelty or desertion. This it does by making it possible for a man to be divorced, and consequently left at liberty to remarry, if convicted of misconduct and either cruelty or desertion; but only possible for him to be legally separated, which does not leave him free to marry again, if convicted of misconduct only.

It may be argued by the supporters of the existing law that greater facility for divorce cannot be required, seeing that in England and Wales we have but five hundred or so actual divorces a year, upon The reason we have comparatively so few divorces, however, is not that many married men and women do not crave for divorce—the enormous number of separation orders applied for alone proves that—but that the machinery of the law of divorce is so complicated and that though the cost of obtaining a divorce is no longer 800l. or so, as was the case before the passing of the Act of 1857, it still is not possible to obtain a decree for much less than 1001.; while in addition, as all divorce suits must be tried in London, still further expense has to be entailed by the litigants. In further proof it may be mentioned that in those European countries where compulsory celibacy is not, as in England-not in Scotland-deemed likely to promote morality, the number of divorce decrees granted exceeds by a large proportion the number of separation orders. Indeed, in Sweden, a country where the divorce laws are probably as lenient as those of any civilised nation, the proportion of divorces per thousand marriages is lower than in Holland, a country that, with the exception of England, has the strictest divorce laws of any in Europe.

To describe in detail here, or even enumerate, all the inconsistencies of the English divorce and separation laws would take far too long, and might in addition prove wearisome. At the present time divorce in England may truly be said to be a 'perquisite' of the husband, separation a 'perquisite' of the wife; in the same way that to-day a married woman is in the eye of the English law merely the man's chattel. One of the most glaring, perhaps, of the law's injustices is contained in the clause which does not permit a wife to divorce a husband from whom she has obtained a maintenance order on the ground of desertion, when, later, he is proved guilty of misconduct in addition to the desertion. An impression prevalent among a great body of

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A question of divorce law of such grave social importance that three judges had refused to decide it without the assistance of three others, was recently considered by a full Court of Appeal consisting of the Master of the Rolls and Lords Justices Vaughan Williams, Moulton, Farwell, Buckley, and Kennedy. A woman was deserted by her husband in 1905, and obtained a separation order at the Lambeth Police Court in March 1907. The husband did not pay her the weekly sum ordered by the magistrate, and she petitioned for a divorce last year. Although the husband misconduct was proved, Mr. Justice Bucknill decided that the separation order

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the general community is that, when a petition is filed for divorce the general community is that, the petitioner has filed it in order to clear his name, or to restore self. respect, or else out of spite, jealousy, or revenge. Questioned uponthis point, a legal practitioner of considerable experience replied that out of ten, or I might say almost ninety-nine out of a hundred of the fierce fights in the divorce court are fought for money, and not for reputation or any other reason of the kind.' The desire for alimony he maintains to be, in the majority of cases, the true reason most of the women who try to get divorced bring their actions.

When a wife divorces her husband (he said in reply to further inquiry), the courts allow her a proportion of her husband's income as perpetual alimony... These arrangements are made in chambers, and the public hear nothing about them, but all the same they account for most of the hard swearing and extravagant briefing which characterise the more famous cases in the divorce courts. . . . The consideration may not apply in a few of the most celebrated Society cases, where both parties are rich in their own right, but in the bulk of instances it is the only incentive to litigation.

Which demonstrates once more the injustice of the existing law in so often granting separation orders when what is needed is complete divorce.

It was the House of Lords that in 1857 rejected the clause which had it remained in the Bill then before Parliament, would have rendered a husband convicted of misconduct in what the lawyers call 'the conjugal residence' liable to be divorced on that ground alone, that is to say without its being necessary to prove him in addition guilty of cruelty or of desertion. Thus it comes that to-day a husband may be guilty of misconduct with any number of women, and still the wife is powerless to sue for divorce as she would be if he husband, without committing misconduct, were deliberately to attempt to cause her some grievous physical injury, or to tortus her, or to attempt even to murder her. Setting all sentiment, prejudice, and personal feeling aside, could any law be much more ironical than this?

What reforms, then, are needed? Let me endeavour to point out some of the more important changes that almost all our leading authorities upon the question are unanimous in declaring ought at

debarred the wife from ever obtaining a divorce, holding that the husband's description that the husband's description and the state of ceased from the date of the order which released him from the obligation to live with his wife. Mr. G. F. Emery, who represented the wife, argued that the magistrate order did not exclude the plea of desertion, but was rather evidence of desertion por which the High Court must act. He traced the whole history of divorce in Engladin order to prove his point. The woman appealed in forma pauperis, but the Attorney-General opposed the appeal, contending that a non-cohabitation order with not appropriate to cases of desertion, and should be limited to cases of cruelty. problem is one of the most important that have come up for consideration is connexion with divorce for many years past, but, as I write, the Court of Appel reserves judgment.

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once to be effected. One of our most dependable and far-seeing lawyers in the past, Chancellor Eldon, remarked upon a memorable occasion that there could be 'no reason why a woman should not be as much entitled to a divorce as a man is,' meaning that the law of divorce ought to apply equally to man and wife. Separation, inasmuch as it renders remarriage illegal during the lifetime of both partners, and therefore enforces celibacy that makes for immorality often of the worst kind, should be swept away entirely. Mr. Thomas Holmes, the police-court missionary already mentioned, when questioned upon this point replied, 'I agree that it would be better to grant divorce rather than separation '; Canon Jephson, of Walworth, that 'separation orders, as granted by magistrates in a police-court, are a most fruitful source of evil in this district,' adding, 'I think judicial separations cause a most terrible injury to the community, and I know it is a terrible thing to be tied to a brute of a husband." Mr. Plowden, the Metropolitan police magistrate, when asked the same question, answered that to all intents his views were identical with the sentiments expressed by Sir Gorell Barnes, who, as we have seen, is strongly of opinion that separation without divorce has a direct tendency to encourage immorality. Mr. Plowden thinks too that if divorce were to be granted on reasonable grounds—reasonable grounds being, in his opinion, lunacy, penal servitude, complete incompatibility of temper, and the occurrence of any striking change in a person which could not reasonably have been foreseen when the marriage took place-such a law of divorce would tend to make marriage more popular, and a great body of the poorer classes much happier.

I have always advocated (he declared) that police court magistrates should have the power of granting divorce decrees. It would mean an inestimable boon to the poorer classes, and I would go so far as to say that I would abolish judicial separation entirely. Separation may, on some occasions, be advisable and preferable to divorce, but there are, I am convinced, very many cases in which divorce would be better than the remedy provided at present.

Could any statements be more straightforward and less biassed than the foregoing? Seeing, too, by whom they are expressed, could any be better calculated to carry immense weight? Is it possible that men of such unquestionable integrity, vast experience of matrimonial misfits and wide knowledge of and sympathy with mankind as Sir Gorell Barnes, Mr. Plowden, Canon Jephson, and Mr. Thomas Holmes would have spoken thus had they not felt wholeheartedly convinced of the absolute soundness of their views? How, then, with this mass of evidence against them, can so vast a proportion of the clergy of all denominations, and a body of the laity that has never gone carefully into the question, continue to assert, apparently with conviction, that divorce decrees ought to be granted as seldom as possible—that it would be better for the English nation, better

indeed for the entire human race, if such decrees were never granted under any conditions whatever?

What most of us know but too well, because we can see it for ourselves, is that the majority of the opponents of divorce law reform speak and act with insufficient practical knowledge of the subject Living for the most part in an atmosphere of conservatism that comes near to venerating the laws and customs of our fathers and our grand. fathers, they cannot—I don't like to say they will not—realise the conditions that now prevail. What we want is sounder public opinion. When a marriage is morally dead, surely the sooner it is dissolved the better for husband and wife and children. For a man and wife to remain under the same roof, masquerading as faithful to and fond of each other simply to keep up an appearance of 'respectability,' is to commit an act of rank hypocrisy, and it is fortunate that, according to statistics, when there are children there is far less often any desire for divorce. 'I consider that a woman should be entitled to a divorce if she can prove cruelty endangering life, desertion for two years, or misconduct, or if her husband be sentenced for crime to five years' penal servitude,' Sir George Lewis said when asked to express an opinion. 'Divorce decrees nisi,' he continued, 'to become absolute in six months or so, should be granted by magistrates, instead of separation orders. I would urge also that either party be entitled to a divorce on proof that the other party has been afflicted for two years with insanity believed to be incurable.'

Naturally one of the chief reasons that misconduct alone in the wife is deemed ground sufficient for divorce, whereas in the case of the husband's misconduct it is not deemed sufficient ground, is the dread inherent in a husband that an unfaithful wife might lead to his unwittingly supporting a child not his own, or that an unauthorised heir might succeed to his estates or other property. To-day, however, public opinion is growing more and more in favour of there being equality of justice for wife and husband in the event of either committing misconduct, with the result that a radical change in the law in this connexion must come before long. Of the various Bills that have lately been framed, and that have for their object the amendment of the laws of divorce and of separation, perhaps one of the most promising is the one 'to enable married persons whose wives or husbands have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, or are incurably insane, or who have been judicially separated for a period of five years and upwards, to obtain dissolution of their marriages.' So far as it goes, this Bill is sound and practical; but it does not go far enough. Its framer's idea of course is that a judicial separation shall at the end of five years mature into 8 divorce, and so give both wife and husband the right to marry again at the end of that time if so inclined. But the consensus of opinion of men in a position to speak with knowledge and authority is that ited Gov

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five years is too long a period of probation to impose, that the term should be limited to two years, or at most three.

Other points overlooked, or at least omitted, in this Bill are, first, that the expense that must at present be incurred in order to obtain a divorce will have to be reduced considerably if the working classes are to derive practical benefit from the proposed reforms; secondly, that if magistrates are not to be given power to grant divorce decrees, divorce cases ought at least to come on for hearing at the assizes, instead of being tried, as at present, solely in the Divorce Division of the High Court of Justice, in London. We know that the circuit system was instituted ostensibly for the purpose of bringing the law to the poor man's door, which it does—to a certain point. Then why not make it possible for divorce suits to be tried 'on the threshold,' as cases of a different nature are tried? A well-known lawyer, an expert in divorce, declares that:

To-day an undefended divorce case lasts ten minutes, costs thirty or so sovereigns, and takes nearly a year to complete; whereas a defended case may last three weeks, block the court, stop Admiralty and Probate business, and cost anything from 500l. to 5000l. Either (he adds) could be disposed of in a couple of hours for a ten-pound note, at a County Court, where the 'facts' could be deposed before the registrar by affidavit without publicity, also without the shock that weekly is administered to common decency.

Before any change of the sort can be effected, however, it will be necessary to sweep away what has been spoken of as 'the whole lumber-room of musty ecclesiastical traditions which now encumber the law.' The practices and principles of the law could then be assimilated with the practices and principles which obtain in the King's Bench Division when any ordinary question of contract between two or more persons is being tried. As matters stand at present, the English law one day pronounces marriage to be a civil contract, while the next it interprets it almost wholly in the light of ecclesiastical traditions. How, then, can anyone ascertain what is right in the law's ruling, and what is wrong? Naturally the rigorous upholders of the doctrine that divorce ought not to be allowed under any circumstances avail themselves of the existence of this incongruity to declare again that they argue for a just cause. The known fact, however, that the policy of not allowing divorce under any circumstances has been attempted in many countries and tested many times, and that in every instance, without exception, it has proved a failure, speaks for itself. The Roman Catholic Church, which does not sanction divorce, finds that upon occasions it is forced to get over the difficulty by annulling a marriage that has proved undesirable.

Mention of 'the shock that weekly is administered to common decency' recalls to mind the French law of 1884 which makes 'reproduction' in the newspapers of divorce and separation proceedings illegal in that country. Would any proportion at all of the British

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community, with the exception of course of the proprietors of certain journals, in particular of certain Sunday journals, be prejudicially affected if a similar law were to be passed in our own country? It may be advisable that the majority of divorce suits be tried publicly, but can there be any valid reason for flooding the whole of the United Kingdom with lengthy reports of objectionable and often disgusting details that come out in the course of the evidence taken during the examination of witnesses in so many of our divorce trials? while ago I had the curiosity to measure the exact length of the space that was taken up by letterpress and portraits which had to do with what may be termed 'current crime' in a single issue of a Sunday newspaper with an enormous weekly circulation. Had all the printed matter and all the portraits been shown in a single extended column of the journal the column would have exceeded ten yards in length, and over one half of this garbage was made up solely of detailed reports of divorce court proceedings. I believe I am right in saying that the entire body of our modern mental specialists are of opinion that the nation's high and increasing rate of insanity to-day is in a measure due to the surfeiting of what we complacently term the 'lower orders' with sensational descriptions of current crime; and several physicians of eminence have recently expressed their conviction that, before many more years have passed, it will have been deemed expedient to pass in this country a law similar to the French Act of 1884.

In summing up the reforms that are urgently needed, therefore, the following may be selected from among the more important, inasmuch as they call more particularly for prompt legislation:

(1) Separation orders, entailing, as they do, compulsory celibacy, should be entirely abolished, divorce decrees being granted in their stead in all cases.

(2) Divorce should be granted:

(a) When either wife or husband is proved to have committed misconduct—the Scottish law.

(b) When either wife or husband is proved to have been guilty of wilful desertion for a period of not less than three years—the Scottish law.

(c) When either wife or husband becomes an habitual inebriate,

or a confirmed victim to drug-taking.

(d) When either wife or husband is sentenced to imprisonment for crime for a term of five years or more.

(e) When either wife or husband is convicted of habitual cruelty that may affect the other physically or mentally.

(f) When either wife or husband develops an ungovernable temper.

(g) When either wife or husband, being certified incurably insane, remains in that state not less than five years.

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(h) When either wife or husband habitually refuses to cohabit. (i) When a husband, legally separated from his wife, systematically evades payment of alimony.

(3) A divorced wife and husband should have equal right of access to the children, unless good cause be shown why one or other should be deprived of such right.

(4) Alimony should become payable immediately a decree for divorce

has been granted.

(5) The cost of obtaining divorce should be considerably reduced.

(6) Provincial divorce suits should be tried in the assize courts.

Other needed reforms will no doubt suggest themselves, but those I have mentioned are perhaps the most important. Meanwhile I hope very earnestly that the facts and figures set down in this paper will be borne carefully in mind when the next Parliamentary debate upon the question of divorce law reform comes on for hearing. For this is no party question. Neither is it a question advanced for the purpose of grinding any political or other axe, or for catching It is a subject of very grave importance, one, indeed, upon which the nation's prosperity or downfall in the future in a great measure depends, and we may at least congratulate ourselves upon the formation, some two years ago, of the Divorce Law Reform Union with its large and rapidly increasing membership. Indeed, I am informed that there exists another organisation of the same sort, which works on lines more or less similar.

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# THE MESSINA EARTHQUAKE

Many months, possibly several years, must elapse before the history of the Messina earthquake can be fully written. The official report on the Calabrian earthquake of 1905 is still unfinished. So also is that on the earthquake of 1907. And in the recent earthquake the area affected is so much larger than in the others, the phenomena were so much more varied and the destruction of many places is so complete, that before the final report can appear interest in the greatest disaster of modern times may well have begun to wane. In the present paper little can be attempted. No scientific investigation of the earthquake has yet been made. But from the maze of details furnished by the newspapers it is possible to prepare a connected account of the more important phenomena, and thence to trace the relations of the recent earthquake with its forerunners in the same district.

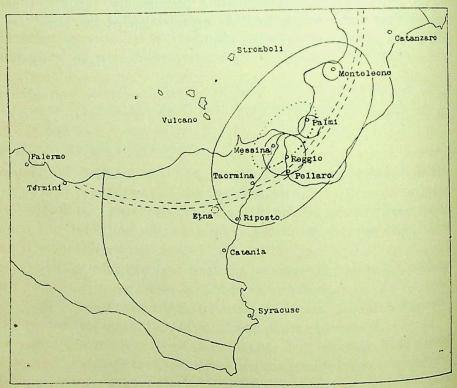


Fig. 1.

Some idea of the areas chiefly affected by the earthquake will be obtained from the accompanying sketch-map (fig. 1). The continuous

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lines, which pass through places at which the intensity of the shock was the same, should not be regarded as accurately laid down. careful surveys that will be made by the competent Italian seismologists will probably reveal slight discrepancies between those now and afterwards drawn; but, approximately at any rate, the lines indicate the manner in which the intensity of the shock varied throughout the central area. The three small curves, which are roughly circular in form, surround all those places which were entirely or almost entirely destroyed. The largest curve, which is twenty miles in diameter, contains Messina, Reggio di Calabria, Pellaro, &c. It will be noticed that its centre is submarine, and that it lies nearer to Reggio than to Messina. The other two curves are respectively eleven and ten miles in diameter, the former including Palmi, Bagnara, &c., and the latter Monteleone and the neighbouring villages. The Messina and Palmi curves are shown detached, but they should perhaps coalesce, forming a single dumbbell-shaped curve. In either case they appear to indicate the existence of two separate foci or two maxima of distur-The total area contained by the three curves is about 500 square miles. Outside them is one of oval form, which includes the places in which injury to buildings was considerable, though not This curve is 100 miles long and fifty-six miles wide, and contains about 4500 square miles. The last curve, of which only small portions traverse the land, surrounds the places at which slight damage occurred and very few lives were lost.

The intensity of the shock, however, did not vary uniformly between these curves, and it is not at present clear to what cause or causes certain places owe their immunity. Taormina, for instance, lies but a few miles to the south of the Messina curve, yet only one

important building within it seems to have been destroyed.

How far the earthquake was felt is not definitely known, but that the disturbed area was comparatively small is borne out by several accounts. At Palermo, for instance, which is only 125 miles from the Messina centre, a sharp shock was felt, but not much attention was paid to itindeed, many of the inhabitants were not awakened. At Naples, 200 miles from the same point, the shock is described as slight, and it was also felt at Bari, distant 220 miles; but at greater distances it can hardly have attracted much notice. If we take 220 miles as the average radius of the disturbed region, the total area shaken, including that covered by the sea, would be about 150,000 square miles.

The significance of such figures—4500 square miles for the violently shaken area and 150,000 square miles for the disturbed area—will be evident when we compare them with the corresponding figures for other earthquakes. In the recent San Francisco earthquake the strongly shaken area contained about 40,000 and the disturbed area about one and a half million square miles. In the Assam earthquake of 1897 serious damage to brick buildings occurred within a district

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including about 150,000 square miles, while the area shaken can hardly have fallen short of one and three-quarter million square miles, or nearly half the size of Europe. The Hereford earthquake of 1896, the greatest experienced in this country for many years, was in no place capable of throwing down more than a few chimneys, but was distinctly felt over an area of about 100,000 square miles. On the other hand, in the Neapolitan earthquake of 1857 the destruction of property was almost complete over an area of 950 square miles, while the disturbed area was estimated to contain less than 40,000 The Calabrian earthquake of 1894 was of destructive square miles. violence within a district measuring about 250 square miles, and disturbed an area of about 50,000 square miles. In the same category may also be placed the Jamaica earthquake of 1907, so disastrous to Kingston and the immediate neighbourhood, so little felt towards the limits of the island.

Thus we have two classes of earthquakes, or, rather, two limiting cases with many intermediate varieties. In both the ruin within the central area is almost complete; but at one end of the scale the intensity of the shock fades away slowly, and at the other end very rapidly, from the centre. The extent of the area of destructive violence in the San Francisco and Assam earthquakes is due partly to the immense magnitude of the seismic focus; but the difference in the rate at which the intensity declines outwards from the centre depends chiefly on the depth of the principal part of the focus—the slow decrease being connected with a deep-seated focus, and the rapid decrease with a shallow focus. It is, no doubt, to their comparatively superficial origin that the violence of the Calabrian earthquakes is to be traced. On the other hand, the form and small size of the ruined areas in the recent Messina earthquake indicate that the seismic foci were not of great linear dimensions; though, if the three foci corresponding to the Messina, Palmi, and Monteleone curves were all connected the complete focus may have been about fifty miles in length.

The close neighbourhood of the origin to a populous town like Messina was one of the most important, this being also the case in the recent earthquakes of San Francisco, Valparaiso, and Kingston. The occurrence of the shock at about 5.20 a.m., when most people were indoors and asleep, was a factor of no less consequence. But even those who were awake were practically unable to escape owing to the sudden onset of the shock. Though a tremor seems to have been recorded ten minutes earlier in the underground observatory of Messina, there was not even the indefinite warning occasionally given by perceptible fore-shocks. To those who were awake the first symptom was a deep rumbling noise like a peal of thunder or the explosion of many bombs. After a few seconds at the most, this was followed by a rough jolting movement, the shock increasing so rapidly in strength that few

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were able to quit their dwellings before the heavy stone floors and staircases, parting from the lofty outer walls, crashed down, followed in nearly every case by the tottering walls themselves, which encumbered the streets with débris. As to the exact nature of the shock within the ruined area, we can expect to know little from personal evidence; but, from the reports of several witnesses (including one on a steamer near Messina), there seem to have been two maxima of intensity, separated by a brief interval of lesser movement. The total duration of the shock is estimated by several observers at from thirty to thirty-two seconds—not a great duration for a destructive earthquake, but sufficient to lay in ruins every town and village within the central areas.

The shock was felt severely on several vessels that were close to Messina at the time. Ships quivered suddenly as though they had lost their screws, or run aground, or struck a piece of wreckage. Thousands of fishes must have died. After the sea-wave, the tongue of land protecting the harbour of Messina from the sea was found to be covered by the bodies of dead fishes, killed no doubt by the shock

to which their whole bodies were simultaneously exposed.

As in the Lisbon earthquake, and in so many of the earthquakes on the coast of Japan and South America, the damage wrought by the shock itself was aggravated by the rush of the great sea-wave soon after the shock was over. Along the east coast of Sicily, at Giardini (near Taormina), Riposto, and Catania, the sea suddenly receded for fifty yards or more. It then returned, a great muddy wave, from ten to twelve feet in height, driving ships and boats from their moorings, sweeping over the low-lying coasts, and leaving them strewn with wreckage. The effects of the wave at Messina were at first exaggerated, but it flooded the lower parts of the town, washed the ruined lighthouses and neighbouring cottages into the sea, and damaged the fronts of the harbour-works.

On the opposite coast of Calabria, the sea-waves were higher and the results more serious. At Reggio the streets were flooded up to the first floor of some of the houses, and many ruined buildings along the coast (especially to the south of Reggio) were swept away. How far along the Calabrian coasts the sea-wave was noticed is still unknown. In Sicily it was observed along the north coast to Termini, and along the east coast to Syracuse. It must, however, have spread far beyond these limits, for at Malta, about three hours after the earthquake, a wave swept into the harbour, disturbed the smaller boats, and, rushing over the shore embankments, washed into the low-lying houses. When the records of the tide-gauges in the more distant harbours of Italy, in France, Spain, and elsewhere are examined, it will probably be found that the waves did not entirely vanish before reaching the farthest corners of the Mediterranean Sea.

The mere existence of the sea-waves points to a considerable dis-

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placement of the ocean-bed. Reports of any measurable variation but a in depth must, for the present, be received with caution, but a careful survey will probably reveal some change of level along a linear band the position of which may be ascertained most readily by that of the fractures in the telegraph cables which connect Sicily with the mainland Along both shores there seem to have been some changes of level but it is not yet clear that they exceed those which would be caused by a sliding of the superficial beds. At Messina parts of the harbour works have sunk to the level of the water. At Reggio the quarter by the sea has disappeared, and large tracts of land to the south of the town are now lying under water. More trustworthy evidences of crustal movements on land are to be found in the twisted railway. lines and distorted surface features in the neighbourhood of Reggio.

That the Messina earthquake belongs to the class known as 'world. shaking 'is evident from the distance of the stations at which it was recorded by seismographs, the farthest at present reported being Perth, in West Australia. At several Italian stations the oscillations were so extensive that they injured the instruments. (about forty miles north-east of Trieste) eleven out of twelve seismographs were too sensitive to register the whole of the movement, Even at Kew, the range of motion exceeded the limits of the Milne seismograph. The first tremors were recorded at this observatory at 4 hours 23.6 minutes a.m., Greenwich mean time being an hour earlier than that of Italy; while the two largest oscillations occurred at 4 hours 31.1 minutes and 4 hours 32.7 minutes respectively. The four principal movements were also indicated by blurred interruptions of the curve of the declination magnet at almost the same instants as those of the seismographic record, thus showing that the disturbances of the magnet were of mechanical origin.

Soon after the earthquake was over, the usual train of after-shocks began, slighter far than the original shock, but strong enough to alarm the survivors and occasionally to bring down some of the shattered but still standing walls. No detailed record has or could have been kept of these shocks, but in the neighbourhood of Messina they seem to have been less numerous than is generally the case. of several shocks having been felt during one night, but not of that almost incessant quivering of the ground which follows a great earthquake in the central district. Around Reggio they were more frequent. A week after the earthquake they occurred at intervals of about twenty minutes. One of the most interesting of the after-shocks was that felt in Stromboli (one of the Lipari Isles) on January 3. This lasted about half a minute, and was strong enough to damage many The volcano, one of the few active vents in Europe, also sent out streams of lava, while prolonged subterranean explosions This is especially noteworthy, for at the time of the were heard. great earthquake Etna, Stromboli, and Vulcano remained quiescent.

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In the history, and especially the political history, of the earthquake, attention will be drawn more to Messina, with its heavy deathroll, than to the smaller towns of the opposite coast. But the intensity of the shock was greater at Reggio and the surrounding villages than in any part of Sicily. Not that the ruin of the Calabrian towns was more complete, for that could hardly have been the case, but the railway-lines were damaged more seriously and over a wider area, the distortion of the ground was more marked, the sea-waves were higher and the after-shocks more frequent. In all probability, the seismic focus extended beneath the whole width of the straits—the south-western end being situated close to Messina; another and more important part reaching to and beyond Reggio; while, in the intermediate region, there must also have been a very considerable displacement of the ocean-bed sufficient to rupture the submarine cables and to generate the seismic sea-waves.

If the Messina earthquake were an isolated phenomenon-if it had occurred, like the Charleston earthquake of 1886, in a country where earthquakes are almost unknown-it would still be one of the highest interest to seismologists. But this interest is still further increased from its occurrence in a land of earthquakes, from its connexion with the great convulsions which have made the names of Reggio, Palmi, and Monteleone familiar in the annals of disaster. Of few seismic districts is the history so well known as that which embraces the south of Calabria and the north-east of Sicily. It has been investigated by many students, but especially by Dr. G. Mercalli, professor of vulcanology in the university of Naples, and by Dr. M. Baratta, the historian of Italian earthquakes. The tale of disaster begins with the earthquake of Catania in 1169, when 15,000 persons were killed. In 1509 Reggio was destroyed. In 1638 nearly 10,000 persons were killed in Nicastro and the surrounding villages. In 1693, 93,000 lives were lost during the earthquake which devastated the north and east of Sicily. Few earthquakes are so well known as the series which lasted from February 1783 until October 1786, and during which more than 30,000 In the nineteenth century, many strong shocks, persons were killed. though not of the first order of magnitude, occurred, culminating in that of the 16th of November 1894, which resulted in the loss of ninety-six lives. In the present century, besides the subject of this paper, there have been the earthquake of the 8th of September 1905, and also that of the 23rd of October 1907, which originated in an almost inactive centre to the south of Gerace.

The different earthquake zones of southern Calabria have recently been delineated with great care by Dr. M. Baratta, part of whose map is reproduced on a smaller scale in fig. 2. The continuous lines bound the areas most strongly shaken by the earthquakes of 1783; the broken lines are the corresponding curves for the earthquake of 1905; the dotted lines indicate four districts on the eastern coast with which

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the recent earthquake seems to have had no connexion. It is possible of course, that the excessive damage in some of these areas may have been due to local conditions, but the fact that those affected in 1789 were shaken successively points to the existence of more or less detached centres of maximum activity; while the fact that they were disturbed simultaneously, or nearly so, in 1905 indicates that there must be some Again, while the earthquake deep-seated connexion between them.

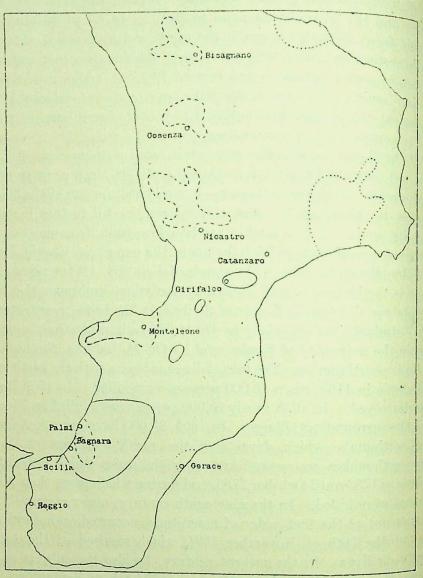


FIG. 2.

of 1905 was thus polycentric, some of the zones were affected singly by certain earthquakes—for instance, the Palmi zone in 1894, the Monteleone zone in 1659, the Nicastro zone in 1638, the Cosenza zone in 1854, and the Bisignano zone in 1836.

The earthquakes of 1783 are the most remarkable of all those which have desolated the Calabrian towns. Their number must have been immense, for in Monteleone alone 950 shocks were recorded

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before the end of the year. Their destructiveness was increased by the rapid and unexpected migrations of the seismic focus. The first great shock originated in the Palmi zone on the 5th of February, and rivalled the recent earthquake in such high death-rates as 77 per cent. at Terranova, 59 per cent. at Bagnara, and 51 per cent. at Oppido. A few hours later, the next great shock occurred in the Scilla zone; two days afterwards came a third in the Monteleone zone, followed in two hours by a fourth, which, though less violent, is interesting as one of the few earthquakes which belong to the zone chiefly affected at the close of last year. The boundary of the central area of this shock is represented by the dotted line in fig. 1, which coincides in part with the Messina and Palmi areas of 1908. The fifth shock occurred on the 1st of March in the Monteleone zone, and was succeeded by a sixth shock on the 28th of March in the Girifalco zone, hardly, if at all, inferior in strength to that of the 5th of February, but resulting in fewer deaths, as most persons at that time were living in sheds.

If the curves in the two maps are compared, it will be seen that the earthquake of 1908, like its predecessor three years before, was a polycentric earthquake, though affecting fewer zones. On the whole, there is a distinct southerly migration of seismic activity. corresponding to the Monteleone and Palmi zones were both disturbed, but the most important centre was one that has very rarely been active, and never before, so far as known, with such annihilating strength. It is, moreover, the only zone of the series which is largely submarine, and thus the local seismic sea-wave is a feature that is almost unknown on the Calabrian shores. Indeed, the absence of any marked zone beneath the Straits of Messina has been urged as an objection to Professor Suess' theory of the origin of the earthquakes in southern Italy.

Professor Suess, the veteran author of The Face of the Earth, was one of the first geologists to recognise the intimate connexion between earthquakes and the forces moulding the earth's crust, and southern Italy is perhaps the seismic region which he has studied in greatest detail. The masses of ancient rock composing Aspromonte, the hills of Vaticano, Scilla, and the Peloritan mountains near Messina, he points out, are the fragments of a mountain range that was once continuous, but is now cut through by the Straits of Messina. southern Calabria they are bounded on the western side by a great fault or fracture, along which were situated the centres of the earthquakes of 1783, and of many others before and since. This band of centres is represented by the broken lines in fig. 1. It is part of a great curve, roughly circular in form, with its centre among the Lipari Isles, and a radius of about sixty miles. Professor Suess has also indicated the existence of several rectilinear earthquake bands, radiating from the Lipari Isles, and crossing the circular band nearly

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Between the Lipari Isles and the mainland and Sicily, lies part of the Tyrrhenian Sea, the bed of which, according to Professor Suess has sunk down in the form of a dish, bounded by the curvilinear fracture, and producing by its subsidence the radial fractures which converge towards the still active volcanoes of the Lipari Isles. Further sinking of the basin, which tends to widen the Straits of Messina, gives rise to earthquakes in Calabria and Sicily, and to increased volcanic activity in the Lipari Isles.

It is by no means necessary that the subsidence should take place throughout the whole fracture at once. It may, on some occasions, as in 1659 and 1894, be confined to small portions; or, as in 1783, it may affect different regions in succession, the foci migrating to and fro along the curved bands; or lastly, as in 1905 and 1908, it may occur over a great extent of the fracture and visit several or many portions

simultaneously.

Professor Suess' theory is attractive in its simplicity, and in its power of grouping together facts that are apparently isolated. It is possible that it may be expressed in too simple a form—that, with the advance of knowledge, it may require extension or modification The course of the curvilinear fracture may have to be altered in detail. the fracture itself, instead of being single, may be rather a complex system of faults. But on two points in connexion with the theory the recent earthquake affords some welcome evidence. One is the occurrence, six days after the principal earthquake, of the after-shock in Stromboli, with its attendant increase in volcanic activity. The other is that the chief seismic focus was situated in part beneath the Straits of Messina, thus forming a junction between the seismic zones of Calabria and Sicily. Though it may have served no other useful purpose, the Messina earthquake has, in this way, supplied a link that was missing in the chain of evidence, and at the same time removed a forcible objection to Professor Suess' theory.

CHARLES DAVISON.

The Face of the Earth (translated by Hertha B. C. Sollas), vol. i. pp. 82-86.

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## MAGGIE

(A SKETCH FROM LIFE)

OLD Mrs. Jones of Tynycae was in a bad temper; and 'sufficient of reason there was for it,' as she herself remarked. A month ago, at the May 'hiring' in Llan Austin, she had engaged a girl to assist her in her multifarious duties on the farm and in the house. Not without misgivings had she concluded a bargain of six months on either side, for the girl was entirely unknown to her and was moreover of very uncouth appearance; but the busy time was coming, help was imperative and girls were difficult to get, so the bargain was struck -and Mrs. Jones had been continually regretting it ever since. The girl was a savage, she declared, a perfect savage in looks, in manners, in habits, in everything. She worked not badly it was truewell and cheerfully, a less exacting mistress might have said—but she was wild and mannerless as a young mountain colt, and as full of tricks. Only a month had she been at Tynycae, yet countless already had been her misdemeanours, and, what was worse, she seemed quite indifferent to scoldings, receiving them in fact in a manner that bordered on defiance. Yet old Mrs. Jones was not a person to be easily defied. She was a gaunt old woman with a harsh unlovely visage and a cold stern eye. Of a similar nature were her views of life. Pleasure or merrymaking she abhorred, seldom did she permit herself the relaxation of an occasional neighbourly gossip, and even 'buryings' were distasteful to her. Work was the object of her existence, the little farm the joy of her life; she was clever and capable in her management of it, and to keep it going and make it pay she toiled early and late, sparing neither herself nor her subordinates.

Little would any one who looked upon the deeply-lined old face or into the hard eyes have guessed that in the far-off days of her youth Megan Griffiths, as she was then called, had been noted for the beauty of her face and the softness of her glance. Fatal gifts these for one of her class, and, as too often is the case, they brought her only shame and sorrow.

But that was long, long ago; she had struggled through with it, lived down the shame, fought and overcome the sorrow. The man Vol. LXV-No. 384 321

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who had loved and left her, the child in whose tiny grave she had buried all the love and tenderness left in her heart—these were but shadowy memories which had long slumbered undisturbed through the busy round of practical life.

Some years after these sorrowful happenings she had married a small farmer, a widower with several children, and, she was proud to remember, had never failed in her duty to him and to them; they had grown up and gone their ways in the world, he had died at a good age kindly and carefully nursed by the wife who had always been a good wife to him and whose youthful romance he had known and accepted with the disregard common to his class. She kept on the little farm of Tynycae which he had left her at his death, and on its scanty revenues she lived, completely independent of her step-sons, whose offers of help-personal or pecuniary-she had several times rejected with scorn. Her desire was, through her own efforts, to hand it on to them if possible the better for her administration, and no amount of hard work or self-denial in this cause had troubled her until advancing years, for she was now over eighty, had made it necessary that she should have the help of a girl in the house. Since that time-some three or four years back-a whole bevy of damsels had made of Tynycae a temporary abode. Short and stormy was the sojourn of most of them, and swift their departure, unattended with regrets on either side. For even to the best of workers Mrs. Jones was a hard mistress, and an unduly exacting one, so that her name had quickly become a byword among them, and she found it increasingly difficult to get any but the roughest and most indifferent assistance. Much had she suffered from the idleness, the incompetence, the insubordination of these maidens, but never, oh! never, she said to herself, had she come across such a specimen as this new importation.

Marged or Margaret Williams was the name she had given, her age sixteen, was never in service before and had no English, but was strong and could work well. Her appearance, though certainly unkempt, was not unattractive. She was small but active and well-proportioned. A round plentifully freckled face was lit up by a pair of sparkling and most mischievous blue eyes, and crowned by an untidy tangled-looking crop of yellow hair.

That her character should be a puzzle and perplexity to Mrs. Jones was not remarkable, for she had been a dweller in or near towns all her life, whereas Marged Williams knew nothing of the haunts of men. She had lived the whole of her short life on a lonely hill-slope in a wide and lonely valley. The little buthyn or hut where she and her parents dwelt stood high on this hillside, which stretched in long uneven ridges covered with great grey boulders down to the shores of a desolate lake. Round about them other hills, grey and grim and treeless, rose like giant barriers

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Marged's father worked at a farm some two miles away, close to the shores of Llyndu. He was a gloomy morose man who loved to talk of his grievances. At home his complaint was of the burden of his work, at the farm it was of the ill-health of his wife. On Sundays he put these topics aside and, having walked four miles over the hills to the chapel he attended, would on his return discourse of death and the judgment, drawing such dismal pictures of the eternal punishment in store for sinners as made his sickly wife to tremble and turn pale, and the yellow curls of his little daughter almost to bristle on her head. But, in spite of these drawbacks, the child had on the whole a most happy life. The feeble energies of Mrs. Williams were barely sufficient to enable her to struggle through the little housekeeping duties that devolved upon her, and the effort left her no mind or strength to give any sort of training to her child, so that, from the time she could toddle, Maggie had simply run wild. She spent most of her time out of doors scrambling about the mountain sides, developing a sturdy frame, a fearless disposition, and an immense capacity for physical enjoyment. she grew older she would cheerfully help her ailing mother with the housework, but she showed the strongest disinclination to acquire any 'book-learning,' and so, at a time when school boards were not, and the nearest school was four miles away, she was successful in evading any kind of education. The grim Calvinist doctrine as enunciated by her father was all she knew of religion, and it impressed on her mind nothing of love and beauty, but only the vision of an awful Deity Who sat continually in judgment, somewhere behind the sky, to punish all who dared transgress against His laws. Of Him she felt a lively fear when-as she thought-His voice spoke in the thunder that rolled among the hills, or His glance flashed in the lightning that lit up their sullen peaks. But these fears would pass with the storm that had aroused them, and with them all thoughts of any world but the one which she lived in and enjoyed with all the enjoyment of a thoroughly healthy little animal.

As she grew older this love of Nature and of wild outdoor life grew stronger, but it remained a physical, not a spiritual joy. To the beauty of her surroundings she could scarcely be held more consciously alive than were the mountain ponies who beheld them with her. She was a part of Nature, one with mountain, lake, and sky, and would no more have questioned their moods of storm and sunshine, or marvelled at their changing beauties, than she would have wondered at the workings of her own body. She loved most of all the feeling of strong and glorious life that filled her as she came rushing down the slope of Bryn Ynyr in the face of a boisterous

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wind, her scanty petticoats swirling round her, and her yellow elf-locks streaming out behind; but she liked, too, the sense of ease and rest that came to her as she sat on summer evenings by the shores of Llyndu, and cooled her feet in its quiet waters while she watched the sun sink behind the Penllyn range in the west.

A little change in the monotony of her life was afforded by the mistress of Llyndu Farm, where her father worked, who in exceptionally busy times would sometimes give her a day's employment there, and to Maggie these days were a great treat, for, though she had then to subject herself to a certain amount of restraint, there were compensations to be found in the good and plentiful food provided, and in the talks with those who knew something of the world beyond the hills and had wonderful information to

impart to her concerning it.

When she was fifteen her mother died, and some months later her father told her curtly that he was about to marry Lizzie Edwards, whom she knew as one of the women-workers at Llyndu, an active bustling woman who was reputed to possess quite a tidy sum in savings. The marriage took place in due course, the new Mrs. Williams was installed in her new home and promptly proceeded to take in hand the education of her stepdaughter. As was inevitable, rebellion quickly followed the endeavour, and stormy scenes were daily enacted in the once peaceful cottage. An appeal to the 'master' produced a threat of corporal punishment for the next offence committed by his mutinous daughter, and a stern injunction to discipline her unruly mind and obey her stepmother in all things lest God should punish her as severely as she deserved.

It was evident to the girl that for her peace and happiness were no longer to be found at home, and happy she must be at any cost. She made up her mind to leave her native valley and seek employment in that 'world beyond the hills' about which she felt a growing curiosity, and to do so at once, for she knew from the workers at Llyndu that now in May was the time when on all the

farms change of service was taking place.

Her mind once made up, she lost no time in acting on the decision she had arrived at. Before dawn on the morning after the interview with her father, she stole from the cottage while its inmates were still sleeping, and had soon put the range of Penllyn between her and her home. With some difficulty she found her way to the little market town of Llan Austin, and there met and entered into the contract with the mistress of Tynycae.

As we have already said, a month had elapsed since this great change in her life had come about. A mere nothing of time as counted by days and hours, but it covered an immense distance in the history of Maggie's spiritual development. Love had entered into her hitherto loveless life, had changed her from a child to a

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Only two men were permanently employed on the farm, their services being supplemented at especially busy times by those of a Of these two men, the elder, Evan Thomas, a couple of boys. cousin of the mistress, was a sort of general worker and overseer combined, the younger, Griffith Griffiths, was ploughman and shepherd. Griffiths was a queer sulky sort of fellow of about twenty-eight, tall and lanky, with a long cadaverous face, and a manner which caused him to be often looked upon by strangers as half-witted. he was an exceedingly steady and capable workman, one indeed after Mrs. Jones's own heart. His chief peculiarity seemed to be a very marked aversion from all and especially the younger members of the other sex. Most of the morwynion who had at various times been in service at Tynycae had endeavoured to exchange at some time or other a playful sally with the ploughman, for the very fact of his holding so aloof from them added piquancy to the attempt, but they invariably met with the same reception. silence or a fierce look was all they got for their pains, and it was even said of one damsel, who had been unusually pressing in her attentions, that she had come crying to Mrs. Jones with an ugly crimson mark on her face, left there by the hand of Griffith. any rate she got little sympathy from her mistress, who was herself said to stand a little in awe of her surly workman, but valued his services too highly to resent any defect so trifling as bad manners. 'Serve thee right for a forward wench,' the old woman said; 'perhaps thou'lt mind thy work for the future and let the men alone.'

To Griffith therefore, as may be imagined, the advent of a new morwyn was of no importance whatever, and in fact it was several days before he even noticed that the vacant place of 'general scrub' had once more been filled. It was the unusual conduct of Brechan, the speckled cow, that first brought Marged Williams under his notice. Brechan was a queer-tempered animal, not at all unlike Griffith himself in character; it almost seemed, in fact, that some secret sympathy existed between them, for when she was in one of her tantrums, a matter of rather frequent occurrence, and refused to allow any one near her for the purpose of milking, it was only Griffith who could persuade her of the extreme desirability—more especially for herself—of speedy submission.

On a late afternoon some three or four days after Maggie's arrival at Tynycae, Brechan was seized with one of her unaccountable fits of bad temper. Evan Thomas had been severely prodded by her horns, Mrs. Jones and her bucket twice overset by her heels, and at last Griffith, who was working in the furthest field, was sent for. During this pause in operations, Maggie, who had been sent over to

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Plas Mawr—the big house close by—with some milk, came into the She had been noted at Llyndu for her fearlessness and success with obstinate milkers, and now grasping the situation at once, she walked without a moment's hesitation up to Brechan and gave her a friendly slap. The animal sniffed at her, sniffed again seemed to think that the attentions of the stranger might not be unpleasant to her, and friendly relations were soon established When Griffith entered the yard he found Brechan standing in apparently the best of tempers to yield her sweet store to the coaxing fingers of the new maid.

Well, Griffith, Brechan is liking Marged as well as thee, it seems,' remarked his mistress; 'there is no need to thee to stay; she

is all right again, whatever.'

As Griffith, vouchsafing no reply, turned on his heel, he was aware of two glances seemingly directed towards him, a placid wink from the large brown orb of Brechan the cow, a merry gleam shot through tangled yellow hair from the blue eye of Maggie the maid.

He went back to his work, but the memory of the mischievous look, of the yellow head pressed into the cow's side, seemed to linger in his mind. He took the first opportunity that offered of having another look at her, the result pleasing him apparently, for he looked again and yet again. He was merely a dull and selfish animal who had never felt drawn towards man, woman, or child before, and would have been entirely unable to analyse any emotion within himself, but he felt vaguely that something in this girl's merry fearless look attracted him. He would pause in his work to watch her as she came up the steep farm road hanging audaciously to Brechan's black tail, and shouting in her high sweet voice some old Welsh song. He began to exchange a gruff boreu da or nos dawch with her, and by and by little conversations took place between them; true, it was Maggie who did most of the talking, but Griffith was a willing listener and would even sometimes condescend to a slow smile. Then one evening as they were making haycocks of the sweet clover grass in the river-meadows his hands touched hers, and a strange thrill shot through him; he kissed her that night, as they were following the waggon up the hill, and henceforth his subjugation was complete.

As for Maggie, the ignorant pleasure-loving child of Nature, she had entered into a kingdom of joy and happiness such as she had never dreamed could be; her own kingdom where Griffith was king and she his queen, and it was always summer in the glory of their Her soul awoke, all Nature glowed with a new beauty, all life with a noble meaning. Woman-like, she cast a halo of perfection

around him and saw in him all she wished to see.

Small wonder that Mrs. Jones was annoyed, for Griffith was 10 longer the steady workman he had been, and things were continually o the
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going wrong of late. What had specially angered her this morning was the mishap that had befallen Seren, her much-prized Alderney cow. She had sent Griffith down to help Maggie drive up the cows from the meadows, with the disastrous results which she herself had seen when—annoyed by their long absence—she went out to the back of Tynycae to look for them.

When Maggie came running to announce with an irrepressible grin that Seren had fallen into one of the deep ditches that intersected the meadows and become hopelessly embedded in the mud, it was a

very wrathful mistress who confronted her.

"I am knowing it all, yes indeed," she shouted furiously; "I was watching thee, I saw it all; if thou hadst not been playing like a baban by the railway gate and waving thy hands like a mad thing at the train, instead of looking after the cows, Seren would never have fallen in, and now they will be hours in getting her out, and she will be frightened and the milk spoilt, and yet there thou standest grinning like a fool; wel, thou wilt be sorry for thy folly, Marged Williams, yes indeed; no going out for thee this evening as I promised, thou wilt stay at home and churn instead."

Poor thoughtless Maggie! She turned away with all the brightness gone from her face. She had been intensely excited at the prospect of this evening's outing, for Griffith had promised to take her to see a travelling circus which was performing in Llyn Austin for that night only, and of whose wonders she had formed the most extravagant notions. And now, just because that foolish Seren had tumbled into the ditch, she was not to be allowed to go. disappointed Griffith would be! She hated that he should be disappointed, she hated the innocent cause of her trouble, but oh! how much more she hated her mistress for what she considered to be her cruel and tyrannical behaviour. Rebellion began to arise in Maggie's unruly heart as she thought of it. She did not care, after all; she would go in spite of her mistress and take the risk of her anger-nothing could be so hard as missing this wonderful performance. She felt sure she could persuade Griffith to come, for he was not afraid of Mrs. Jones. In the midst of these reflections a commotion in the yard made her look out of the little dairy window, and she perceived the muddied and panting form of the unfortunate Seren, who had at last been dragged from her miry bed and now entered the yard, followed by It was evident that he Griffith wearing his most sullen expression. had already encountered his mistress and felt the sharp edge of her exceedingly sharp tongue.

'Ty'd yma, Griffith, ty'd yma,' hissed Maggie from her window. 'What thinkest thou? hast thou heard? I may not go to-night because that I made Seren to fall into the ditch; such folly, Tad anwyl! Did I ask her to get into the ditch? Did I push her? She is a fool of a cow, but after all I care not, I shall go to-night just

the same whatever. I will go, I did no wrong and I will not be punished. Thou wilt come too, Griffith anwyl, is it not? There is no fear of Mrs. Jones on thee; thou wilt take me, thou wilt take me, wilt thou not?'

She looked at him coaxingly, but Griffith, avoiding her glance,

shook his head.

'Better not, Maggie bach, better not,' he said slowly; 'the old mistress is very angry with thee and with me too, but she will be much more angry if thou disobeyest her, so we will not go to-night. Perhaps another circus will be coming before very long.'

But Maggie, to whom even to-morrow was a far time, could not endure the postponement of her pleasure to a period so indefinite and remote as 'before very long.' Poor Maggie, with all her

womanly growth, she was still so much a child!

'I am going to-night, I am going to-night, Griffith,' she repeated petulantly. 'Come too, Griffith anwyl, do come with me. At seven o'clock I will be ready, and thou—thou wilt take me, wilt thou not?'

Leaning out of the window she gazed beseechingly at him. He moved uneasily away from her, then, as though unable to help himself, turned and met her glance, flushing a dark red under his thick sun-burnt skin.

'Wel, Marged,' he said, 'I will be coming then-perhaps, though

it is angry indeed she will be at us.'

And sure enough at seven they started, Maggie overjoyed at having worked her naughty will, full of excited anticipations and characteristically without a thought of the morrow.

They had a glorious time at the circus, her enthusiastic enjoyment made even the stolid Griffith feel exhilarated, and as they tramped back together through the pleasant summer night, a

dangerous excitement was gathering within him.

When they reached the farm all was in darkness; that was not surprising, for, rising with the dawn as the dwellers at Tynycae did, they retired to their rest at an early hour. For any one of the household out later than the usual bed-time hour the back door was always left 'on the latch,' and, at the worst, there was a lower window through which, when unfastened, entrance into the kitchen could easily be made. But when to-night Maggie tried the back door she found it locked and bolted, and—what was quite unusual—the window too was firmly secured. She knocked and called, but all was in vain; if Mrs. Jones heard it was evident she had no intention of answering or of letting her recalcitrant handmaiden into the house. Abandoning her efforts at last, the girl turned upon her lover an undismayed countenance.

'Never mind,' she whispered, 'I can sleep in the shed, indeed it will be much nicer than that stuffy llofft whatever. I have often heen

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sleeping out on the hillside at home when the weather was hot. I shall sleep well in the shed. Nos dawch, Griffith anwyl,' and she kissed him—but he moved after her as she went across to the shed and entered it with her.

As the knocking on the house-door ceased, the old woman turned on her pillow with an angry grunt. To do her justice, she had no idea that Griffith had accompanied Maggie to the circus, or that he was with her now, and she thought the discomfort of a night in the outbuildings alone would be a suitable punishment for her disobedience. Nothing told her that she had just helped to set another young soul on the path that had led her to the tragedy of her own youth.

Some two months after the night of the circus, Marged Williams stood at her churn in the back kitchen at Tynycae. It was a fine morning in early September, and out of doors everything was looking fresh and lovely under a mantle of crystal dewdrops upon which the sun was glistening merrily.

But in Maggie's heart there reigned a gloom this morning that sunshine was unable to dispel. Her mistress had just informed her that at the end of her six months she would no longer be required, and she had left her in no doubt as to the reason either. Before the affair of the circus Mrs. Jones had begun to notice a change in her workman Griffith, and was puzzled as to the cause. She had not connected him with Maggie's escapade on that occasion, but something made her add to the severe scolding she had administered to the girl on the morning after a warning against forwardness where men were concerned, and especially with regard to Griffith, 'who,' as she said, 'can't abide forward maidens'; 'they anger him,' the old woman added, 'and when he is angered he can be very cruel, so take thou care, fy ngeneth.'

Maggie had turned away with an angry look and a scornful toss of her head; her Griffith cruel—what an unjust, what an untrue saying! And Mrs. Jones, noting the look and the toss, felt suddenly troubled, for with all her tricks and disobedient wild ways she was beginning to feel a liking for the girl.

But as the days went by, she perceived that Maggie really was attracting Griffith away from his work and that things could not go on as they had been going; the interests of the farm—the thing nearest her heart—were beginning to suffer, and that could not be tolerated; the girl must go, and so, hardening her heart, she gave her warning.

So great was the shock of this news to Maggie that at first she scarcely realised all that it meant. It was coming slowly to her now as she went about her work with a sullen face and a dull ache at her

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heart. It meant that she must leave the happy new life and go of to face a world of strangers; she had done that once already, but abl in what different circumstances! She had done it with a free heart and with only a passing sigh for the scenes of her youth. She had known nothing then of the sweets of human love, its close and clinging associations with time and place, its bitter penalties. In her child-days she had always done what she liked and had what she wanted, the very narrowness of her life making these doings and desires of the most simple and harmless. But nobody had ever told her that even in trifles danger lies in self-indulgence, or that happiness will too often evade the grasp of those who most eagerly do pursue it; so, poor child! she had no knowledge to understand this trouble and no philosophy to endure it. Was it not the right of youth to be happy? she asked herself passionately. Surely Nature said 'yes' to that query. Did not the sun shine to warm and gladden you? Did not the wind blow to freshen and exhilarate you, or to make music for your hearing in the trees and grasses? Yet now when she had found a greater happiness than any she had ever conceived of, it was to be torn from her. By whom? By her mistress. And why? Because she was cruel and selfish and jealous of her youth, thought the unreasoning girl. An immense anger against the old woman began to fill her, and she was conscious of a fierce desire to give back pain for pain, to fasten on the hand that had wounded, as a snared animal will fasten on the hand of the trapper, unwitting of the fact that he comes to end the torture. To Griffith she said nothing of these thoughts-indeed he seemed scarcely to grasp the fact that he was soon to lose her, and said little about it; besides she knew instinctively that even if he understood he would disapprove of them. But she brooded over them in her own heart, and hourly her desire for revenge grew. One evening an inspiration came to her. She would pray to the God of storm and thunder—the only God she knew—that He would help her and her lover, and punish the woman who was the cause of their sorrow. Out in the open, under His own sky, she would call upon Him for vengeance, and surely He would listen, for did He not delight in the punishing of transgressors?

Next morning, before the dawn, she arose and, leaving the house, began to climb the steep rock that rose abruptly behind the farm. As she passed through the dewy fronds of tall fern and bracken and under the thick-growing larches, rabbits darted away from either side of her, and once a noble cock-pheasant startled her as it rose with a clatter of wings and voice and whirred away to thicker part of the cover. Long threads of spider web, like strands of fairy gossamer threaded here and there with tiny dew-diamonds, came floating through the air and clung to her face and hair, from which she brushed them impatiently. Reaching the top at last and

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turning instinctively to the east, she knelt upon the rough rocky ground, clasped her hands, and lifted her eyes across the grey mistenshrouded valley at her feet to the hills beyond, which were already beginning to look faintly pink with the approach of dawn. Slowly and in broken phrases, in part reminiscent of the prayers of her childhood, in part the simple utterance of her own passionate desire, she spoke her prayer:

God in Heaven, please listen to me. I am Maggie Williams. I am very unhappy and so is Griffith, that is loving me and I him. We have done no wrong, but Mrs. Jones, Tynycae, is a wicked woman, because she is making us unhappy by sending me away for punishment, though I have done no wrong. It is she that is doing evil, God; there is no right with her to be making us unhappy, so please God punish her, punish her, and make it that Griffith and me can be together always world without end. Please God hear and don't be forgetting. Amen.'

As she finished speaking, the sun rose from behind the distant ridge of Bryntawel and flashed in red and gold splendour over peak, plain, and valley; a little breeze sprang up, rustling the leaves of the trees that in close but stunted growth covered the top of Craigoleu; and a lark rose singing lustily into the depths of the tender blue sky. The girl rose from her knees and gazed eagerly at the transformed landscape. Sunrises of all seasons she had beheld many a time before, but for her this one held a new and wondrous meaning. Stirred and excited by love and sorrow to the very depths of her emotional Celtic nature, she read God's answer in the spreading sunlight, in the whispering trees, in the bird's glad song. He had heard! He would help! Her heart began to feel lighter with hope, and as she ran down the steep path her voice rose in a song high and clear as that of the lark which was still thrilling its sweetness far above the rocky summit of Craigoleu.

As she entered the farmyard her lover met her.

'Where hast thou been so early, Marged?' he said; 'the mistress is asking for thee; she is not well, and cross! Bobl anwyl, cross dros ben! it were better to thee to go quickly. She is in her bed.'

But in spite of the warning Maggie went slowly up the stairs. She was full of wondering and speculation. Had God already laid His hand on the old woman, and was sickness to be her punishment? She knew how her mistress hated illness in any one, how particularly she resented any ailment in herself which might incapacitate her from work or the superintendence of work. She had never known the old woman give in so far as to take to her bed before, she must really be bad—perhaps a long illness was before her, and if so, how could she manage without a girl, or how could she look out for one?

—Ah! perhaps she would be obliged to ask Marged to stay on. The girl stopped in awe and excitement. She seemed to see God's

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purpose and plan now; how wonderful that He should so quickly understand and act! On entering Mrs. Jones's room she found her sitting up in bed wrapped in shawls.

''N enw'r Tad! what hast thou been doing this morning, Margel Williams? and I wanting thee all the while. Dia'r anwyl! it is always the same thing; when I do not want thee I am falling over thee all the while, and when I am wanting thee thou art not to be found. I am not well this morning, there is a heavy cold on me so I will be staying in my bed for a day or two whatever. must get the men's food and see to the washing, and after breakfast go over to the Plas and ask for some soup for me. Now away with thee!'

Maggie went cheerfully from the room to obey her orders Breakfast over, she hurried to the Plas and proffered her request to the cook in the best English she could muster. She came back with a little soup and the promise of more to follow, then, anxious to show how well she could manage when left to herself, she set diligently about her work.

For nearly a week Mrs. Jones lay in her bed with a severe bronchial attack, though declining with her customary obstinacy to call in a doctor-indeed for the ministrations of the fraternity she It seemed likely that had always entertained a lively contempt. Maggie's stay at Tynycae might really have to be prolonged, but after all it was not to be. The old lady took a turn for the better and began to mend rapidly, and some fortnight after the commencement of her illness Maggie on taking up her mistress's breakfast was greeted by the news she had been dreading for the last two or three days to hear.

'I am quite well,' the old woman announced with her customary brevity. 'I shall be getting up presently and coming down. I was thinking I might be wanting thee to stay on, Marged Williams, but there is no need; I am well again and can manage, and I shall not be getting another girl for the present. Thou hast done well while I have been ill, and I will speak for thee when thou art taking thy new service.'

Without a word Maggie left the room and went down to the All was indeed over now, and no hope remained. stunned with grief, but when she began to think of her late hopes and of what had inspired them, a bitter anger seized her. only meant to tease her then, to torture her, to play with her as a cat plays with a mouse. As she stood staring out of the back door, she seemed to hear His mocking laughter borne to her on the wings of the strong autumn wind which had arisen and was tossing the trees around the farmstead, tearing the leaves from their branches and swirling them helplessly about in the air.

The fancy roused in her a fury of revengeful feeling. God was

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beyond her reach: was there no way in which she could injure her mistress?

Hearing a noise just then, she turned and entered the kitchen. On the table stood a jug of cold soup, and through the window she could see the departing form of the kitchenmaid from the Plas, who had evidently just placed it there. Close beside it stood a bottle which she had often seen in the hand of Griffith, and which contained, she knew, a lotion used for the feet of sheep and cattle. On the bottle was a red label bearing in large letters the words—Gwenwyn—Poison. As she advanced to take up the jug containing the soup, Maggie's eye fell upon the label and its text. She had once asked Griffith what word the letters spelt, and its meaning occurred to her now. The hand outstretched to take the soup dropped, and she stood staring at the bottle with half-opened lips and dilated eyes.

The sun was beginning to sink and shadows to creep over the mountain-tops as some hours later Maggie left the house and took her way across the yard to the further shed, where she had asked Griffith to meet her as she had something of importance to say to him.

Griffith was beginning to feel genuinely grieved at the thought of losing her as the time for her departure drew near. As far as he was capable of loving any one besides himself he loved her, and he hoped that she had some scheme to propound to him now by which she might at any rate be near him after her departure from Tynycae. To have done or even suggested doing anything towards that end himself, however, would never have occurred to him. He was waiting for her already, and, as she entered the shed, looked up with an air of inquiry.

She was looking flushed and excited, her blue eyes glowed as though lit by some inward fire, but she paused for a moment, and when she began to speak it was slowly and very clearly.

'There is no need to us to think of parting yet, Griffith, though the mistress is well and has come downstairs. But she will have to be going up to her bed again before very long, and I shall be staying on—with thee.'

She paused as though expecting some sign of pleasure, but Griffith only stared uncomprehending.

'Thou art wanting to know how it is I can speak thus surely; wel'nghariadi, I will tell thee. I have managed it, I have done it, all for thee and for our love, and for the baban that is to be born to us hereafter.' Her voice did not falter or fall as she spoke these words; she knew no cause for shame. 'I was thinking and thinking what to do and could she be punished for her cruelty towards us, and it came to me to ask God, Who is punishing all evil-doers, to punish her, and I went to the top of Craigoleu and told Him all about us.

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He seemed to listen and to answer that He would help, and when came back she was ill and I thought I saw His plan—to keep her long came back she was in and I thought of the was only playing with me ill that I might stay—and then I found He was only playing with me for she got well and told me I could go. I was sorely angered, and it came to me again what I should do to avenge our sorrow since He would not help. The poison-bottle was standing close by the soup and I put some in, remembering what thou hadst said that it would be ill with any one who tasted it. She has taken it and she will be ill again. I care not how ill she may be, but I shall stay and be with thee, my dear one. Why dost thou not speak to me, Griffith? thou not pleased with thy Marged? Has she not done well?

So absorbed was she in her story that she had not noticed her lover's shocked expression at the account of her prayer, or his start of horror when she spoke of the poison. But as she came nearer to him now with the tender query upon her lips she saw his face. It was a sort of ashy-grey under the sunburn, his jaw had dropped, and his eyes stared out large and round and fixed, with half-vacant, half-terrified expression in them. He made no attempt to speak or to answer her question, but stood as though turned to stone. Maggie gazed at him first in wonder, then in alarm.

'Be'sy' arnat ti? What is on thee, Griffith?' she cried, advancing towards him. But Griffith recoiled a step.

'Keep back-keep back,' he said hoarsely; 'do not touch me. What art thou—a devil? Thou hast murdered the old mistress, and thou wilt surely get thy hanging for it. Keep back, I say; I will have nought to do with thee. There is fear on me-thy fear. Whom hast thou been killing before this, or whom wilt thou be for killing next? perhaps myself, or perhaps thou wilt be saying it was I put the stuff in and harm will be coming to me! And thou pretending thou lovest me. Ah! monster that thou art, I hate thee, I hate thee— Fear had loosened the strings of his tongue, but he stopped now breathless.

'Griffith, Griffith,' cried Maggie, horror-struck at his looks and language, 'I understand thee not; what have I done to thee that thou shouldst speak to me so? How have I harmed thee? I did it for thee, I would do it again and more, because I love thee, oh! yes, indeed, I do, only thee in all the world; thou lovest me too, thou hast said so. I am thy little Marged; I am not changed and I have done nothing wrong. Oh, say thou didst not mean those cruel words, say thou lovest me still, f'anwyled!' and before he was aware of her intention she had sprung forward and clasped her arms round his neck. But this was more than he could bear with a cry of rage and fear, he tore the encircling arms from his neck and thrust her so savagely from him that she fell heavily to the ground; then he rushed from the shed, across the yard, and down the lane as though pursued by evil spirits.

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As the sound of his footsteps died away Maggie slowly arose, and, supporting herself tremblingly against the rough wooden side of the shed, strove to collect her scattered senses. Just then the doorway was darkened by the form of some one entering, and looking up she saw her mistress. For a moment the two confronted one another in silence, then as Maggie would have spoken the old woman stopped her.

'Thou needst say nothing, I have heard all. I know what thou hast done—nay, what thou hast tried to do only, for I tasted not the soup; it was cold and smelt but ill, so I threw it away. I came to seek thee even now to scold thee for spoiling it. Wel, Marged Williams, thou didst think to do me a terrible harm, but I forgive thee because of thy great ignorance—and because of thy great sorrow. I too was ignorant, I too suffered and learned wisdom, and therefore I am greatly to blame. I should have warned thee of the ways of men, that they will take all and give naught, they will let us risk all and then leave us, because they fear the sacrifices of love—for themselves. And so thou too art cast off. Wel, time will cure and thou wilt forget. But I have been greatly to blame. Wilt thou forgive me and stay with me here? I will do my best to comfort thee; I will try to teach thee and take care of thee—and of thy baban.'

The harsh voice sounded harsher than ever in the stress of emotion and awakened memories, but there were tears in the old woman's eyes. The girl, who had been standing with bent head, raised it now, and, turning her white face and despairing eyes upon her mistress, spoke slowly, almost sullenly.

'No, mistress, I will not stay; I will not take your charity. Indeed it comes too late to be of any use to me. I will not be staying here and Griffith hating me. He used to love me, but God has made him hate me; to punish me for seeking to harm you, is it? I do not know, I am all confused. But God is your friend; He is not mine. I see that. I must go away and try to hide myself from Him, I and my baban. I will change my name, and be always quiet and sad, and then perhaps He will forget me and my sins. I do not know what was my sin in the beginning, but I think it must be that I was too happy and that I loved Griffith too well. people hide their happiness, and they do not love. My father is wise; you are wise, and so God is your friend. Yes, yes, I see it now. We were not meant to be happy, and it is wrong to love. Good-bye, mistress, I must go and forget my happiness and my love or God will be punishing me again. He does not mind how much we love the trees and flowers and hills, and the animals. But we must not love each other. If we do, harm comes.'

She turned to leave the shed, but her mistress followed her with outstretched hands.

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'Nay, nay, Marged, thou art surely wrong. God is not like He is working always for our good—in the end, though we are not seeing it, nor understanding. Be patient and wait, fy mhlentyn, and thou wilt see it is as I say. Wait here and learn many, for any send then there will be the and I will be helping thee if I can, and then there will be the child God will perhaps deal more gently with thee and let it live.

Ah! Marged, there is a better love than the one thou knowest I knew it once; I am beginning to remember it now. It was taken from me almost as soon as it was born, that love; before I could learn all that it meant, perhaps; and so I forgot it, and grew hard and bitter. But it might return. If thou wilt stay, Marged, We will learn together the secret of this love, and try to understand Stay then, and I will bid Griffith to go. the lesson that it teaches. He it is should suffer, ie siwr.'

But Marged turned quickly at these words.

'Griffith suffer!' she cried, 'and through me! No, never; that I could not bear. I will kill myself and the baban before that shall happen. Why, mistress, you do not understand! I love him just the same as ever. That is why I must not stay, why I will not stay to harm him with my love. So let me go, let me go quickly, mistress! Oh! there is longing on me to be gone,' she sobbed, as she stumbled blindly towards the doorway.

The old woman followed, arguing and entreating, but it was all in vain. For Marged Williams the chastening lesson of life was but yet begun, and in her bitter grief and disappointment she had failed to read its teaching aright. Time alone can show her the truth, time alone assuage her pain. She has gone far into the country of sorrow, but she must go farther yet ere she come to the fountain of healing.

Gloom and despair encompassed her now; no glimmer of the light of Hope was anywhere visible.

She went into the house and collected her few poor belongings, then, without further farewell to any there, tramped out into the night, thankful for the darkness which hid her going from their sight and from her own sad eyes the scenes of her dead happiness.

JEANNIE S. POPHAM.

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## FELIX MENDELSSOHN-BARTHOLDY

BORN FEBRUARY 3, 1809

We are like leaves which the flowering springtime brings forth, when of a sudden they grow between the rays of the sun; for a space so brief do we rejoice in the flowers of youth, knowing nothing neither good nor evil from the gods. But the black fates stand by, the one with the doom of doleful age, the other with the doom of death; and for a little space the fruit of youth continues, during one day's sunshine on the earth. But, when once the appointed time of youth is passed, better to die forthwith than to live.—Minnermus, Professor Butcher's Translation.

MENDELSSOHN lived to within four months of his thirty-eighth year. During by far the larger portion of that brief lifetime he enjoyed universal attention throughout Europe, and this not merely amongst unthinking, novelty-seeking crowds, but also, it should be remembered, amongst the most critical circles of the members of his own Then, just as meteorically as it appeared, so his light snuffed out abruptly. In England, where his cult reached its zenith, the one relic and obsequy of his memory which we retain would seem to consist in a lukewarm, waning, and quite uncritical affection for his Elijah. The occurrence of his centenary is, therefore, a doubly welcome opportunity. It permits one to plead that never was there a period in musical history when the special calibre of his genius might better reward us for its resuscitation. A simple, unadulterated beverage, genuine of its kind, is becoming so extremely rare, that we may do well to recall Schumann's pertinent remark: 'Mendelssohn is a wine of the purest, if not of the richest vintage."

A particular charm and fascination in Mendelssohn lies therein, that he never tried to hide himself from us—behind so much as a blade of grass.

The mingled warp and woof of his character and circumstance offer besides such an extraordinarily perfect piece of texture in the fabric of life that the record is one to cherish, not for a transitory epoch, but for all time. He had not only the happiness to be gifted, but the far choicer gift to be happy. The very name—Felix—bestowed upon him at his birth proved an odd premonition of his nature and future. Balzac, with his many queer theories as to the

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physiognomy of names and their psychic influences, would here have found a most convincing text. Mendelssohn came into contact we practically nothing from which he could not draw some intelligible and agreeable conclusion.

The old Greek sense of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in past and future (he observes in one of tragedy in The old Greek sense of the solve. I don't want to, his innumerable letters) is no problem for me to solve. I don't want to, his innumerable letters) is no problem for me to solve. I don't want to, his innumerable letters) present is quite enough for me. . . . Each day brings me fresh anticipation and every day fulfils them. The sun is again shining on my breakfast table and I am now going to my daily work. . . . So I live happily on and this how very many charming and reasonable people there are in the world.

In the whole course of his music Mendelssohn never once leave a suspicion that he may perhaps not be quite sure of his purpose, unable to entirely control his imagination. If he could never fee himself stupendous or splendid—infinitely great, as must have bee at times a flash of experience vouchsafed to a Beethoven, it had follow paradoxically that he could never also feel himself infinite small. Of all men he would have been the last to exclaim:

> Overarched by gorgeous night, I wave my trivial self away.

One cannot possibly picture Mendelssohn ever once revellinging the crash and clang of some great storm. 'When the weathering cold and grey,' he tells us, 'I'm never in a communicative mod' As he indicates, he had no illogical yearnings to delve and prob, to soar and float in some mysterious infinitude. Why should be indeed, when he could tread with the most elastic yet surest for amidst the palpable, tangible beauties of what he felt to be a excellent earth? If he had none of that Titanic brooding for eager to explore vague vastnesses, and which brings with it its our peculiar curse as well as its dominating force—if he never lost him self in an ocean, still his rivulets and streamlets, as they ripple and flow and gurgle softly, can please and delight us by the sheet translucence of their sunlit shallows.

As a motto to the Scherzo of that wondrous production for a lo barely seventeen, the Octet, Op. 20, he borrowed the stroph 'orchestra pianissimo' which ends up the Walpurgis Nacht dream of Goethe's Faust:

> Wolkenzug und Nebelflor Erhollen sich von oben. Luft im Laub und Wind im Rohr, Und alles ist zerstoben.

It was natural for the boy, and very typical of the matured mattered that the table to the matured mattered mat that this passage of all others, should strike him in Faust. exists another noteworthy piece of chamber music, achieved by adolescent in his teens, namely, Hugo Wolf's String Quartet Dm com du,

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D minor, which also bears a motto from Faust, equally typical of its composer's circumstances and outlook upon life: 'Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren.'

We may say of Mendelssohn that the talisman of his nature lay not in strength, but rather therein that every component part of him harmonised. His soul, spirit, mind, character, temperament, all that we seek to understand and grasp in the constitution of a human being, were so beautifully poised and balanced as to exactly suit and support each other.

Poverty, hardships, and difficulties are habitually quoted as necessary and comforting tonics for genius. It is certain that as often as not they have been its goads. To so delicately and tenderly organised an instrument as was Mendelssohn—physically and mentally—they could not have failed to be a dire and destroying scourge.

On the other hand, though, the average well-to-do middle-class position of his family might very easily have led Mendelssohn to spend his days, and die, hemmed in by the narrow, unambitious existence of a man of small, independent means.

In his case affluence of circumstance clearly enabled him to produce and give of his utmost and his best. And it was no hypocritical veneer of piety that made him habitually sign his scores 'God grant success,' or 'May God help me'; but rather an innate reverence for the sacredness of work as the most eloquent document of conscience and religion that he could conceive or devise.

As to his impelling creative instinct as a musician, even Wagner, with all the potential prejudices of his critical pronouncements, was bound to acknowledge that, together with Mozart, Mendelssohn's was probably the most specifically musical genius hitherto recorded. Like Mozart—and like Schubert, too—he had the faculty for thinking and expressing himself as easily, if not more easily, in notes than in words.

Another most interesting factor in a psychological study of Mendelssohn is the coincidence that with spirit, mind and environment in harmony, there was also the closest possible bond between the innermost character of his music and the being and habit of the outward man. From all we know of his appearance, he was small, slight of build, elegant and graceful of movement. His features were well-proportioned and clean-cut, and his manners irreproachable. As a child already, he was an uncanny, if not a fairly priggish model of order and neatness.<sup>1</sup>

The physical and psychical phenomenon connecting certain types of men with certain types of art has not yet been studied with sufficient science and exactitude. Each one of us, we may believe, has some species of individuality, weak or strong, exalted or commonplace, but it requires a very subtle degree of technical accomplishment to express this self faithfully and fluently in art. Mendelssohn himself whilst once wandering through a room of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, hung with portraits

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To anyone who has acquired some familiarity in score-reading the control of the c the pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great master can present certain characteristic pages of each great can present can designs. What appeals to one most in Mendelssohn's scoring is designs. exquisitely dainty and equalised proportion of its patterns. We were search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged, unpoliced search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged search in vain throughout his music for traces of rugged search in vain throughout his music for the rugged search in vain throughout his music for the rugged search in vain throughout his music for the rugged search in vain throughout his music for the rugged search in vain throughout his music for the rugged search his music for the rugged contours such as one often lights upon in looking over a Beethoven a Berlioz or a Schumann score. Mendelssohn had inimitable ta not by any means for extracting its utmost virtue and capacity for an instrument, but for hiding all inherent weaknesses and asperition For this reason every lover of some special musical medium indebted to him. In Elijah or St. Paul there is no forcible drame characterisation to hold one in its spell. Schumann compared sacred music to the Madonnas of Murillo. It is true: one chief remembers the beautifully suave, vocal design of the soli; admirable blend and ease of the part writing for the chorus. If conception had not always l'idée juste, he was invariably corre in penning the perfectly just note in juxtaposition to its content Thus, if we dissect his instrumentation, what oboe player but me rejoice in the oboe writing of the Hebrides Overture; or there is opening oboe solo in his setting of the 42nd Psalm, 'My so thirsteth for God,' which, once heard, lingers unforgetably int mind, as the acme of good style for this instrument. Similar tactful, studied in its essence as musical writing, is his treatment the flute, the clarinet, or the unobtrusive, modest viola; and all the remains as true now, after seventy years' advance and progressi instrumentation, as when Mendelssohn was alive.

The most modern pianists may still learn something for Mendelssohn's eminently pianistic quality; nor has anything m innately proper to the violin ever been put upon paper than Violin Concerto. To do this music justice may require no de vein of poetry, but it asks for an unerring deftness, a finish elegance, an equality of tone of a kind that seems almost to vanished from modern schools of interpretation. Amongst line violinists, perhaps Lady Hallé and Emile Sauret alone can his home to us the unrivalled finesse of form and style belonging this Concerto, and although, as admitted, Mendelssohn demandia great depth of poetic conception, he is, at the same time, altogether removed from the mildly insipid virtuosity of Moscheles, Sterod Bennett, Onslow, and others of his contemporaries whom he get ously believed to be his equals.

A former generation of plagiarists amongst British compos

of painters done by themselves, made the chance discovery that many of them shall a graphic resemblance to their a graphic resemblance to their own productions. Thus he found Raphael is delicate, wistful, fervid; Michael Angelo ugly, muscular, rugged, vigorous, like 'David' or his 'Moses'; or Lorenty 'David' or his 'Moses'; or Leonardo da Vinci wise and grave, with a spect.' aspect.'

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readily assimilated his defects of lack of breadth and thin colouring, without though mastering his conspicuous values of surety, elegance and transparency; and at the present time, if instead of affording publicity to the rough, ill-considered efforts of their pupils, the committee of what is known in London as the 'Ernest Palmer Fund' were to oblige their students to steadily analyse these best traits of Mendelssohn, considerable benefit might accrue for the future of our national school of music. In his beauty of manner in music, and his fastidious touch, the one composer now at work who can vie with Mendelssohn is possibly Debussy. The æsthetic content of their music, it need hardly be stated, is as opposed as is a minutely stippled engraving to a landscape by Monet; and where Mendelssohn can be trite and conventional harmonically, Debussy is noticeable for his highly original fulness of harmonic device. No one, again, better than Mendelssohn—except, perhaps, Arthur Sullivan—has had moments in which he has unconsciously said nothing with more charming grace, and without the least apparent effort or exertion. Musicians with nothing to say usually rant and make a terrible to-do with the brass.

Mendelssohn undoubtedly cultivated and developed his mastery of form by his unremitting and enthusiastic study of Bach. As to his style, in the Scherzo of the Octet he at once gave definite utterance to his favourite mode and type of expression. Repeatedly in his later compositions, it is as if he went back to this Scherzo and broke off tiny fragments to work up and develop again and again. With regard to his musical speciality in fairies, at a first acquaintance, particularly in childhood, these are little less than adorable. they first greet us in his Midsummer Night's Dream music, so indeed, in all one's later musical associations, one longs to keep and to hold Mendelssohn's fairies. Nevertheless, beside the diaphanous fairy imagery of Berlioz, or the fairy phantasy of Russia, as presented to us by Tshaïkovski or Rimski-Korssakov, one is grudgingly forced to concede that his orderly little beings can suggest a slight, if very slight, suspicion of footlights and muslin frocks; and if brought into immediate contact with the lovely romance of Weber's fairyland, then his fairies almost become like buzzing flies. At one time he intended composing music to The Tempest. But the idea was abandoned, it may be after a closer inspection of Caliban, for Mendelssohn naturally hated anything savouring of the uncouth or the grotesque. On the whole, we may perhaps be glad that he never handled Ariel. Of the gnomish, trollish atmosphere evoked by Grieg, he was no forerunner. In his excursions into the supernatural, it never so much as occurred to him to touch the Erl König; and if by chance Mendelssohn happened to survey the weird ghostliness of many of Loewe's ballads, we may be sure that he promptly closed the volume with a sigh of cordial distaste. In full justice to

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Mendelssohn's fairies, though, it may be observed that these compare they Mendelssohn's fairies, though, tainly 'hop as light as bird from brier,' if we compare them with tainly 'hop as light as bird from brier,' if we compare them with tainly 'hop as light as blid hoper in the famous and popular Humperdinck's stiffly pedantic elves in the famous and popular Hansel and Gretel.

Devoted as he was to Goethe the man, and boyishly proud of early winning his notice and friendship, it is easy to understand that as a poet, Mendelssohn could prefer Schiller. Of Wilhelm  $T_{ell}$  h writes:

My heart is so overflowing that I must tell you about it. . . I have just it what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call a norm and a life is what I call read half of the first scene. . . . This is what I call a poem and a literary opening; first the pure, clear verse in which the lake, smooth as a mirror and all else, is so vividly described, . . . it is quite glorious . . . it is so admirable in Schiller, too, to have created an entire Switzerland for himself inasmuch a he never saw it. . . . The expression that Goethe once made use of to me the Schiller could have supplied two great tragedies every year, with its business like tone, always inspired me with particular respect, but not till this morning did the full force of its meaning become clear to me, and it has made me fe that I too must set to work in earnest.

In spite of the fact that Mendelssohn came of perhaps the most bitingly ironical race that civilisation has hitherto conceived and brought forth, he totally lacked this trait, quality, or defect-which ever we choose to call it. He could be tenderly humorous, as in the two symphonies known respectively as the 'Scotch' and the 'Italian' but never for an instant is he witty-witty, that is, in the sense of the term as applicable to so many French and Russian composers, or to the Pole, Chopin.

Heine, like most other contemporary celebrities, was an habitule of the Mendelssohn social gatherings. No one of the family circle least of all Felix, could quite decide whether to be solemnly shocked or merely puzzled by the poet's mocking sallies and revolutionary tirades. In this connexion we may be surprised that Mendelssoli should have set any of Heine's words, but only once, and this in Avi Flügeln des Gesanges, where Heine is at his sweetest and calmest, can he and Mendelssohn be said to blend without a perceptible discord.

It was his excellent knowledge of Greek that helped to procure Mendelssohn a royal commission from the King of Prussia to set the Antigone and the Oedipus Coloneus of Sophocles to music. That he should miss their sombre, fateful atmosphere was inevit able; and yet there is much in these two scores to incline one to place them in the very front rank of his compositions. His instinct for roundness of form, balance and symmetry came signally to his

2 But if Mendelssohn did not quite understand Heine, there is, at any rate, of atter-day Englishman who has realised Mendelssohn's exact position and capability as a song-writer. This is Mr. Percy Pinkerton. His English translation of the words of Mendelssohn's lyries, in Breitkopf and Härtel's latest edition, is so entirely in sympathy with the tortune of the formula of the sympathy with the tortune of the sympathy with the formula of the sympathy with in sympathy with the texture and spirit of the music that the achievement meris new era and life for the songs; and this in the hands of those who should best to sing them. able to sing them.

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aid in the technical understanding of each drama as a whole; and the human characterisation, if not wholly distinctive in his Oedipus, is at least throughout his Antigone broader and more dignified, more imbued with a breath and pulse of life, than anything to be cited, for example, in Elijah. Especially genial besides is his treatment of the Greek chorus. What the fundamental characteristics of music may have been at the zenith of taste and culture in classic Greece, no one has discovered. It seems, however, reasonable to surmise that a people permeated with the mellow. suave feeling for plastic beauty perceptible in their sculpture and literature must have been incapable of accepting the thin, dreary, monotonous wailing that modern pedagogues hasten to inflict upon us at any hearing of Greek plays. These ugly anomalies were already rife in Mendelssohn's days. He had the courage to reject them. He steered clear of the austere polyphonic mediævalism of our Western music in its infancy, as well as the later types of light Italian melody-both equally ludicrous anachronisms in conjunction with the nature of Greek classicism as we know it in every art but music. If that frank estimate made of his own limitations with regard 'to the Greek sense of tragicness in past and future' can show us how pleasantly easy it was to Mendelssohn to fathom his own nature, there are, nevertheless, various other aspects of the Greek genius to which he was most closely, albeit unconsciously, akin. In the clear, objective, sane, articulate consonance of his outlook upon the present, in his comprehension for the ideal in the real, he was neither Jew nor Christian; but like Goethe, Greek of very Greek.3 It must have been this spirit perceived in him by Goethe that attracted the latter to Mendelssohn. When Goethe said of him: 'He was born on a lucky day. Hungary he saw the crowning of an imperial head, and in Rome he finds a conclave, and even Vesuvius gets up a spectacle for him!' he summarised his complaisant attitude towards a tangible world; and the signal differences which must always separate the circumspect moderation of his genius from the untrammelled yet unsatisfied floating sensations of mood conveyed to us, for instance, by Chopin and Schumann, although the actual range of vision and plane of lyrism of all three composers could be identical when contrasted, let us say, with Beethoven, Wagner, and others of epic and tragic stature. Music, being the supreme art of emotion and sensation, it is only too easy to say in note and phrase what convention and propriety might make a man hesitate to utter in printed word. Distracted by more startling novelties, English amateurs, once the most ardent supporters of the indispensable Lieder ohne Worte, have wavered and faltered in their allegiance.

But for all that the quality of this music still confirms it as an im-<sup>3</sup> The Greek View of Life, by Lowes Dickinson M.A.

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peccable and delectable classic for the usage of amateur circles of the highest refinement. Mendelssohn apparently never indulged in any experience, or at least he never composed a phrase, which he might not breathe in the ears of la jeune fille, be she never so immaculately and jealously guarded.

When he married, his choice of a wife was eminently judicious and suitable. Cécile Mendelssohn, née Jeanrenaud, was a young French girl of good birth and education, spiritually pretty, and as elegant as her husband. Their union was an idyll. Cécile painted landscapes in one room whilst Felix composed them in another. They were fully justified in satisfying the normal craving of every healthy young creature to beget offspring. In April 1845 we find Mendelssohn writing to a friend: 'All is well with us, Heaven be thanked. Cécile is splendidly fit. The children are flourishing. Spring is at hand. . . . Work prosperous. What more can a man desire?'

Berlin, as one gathers from the family chronicles, was the one place in which Mendelssohn failed to earn a full measure of popularity. In Berlin though, for over a century, cliques of chauvinism have remained paramount, disputing for supremacy in Semitic, as well as in artistic questions. It is somewhat curious that although he knew Paris during one of her most brilliant epochs of social and mental fecundity, he found there comparatively little to enjoy. In his frequent sojournings in London, on the other hand, those phases of our social life with which he was familiar, in the luxury of aristocratic palaces, or in the solid comfort of middleclass homes, made direct appeal to Mendelssohn. When he stayed in our country houses he was a singularly agreeable guest, composing charming caprices upon the flowers in the garden, and dedicating these to the ladies of the household. To be sure, in the strict privacy of his apartment he occasionally wrote his relatives goodhumoured diatribes upon his point of view as to the useless prettiness of English girls, with their eternal tinkling upon pianos, and their inability to cook even a pancake or a potato properly. Wagner and Berlioz were at pains to shake the dust of England from their feet with wrathful weariness and contumely, young Master Mendelssohn stood his ground smiling blithely. One knows of no other musician of his sincerity and magnitude who, after protracted intercourse, could still preserve cordially amiable relations with our 'Royal Philharmonic Society' and our 'Royal Opera.' institution elected to interpolate the latest up-to-date ballet appliances of the day into its production of his Antigone. Mendelssohn imperturbably allowed the performances to continue for forty-five nights; and begged his family to procure the issue of Punch containing a caricature of the business, which, he wrote, gave him cause for unalloyed merriment.

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In the unendowed conditions of music-making peculiar to England, commercial exigencies must perforce be uppermost. One England, cogent reason for his uniformly friendly dealings with our musical authorities was his ability as a financier. Monetary calculations of profit and loss which Berlioz or Schumann might strive in vain to grasp, came to Mendelssohn with exactly the same ease and dexterity with which he evolved his musical phraseology. frequent organisation of concerts for himself and others he exhibited all the patience and requisite foresight in tackling every small detail connected with the expenses of rehearing, advertising, printing, hiring, travelling, tipping, what not. The stupidity or the astuteness of agents and entrepreneurs for once found their master in a musician. Practice makes perfect in the intelligent handling of money as in everything else; and the moderation and frugality of Mendelssohn's speculations, in money as in music, reminds one that his grandmother, on his father's side, is famed in the family archives as an example of housewifely economy. Before any small festive gathering she was wont, we are told, to count out, one by one, the almonds and raisins for dessert.

It may be argued that Mendelssohn's sudden death in the full flush of manhood and success was a sharp and unseemly dissonance. Yet, after all, was this so? The more he felt himself in touch with the world, the more happily he exercised his powers, the more vividly he lived in action; so much the more alien and bitter and incomprehensible must he have found the phenomenon of age, creeping on with its incapacities and disabilities.

The first heavy clouds to dim his horizon were the deaths of his parents, but as nearly as one human being may venture to decide for another, the sharpest pang of sorrow that Mendelssohn was destined to feel was his grief, just six months before his own death, over the loss of his beloved sister Fanny Hensel. The anguish and depression to which he then fell a prey are a pregnant token that he found death just as incomprehensible to contemplate as he might have found age. Was not this early end of his, therefore, absolutely opportune—a beautifully resolved cadence of bright major concords after his own most consistent manner? To have lived his complete little span of life filled to the brim with the zest of fruitful work; to have drunk deep of the happiness of sheltered friendship and family love; to have experienced the joys of marriage and parentage; to know nothing of the hampering handicaps of poverty, or of the sting of failure; never to have felt the weary agony of some lingering malady, nor to have to turn and flee and hide from some grim harbingers of loneliness; never, finally, to have to watch the present tense of his fame dwindling and merging into a preterite past who can dream or imagine a sweeter finale to mortal symphony?

A. E. KEETON.

## A GERMAN VIEW OF THE ANGLO-GERMAN PROBLEM<sup>1</sup>

The idea has taken root in England that the object of Germany's ambitious naval policy is to strike a blow at England's maritime supremacy the moment she is equal to the task, and it is asserted on many sides that she would challenge her command of the sea to-day but for the fact that Germany takes no risks. The German Fleet cannot obtain its requisite strength before 1917 or 1918, and meanwhile sops and palliatives are being employed in order to disarm England's apprehensions and persuade her to reduce her shipbuilding programme.

Germany, they say, cannot conceivably need a fleet of the strength contemplated except for the one purpose on which she is irrevocably resolved of wiping England off the highways of the sea, and writers support this view by quotations from the Emperor's speeches and those of Prince Buelow. The growth of the Flottenverein is an additional factor in the situation, and significance is attached to the writings of certain German publicists that have as their intention to rouse the nation to a sense of their greater destiny. Some of the leading men of thought in economic science are cited as supporters of Germany's naval expansion, which is being interpreted to mean the inflaming of popular feeling against England's sea supremacy.

This is a powerful indictment against a nation that professes friendship for England and whose sovereign has recently pledged his people's conscience and his own to the view that the peace of the world depends on the friendship of the two countries.

The fact that these views are not only possible, but are held by many intelligent Englishmen, shows that suspicion and apprehension have taken deep and probably lasting root.

2. England und Deutschland. By Professor G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz. Berlin. Schoeneberg, Buchverlag der 'Hilfe,' 1908.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1. Britischer Imperialismus und Englischer Freihandel zu Beginn des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. By Dr. G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz. Leipzig. Duncker und Humblot, 1906.

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The Germans have become equally sceptical of England's policy, which they suspect of concealing a provocative design rather than the peaceful intention professed. They believe that English policy is not content with the prospect of, in part, excluding Germany from the British markets to which she has hitherto enjoyed free access, but that it is also directed towards debarring German trade from overflowing into the markets of some distant neighbours, and to complete Germany's discomfiture a great Continental alliance is aimed at which shall isolate her and grip her so closely as to paralyse her past recovery. Added thereto, England is to have an Army of Continental proportions with which to strengthen her allies in any armed conflict with Germany.

If this may be taken to represent fairly the state of feeling on both sides, it surely needs no seer or divining hand to indicate the

direction in which the needle of events is pointing.

With a view to directing them into conciliatory channels a recent professorial address on the subject of Anglo-German relations given by a leading national German economist, Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz, will attract attention in this country.

Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz is no stranger to the English reader; his works on English social problems, on Russian finance and administration, and more recently his volume on British Imperialism, are well known. The latter contains an analysis of the moral philosophy which at successive periods influenced English thought and character and a development of the ideals, mainly religious, to which he attributes England's great industrial development. He is a frank admirer of the British State organism and the English nation, and considers their enlightening influence essential to the world's progress.

At the same time German to the backbone, he is frequently cited by English writers, with Professor Brentano and others, as an enthu-

siastic believer in Germany's future on the sea.

His attitude of mind on this subject, and more particularly in its relation to the future of British power, is set forth in his recent academic discourse. That his statements have authority may be inferred from the fact that Prince Buelow made frequent use of them in introducing his latest Financial Reform Bill.

The author seems to approach his subject without any political bias and bases his discussion purely on established facts. He divides the problem into two issues, the political and the economic, and treats

them distinctively.

He begins with the political controversy and introduces it from the English point of view, and analyses and reviews the causes of England's case against Germany.

England, he says, had absolute control of the seas after the Napoleonic wars which insured her unrivalled trade supremacy,

not only within her Colonial Empire but in foreign Colonies as well, and established it more especially, perhaps, in those which, like the South American States and Mexico, had gradually seceded from the Iberian Powers.

When Free Trade was introduced in 1846 English politicians prophesied that foreign nations would soon follow the same course, which they believed would make England the workshop of the world, as she must absorb the raw products of other nations and give them manufactured goods in exchange. The dream of the Free Traders was not to be realised, and in the meantime they became confronted with the great political events which changed the entire economic conditions of the world.

In North America, the United States was the outcome of the Civil War; her increasing power soon engrossed the whole American continent south and confirmed the establishment of the Monroe doctrine. In Central Europe the rivalry between Prussia and Austria eventually resulted in the supremacy of Prussia and was preliminary to the unification of Germany. Other States, Italy and Hungary for instance, inspired by national sentiment, began to enter upon a new phase of industrial and political ascendency.

Instead of these newly constituted groups adopting the British Free Trade principles as had been expected, they all resorted to a system of Protection that gradually secured them a strong footing in their own markets and endowed them with a vitality enabling them to engage in competition with Great Britain in foreign spheres. In some cases, as with Germany, aggressive Protectionism in the form of bounties and dumping was adopted, which Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz holds with English politicians to be an unfair form of competition.

Having by these measures secured economic success the United States, Germany, and even Italy, proceeded to give it a political foundation by means of increased armaments, and herewith the great Continental armies and latterly the development of the American and German Fleets.

The growth in man and money power of these rival nations which progressed alongside of industrial expansion is, he thinks, a genuine cause for uneasiness among Englishmen who believe their trade and maritime supremacy to be seriously challenged. It is an anomaly that this struggle for Welthandel and Weltmacht should be confined to the three great branches of the Teutonic family-England, the United States, and Germany, whose religious, racial, and intellectual relationship ought to be conducive to wider co-partnership.

A series of statistics is imported into the argument to show the relative progression of trade and national expansion of the three

countries which have led to the conflict of interests.

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The following table offers a few examples, France being added for the purpose of comparison:—

TABLE I.

Great Britain	United States	Germany	France
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100.040			
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T 0.45	02.040		
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30,829,889	62,039,091	7,907,173	19,669,682 6,758,198
	299·9 533·2 217·3 383·0 517·2 916·8  160,046 255,097  6,660 8,390 10,311  1,020 4,660 6,566  1905 50,964,874  1905 704,357  1905 3,640,000  Approximately 5,000,000  5,045 { 5,700 { nil nil 1901 11,477,824	372,580	372,580

<u>-</u>	Great Britain	United States	Germany	France
10. Shipping—foreign trade in own bottoms: 1900 (in 1000 registered tons) 1905 (in 1000 registered tons)	62,711 70,963	12,798 15,192	14,301 18,646	9,994 12,051
11. Tonnage of Mercantile  Marine 1906-7 (in 1000 registered tons):  Steamers Sailing vessels Total	9,320,576 1,174,440 10,495,016	1,999,711* 1,413,833* 3,413,544*	2,081,205 434,610 2,515,815	727,047 487,458 1,214,505
12. Shipbuilding (exclusive of Navy): Tonnage 1906:	1,828,343	413,637	318,330	35,109
13. Naval Expenditure (in million £): 1893	14·5 36·7	6·4 17·4	4·0 10·5	10·1 12·5
Total Expenditure on National Defence (in million $\pounds$ )	60 (1906–7)	48 (1906)	54 (1907-8)	43.8 (1907)

\* Inclusive of the great lakes and Philippines.

America is shown to be England's most formidable rival, and yet. says Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz, she may be regarded from every point of view as hors de concours in her relations with England. Neither economically nor politically is Great Britain in a position to assail the increasing ascendency of this Power, because economically America is in the main self-supporting, rich in minerals, in oil, cotton, and agricultural products, and because, politically speaking, she holds Great Britain in check by her commanding position over Canada. Naturally then under these circumstances England refrains from political controversies with her more formidable competitor and seeks to concentrate on her as yet minor rival, Germany. Although the trade and industries of that country are still largely outstripped by England, it would be self-deception, continues the writer, did England not see in the ever-increasing population of Germany, and in her aptitude for applying scientific principles to commercial ends and in the magnitude of her military organisation an encroachment on her world-power.

The German position is next under consideration. English policy is said to be distrusted by a large section of the German nation, a sentiment that dates back to the days of the Vienna Congress, when England's predominating influence lost Germany the Southern Provinces of the Netherlands, which up till the wars

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of the French Revolution had been German territory, and with them went that invaluable possession the Mouth of the Rhine.

Again, in the days of the Danish conflict, no statesman was more vehement than Palmerston, no Power more violent in disclaiming Prussia than the British nation. Nor can United Germany forget England's political attitude during Germany's national struggle in 1870, when she caused the delay of the bombardment of Paris. Even more recently England has displayed antagonism in hampering Germany's colonial expansion, while France, who suffered defeat, has been permitted unchecked to establish a vast colonial Empire.

Against these hostile sentiments Germans appreciate the services rendered to their cause by Carlyle, who spread German literature among his countrymen, and during the critical period of 1870 endeavoured to secure England's political sympathy for the rise of the Central European Power. Nor does Germany disregard the influence of Queen Victoria and her Consort in winning over her subjects to sympathy with German ideas. Already in 1857 the trend of events was foreseen by Bismarck, when he said: 'England views with ill favour our attempts at creating an oversea trade and a Navy, and is jealous of our industrial development.' He spoke in advance of his time, as the political relations between the two countries were at that period amicable, and, moreover, England had no need to look upon Germany, whose status was agricultural, in any other sense than that of a secondary Power.

Bismarck it was who, consciously or not, originated the revolutionary changes in Germany which have produced the present situation, and by converting Germany's fiscal system from Free Trade into Protection, built up her industries on their present vast scale.

An important factor in this development has been the free access of German manufactures to the English markets and the favoured tariffs they have enjoyed in the British Colonies. Professor Schulz-Gaevernitz, in fact, admits that except for these facilities the growth of Germany's industrial organisation would not have been possible, though it was also aided, he points out, by that trade-mark regulation 'Made in Germany,' which instead of a deterrent has become in course of time a hall-mark of excellence.

The progress of fiscal and industrial action operating in co-relationship has gradually raised Germany to the level of a rival of Great Britain, and indeed in some of the industries, as in the steel, iron, and indigo trade, she has actually outdone her. Thus Germany, who is also benefited by an exemplary educational system, is no longer the peasant country of Bismarck's time, but ranks to-day as an industrial State of the first order.

As long as she was confined to Europe, the Army was sufficient for defence, but when her trade began to reach oversea, and the need

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of an outlet arose for her increasing population and industrial activity, then Germany was compelled to recognise the Kaiser's dictum: 'Germany's future lies on high seas.'

This introduces the political element which is at the root of the Anglo-German problem. Germany perceives the historical fact that England's world-power rests on the invincible strength of her Navy; sea supremacy she accepts as the basic position of England's future, but draws from this the inevitable conclusion that she herself must have wherewith to defend her own interests. Increased efforts in that direction are incumbent upon Germany, and cannot be delayed if she means to meet the future with composure and resolve.

'And who can foretell the future?' he argues, where England represents the chief menace; she may decide at the eleventh hour, seeing that she is no longer able to suppress her commercial rivalry, the breaking and destruction of Germany; her glorious naval traditions, when she shattered the sea-power of both Holland and France, are there to give her confidence.

He further complains that German apprehension is intensified by the persistent efforts of English journalism to alarm the English mind and incite it against Germany, in which some of the prominent organs have led the way. The doctrine they are unceasingly spreading is Germaniam esse delendam. Germany is to-day what Spain was under Philip the Second, and France under Louis the Fourteenth and Napoleon—the enemy of England. Even men of authority, such as Lord Cromer and Lord Charles Beresford, though restrainedly, hint at the same disquieting idea.

Germany's design, he says, to invade England, and the assumption of its feasibility is a theoretical supposition that may serve a useful cry in England, but finds no echo in Germany among the recognised naval and military authorities where such conceptions are ridiculed as bogey phantoms.<sup>1</sup>

Reduced to fact, it would mean that Germany would be obliged to maintain an Army capable of repelling a Franco-Russian attack and simultaneously organise a Navy powerful enough to assume the offensive against England. None save the uninstructed, who may not understand that Germany is a country with relatively poor natural resources, would arrive at these conclusions. Besides, how can these supposed designs of a naval Sedan be reconciled with Bismarck's repeated declaration 'that only a madman could conceive the possibility of Germany declaring an unprovoked war against England or lending her support to the destruction of the British Empire.'

This is emphasised in a well-informed article which appeared recently in the German 'Naval Rundschau'; it demonstrates the impracticability of an attack on England by Germany, and coincides with the views of the best-informed quarters in the German Navy, and the official declarations of the British Defence Committee as advanced by Mr. Balfour.

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Economic history, perhaps better than any other medium, vouchsafes the true inwardness of the situation, as the economic problem in effect underlies the foundation of modern Germany, which has largely been built up on a commercially unfenced Great Britain.

The merest allusion to the disappearance of Great Britain as a world-power, Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz meets with scorn. permanence of the Great British Empire is in his opinion a matter of the very first concern; humanity and civilisation demand it; her benevolent influence has made itself felt among all the coloured races. who are being taught the dignity of labour and, as Hegel so appropriately expresses it, 'Through labour to liberty.' An attack upon this magnificent State organism from motives of envy or sordid gain to use a profound saying of Goethe—'God has it not in Him.'

Germany, however, cannot conceal her apprehensions of England's attitude, who seems to see in Germany's industrial and maritime development a danger to her own trade and sea supremacy. extreme is the tension that lookers-on discern in this a possible casus belli, in which her Continental allies might be expected to co-operate. and this in spite of the comment of Bismarck, perhaps the most realistic of statesmen, who once said: 'I would never advocate a war to-day for the reason that the enemy may be better armed to-morrow. as no one can foresee the ways of Divine Providence.'

Germans admire the spirit in which England is not prepared to surrender her supremacy that she attained after two hundred years of struggle without the greatest sacrifices towards its maintenance. but all the more watchful must they be of the measures that England may be prepared to adopt against contingencies of rivalry. concentration of the Channel Fleet in the North Sea, the disposition in England towards introducing the Continental system of universal military service, and the intimate relations that England is cultivating with Germany's powerful neighbours, are all symptoms which the German Empire cannot afford to disregard.

To-day more than 70 per cent. of Germany's trade is set seaward, and a blockade of her harbours would inevitably react disastrously on her industrial system. The chances of starving her by a blockade of her harbours are considered remote, but the experiences of the cholera quarantine in Hamburg, which only lasted two months and cost her 250 million marks, are a reminder of the risks of unpreparedness.

Germany, who cannot view herself exposed to the mercy of any outside Power, insists on an adequate Navy purely as a defensive neasure for protecting her food supplies and her foreign trade. The nation, headed by the Emperor and supported by the powerful Navy League, regards the increase of the Navy as a fundamental necessity for maintaining Germany's position as a world-Power.

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The idea has permeated all classes, and is even finding followers in the ranks of the Social Democratic party, whose representative members, Bernstein and Molkenbuhr, for example, are in favour of strengthening the defences of the Empire. On the other hand, in some quarters serious doubt is cast upon Germany's ability to maintain both a strong Army and Navy, seeing her financial difficulties and that her powers of taxation are believed to be exhausted.

Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz controverts these arguments, and recommends the Exchequer to the imitation of Great Britain, who has been able to overcome her moments of financial strain from such sources of revenue as the increased taxation of beer, wine, tobacco, and a rise in the succession duties. The financial pressure therefore is in no sense to be regarded as symptomatic of the poor resources of the country, but merely reflects the unwillingness of the people to burden themselves with greater taxation for the benefit of the State as a whole.

The soundness of the above recommendations with regard to German exigencies is perhaps being proved by the fact that Prince Buelow has actually adopted them in dealing with his new Financial Reform Bill, with regard to which the published naval programme may, therefore, be accepted as an irrevocable decision of German policy.

Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz asserts that Germany is within her indisputable right in providing such defences as she may deem necessary, also that England is justified in adopting such measures

as may adequately assure her safety.

This need be, according to him, no disturbing factor; he discerns therein the only means of arriving at an inviolable compact and sustained friendliness between the two countries. Not through Germany's weakness but only through her strength can she maintain amicable relations with other countries.

The United States require a Navy for the purpose of defending their oversea interests; and President Roosevelt's words of warning to the Americans, who rule a continent, apply with even greater force to Germany, with her poor soil and overcrowded population:

No decree or other remedy can be invented to save a people who have neglected the primary and foremost national quality, that of being able to defend their hearths and homes from being subjected to the most ruthless ill-treatment. If we wish to avert insults we must have the power to reject them. If we are sincere in our profession of peace it must be general knowledge that we are fully prepared any moment for war. In fact, it is unworthy of a great industrial State to stake its existence on the sufferance of a well-inclined or may-be ill-disposed neighbour.

The same concession that England has made to her most formidable rival, the United States, and in no lesser degree to Japan, she should

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idable should not deny to Germany, whose only means of defending her vital innot deny to dentical ones employed by both these countries; terests are to-day the German Fleet is smaller than that of France, moreover trance, whose interests overseas are, comparatively speaking, artificially produced.

Why, says the writer, should England fear Germany's Fleet when she allows the more powerful American Navy and other naval Powers to have their own way? But the present defensive character of the German Navy, he says, cannot be sufficiently emphasised, if only as a means of dispelling the vain and delusive talk of Germany's supposed designs on the self-governing States that comprise the British Empire. Among others a late African administrator is overtaken with the idea of a German aggression that is calculated to knock out England, and to pass on to the conquest of Africa and Australia; as though Germany, even supposing her ambitions extended in that direction, were insensible to the object-lesson of the South African War, which gave evidence of the impulse which moved the Empire as a whole in the hour of England's trial, and moreover has shown that, with all the overwhelming force of the British Empire against her, South Africa has grown into a nation, and is to-day uniting its forces into a homogeneous whole, an object which Australia and Canada have already succeeded in accomplishing.

Far from this being the case, Germany's Navy has its essential being as constituting a guarantee of peace with England, as a guardian of Germany's oversea trade and interests on which her existence as a first-class Power to-day depends; politically speaking, it is the outward and visible manifestation of Germany's oversea interests and endows the Government with the power of insisting upon equal opportunities for all and the holding back of foreign aggression from certain directions, as for example from any encroachment upon the independent Mohammedan countries of to-day.

Germany's Fleet in fact does not stand for luxury or ambition. It is the necessity of her being, essential as her daily bread, the protection to herself and her children.

Once the conviction is established that did a conflict arise between the two nations, the power of the one would not be sufficient to vanquish the force of the other, and that such a war would be more likely to benefit the outside States rather than themselves, the foundation for a mutual understanding should find permanence. Once the difficulty is surmounted on logical hard facts the economic problem can be adjusted on its own merits and the points of contact are at once established if both sides recognise that the commercial relations of the two countries are inter-dependent, and that the disaster of the one is the misfortune of the other. Germany's interest in the maintenance of the British Empire is self-evident, for the practical reason

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that England constitutes one great bulwark of support to her material progress.

England is Germany's best customer, her purchases being far in excess of either those of Austria, America, or Russia as set forth in the following Table:

Table II.

Germany's Foreign Trade in million £: 1906.

	-		Imports from	Exports to	Total
Great Britain United States Russia Austria-Hungar France Argentine India (British) Italy Denmark Brazil Chile			41.2 $61.8$ $54.4$ $40.2$ $21.6$ $18.6$ $17.9$ $12.0$ $6.4$ $9.4$ $7.2$	53·5 31·8 12·8 32·4 19·1 8·5 5·7 11·5 9·8 4·2 3·6	94·7 93·6 67·2 72·6 40·7 27·1 23·6 23·5 16·2 13·6

It is of ultimate importance that Germany should retain this trade; unlike England she has practically no Colonial resources with which to fortify her position from without. England can add to her economic strength inside of her own Imperial domain by uniting her forces, as Mr. Chamberlain has pointed out. Germany has no such reservoirs, and is entirely dependent on foreign markets, which it is incumbent upon her to nurse and foster.

Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz believes that a reversal of England's fiscal system is likely soon to be in operation, the effect of which will be largely to restrict Germany's export trade to England and her oversea States. In some quarters it is suggested that a counterpoise should be found in a Central European Zollverein to checkmate the policy of trade exclusion which the English tariff movement intends to compass, but this idea he rejects as Utopian, as Germany can gain nothing, he thinks, by combative measures, and will do better by pursuing a conciliatory policy to the extent of making, if necessary, substantial sacrifices for the sake of a workable understanding. All the irritation of a petty fiscal warfare, including dumping, &c., so chafing to British producers, should be avoided and desisted from.

To some extent Germany must suffer from any change in England's fiscal system, since she derived her industrial strength largely from Free Trade England, but even such an economic disturbance need neither dismay the German or deliver him over to pessimism.

The closer union of England and her oversea States, says Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz, will probably widen Germany's scope in other markets, such as Russia, South America, and the Far and Near

East, whose supplies to England are likely to decrease in the same East, whose street absorbs the raw products of her own Colonial

A further factor likely to benefit Germany will, he thinks, consist in the retaliatory tariffs as they become part of England's protective system against the existing tariff schedules of other countries. The almost inevitable consequence of these measures will be to bring down the tariff rates generally, which will give Germany her opportunity for more effective competition.

If the interest of Germany lies, as he believes it does, in the maintenance of the British Empire, no less is England concerned in the preservation of Germany. Germany has become one of England's most valuable clients, and one fact alone will indicate this: that her sales to Germany exceed in volume her exports to India, as is shown by the following tabulated statement:

TABLE III. England's Foreign Trade in million £: 1906.

-	Imports from	Exports to	Total
United States	131.001	53.240	184:341
Germany (inclusive of the through trade via Netherlands)	74.675	65.150	139.825
India (including Ceylon and Straits Settlements)	51.177	51.932	103.110
France	53.871	28.784	82.656
land)	44.745	30.833	75.579
land)	30.949	16.064	47·013 45·993
Russia	30·051 16·858	15.942 9.152	26.010
Italy	3.612	12.481	16.094
Japan	2.954	13-115	16.069

Germany imports on an enormous scale manufactured and semimanufactured articles from England, consisting chiefly of woollen and cotton goods, machinery and ships, and her purchases of yarns alone amounted in 1907 to 250 million marks.

Specifically English branches of trade, to instance the shipbuilding and fishing industries, and essentially German manufactures, as aniline dyes, pianos, and toys, equipoise each other; in the case of the fishing trade, Germany is unable to provide more than one-third of her requirements, and her consumption is yearly increasing.

A close examination into facts of this nature inclines him to believe that herein possibly lies the basis for a regulation of trade exchange to suit the peculiar adaptabilities of the respective countries.

The growing demand in Germany for English articles of luxury, in place of French, is another expanding trade with Germany,

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which has become so marked as to influence German life very considerably.

Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz admits the fact which English economists always dwell on, that Germany is a larger exporter to England than she is an importer from England; against this, however, he says that in her trade relations with the British Colonies the ratio is exactly reversed, and that Germany takes from these Colonies produce amounting to 32½ million pounds, whereas her export trade does not exceed 12½ millions; and again, in the case of India, Germany ranks after England as her next best customer. Germany, in fact, is the largest buyer in the world of British Colonial produce, and summarising her trade with the British Empire, the balance of trade is against her, as this formula will explain.

TABLE IV. GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES IMPORTS AND EXPORTS TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

DRITISH EMPIRE.							
GERMANY-						Imports	Exports
From and to the Unit	ed 1	Kingd	om				
in million $\pounds$ .						41.2	53.5
British Asia .						17.8	5.7
" Africa	•					4.7	2.2
" America						1.0	1.3
" Australia						8.9	3.2
				Total		73.6	65.9
United States—						Imports	Exports
From and to the Unit	ed :	Kingd	om				
in million $\pounds$ .						42.1	121.3
British Asia .						14.1	1.4
,, Africa						3.6	2.9
,, America						16.4	32.7
,, Australia						2.4	6.0
				Total	•	78.6	164.3
Germany's Imports from the British Empire exceed							
ner Exports to that country by 7.9 million £							
America's Exports to the British Empire exceed her							
Imports from that country by 87.9 million £							
						THE PARTY OF THE P	

These facts, says the author, argue the futility of a conflict on commercial grounds with Germany.

There is another aspect that bears on the Anglo-German problem. The development of the Colonies has absorbed large sums of British capital, most of the Colonial loans have been raised in the English money market, and in some cases Great Britain's credit has been pledged as a guarantee, in which connexion Australia's great indebtedness to England is a case in point. The Colonies are faced

with the payment of interest on their indebtedness and with the with the payments with the recurring extinction of their liabilities, while the only guarantee they have of being able to discharge these engagements lies in the certainty of their export trade of home produce to the great industrial States. England's trade balances with her Colonies are on the whole

insignificant, which is accounted for by the fact that the Colonies have always preferred British goods either for reasons of sentiment or

similarity of tastes, besides, of course, preferential tariffs.

It follows as a logical conclusion, says Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz, even though some tariff reformers may dispute this point, that, if the credit and solvency of these Colonial States is to be maintained, they are and will be compelled to encourage their exports of produce to industrial States outside England, even though England should in future be able to absorb greater quantities of Colonial raw products than she has done in the past.

Germany, in fact, is first among these outside industrial countries as a buyer of Colonial materials. The margin between her purchases from the British Colonies and her sales to them is actually sufficient to cover the service on their loans as it becomes due to England.

This applies even with greater force to India, whose remittances to England include the service of her loans, pensions, business and plantation profits, and who has besides a debit balance in her trade with England. It is not too much to aver that it is the purchasing power of Europe, and mainly that of Germany, which carries the Indian budget and the Indian currency.

Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz contends that it is no exaggeration to submit that Germany, who is an industrial State, has great powers of absorption, and, being practically without Colonies herself, is peculiarly suited to supplement Great Britain; and in this wider relationship she would become a potent factor in the maintenance of the British Empire.

The foregoing should bear out the contentions, says the writer, that it needs only to dispel the fears that fill the political imagination for the economic problem to regulate itself, and for both countries to know how much greater is their community of interests than their differences.

This will be the occasion for the faiths of Hume and Adam Smith to find their consummation. They both upheld the view that those neighbours need each other most who are evenly matched in wealth and manhood. It was Hume who exclaimed: 'I frankly dare to profess that, as a British subject, I welcome the industrial prosperity of Germany, Spain, Italy, and even of France.' At this period he might have reversed the conclusion, and said 'of France, and even of Germany.' Adam Smith added the following: 'If a nation aspires to greater prosperity by fostering foreign markets, her task is rendered easy if she enjoys as neighbours a wealthy, industrious, and com-

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mercial people. The well-being of Germany cannot fail to bring advantages to England.

Professor Schulze-Gaevernitz sums up his argument with the exclamation: Germany, constitute thyself strong in time of peace!

Englishmen may not be prepared to accept his analysis of the situation without criticism, but it is only right that they should at least be made acquainted with his views, the views of a thoughtful and not unfriendly German. If he really reflects the spirit of the German nation sincerely, the solution of the Anglo-German problem should surely lie in the application of his maxim to both countries.

C. S. GOLDMAN.

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The Editor of The Nineteenth Century cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.

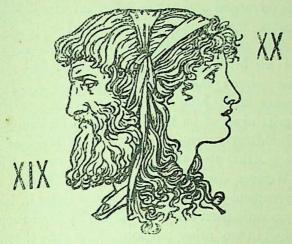
## NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

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No. CCCLXXXV-March 1909

## THE FUTURE OF CONSTITUTIONAL TURKEY

Nothing could be more characteristic of the mental attitude of the Western world than the self-complacency with which we look upon Asia. It would seem as if the prosperity of young Europe, in comparison with old Mother Asia, has so turned our heads that we firmly believe ourselves to be the only elect people of God, to whom the monopoly of authority has been given over all the earth. We alone, we think, have the right to be mighty and free, and the rest of humanity must be subject to us and never taste of the golden fruits of liberty.

Such thoughts arise in us as we read in the daily press the doubtful and pessimistic views with which the awaking of Persia and Turkey is regarded

What !—so is the cry—Turks and Persians want a constitution and a Parliament? Orientals pur-sang presume to wish to partake of the liberty enjoyed by Western nations? In the ancient stronghold of Asiatic despotism and fossilised autocracy, Dame Libertas would hold her triumphant entry? Impossible. This can never be. Such and similar remarks are heard on various sides. The following pages may serve to show the error of this view.

We in Europe have become accustomed to look upon Asiatics as Vol. LXV-No. 385

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slaves and helots to be trampled on, and we forget that our mediaval slaves and helots to be trampted system of feudalism was far more oppressive than the hardest slavely system of feudalism was far more oppressive than the hardest slavely system of feudalism was far into the countries where clumps the countries where clumps their tyrannical governments in the countries where clumsy religious tyrannical governments in the state of the anarchical conditions fanaticism has encouraged ignorance, and the anarchical conditions have favoured pauperism and reduced humanity to a state of dul submission. These evils have increased in the same proportion as our victorious arms advanced and our commercial superiority crushed the life out of native trade. Absolutism found a productive soil in impoverished Asia, and the misery would have become greater still if a current of air blowing from the Far East had not roused the slumberers and stirred them into consciousness. Japan's extraordinary successes and China's energetic pulling of itself together have had a wonderful effect on the followers of Mohammed's doctrine, The heathen Buddhists, formerly despised as blackest infidels, now appear as shining lights and examples in their eyes. The movement for liberty in Western Asia must be attributed to this vision. Constitutional Government is by no means a new thing in Islam, for any thing more democratic than the doctrine of the Arab Prophet it would be difficult to find in any other religion. It is true that only the first four Caliphs strictly adhered to the text of the Koran and the Sunna, while their successors made the Caliphate into a Saltanate, and sacrificed the spirit of democracy to the personal will of the ruler. Their example appealed particularly to the rulers of Persia and Turkey, the amalgamation of spiritual and worldly power made resistance more difficult, and hence we are face to face with the strange phenomenon that millions of people have for centuries submitted to the despotism, the caprice, the dissipation of their tyrannical masters, and allowed themselves to be crushed down into the dust by them.

But this ignominious anomaly could not continue for ever, and after Europe had broken her fetters and awakened to a new life, Asia also began to bestir herself, and to realise that her children also had a right to live as free men. When, towards the end of the fifties, I resided at the house of the Division-General Husein Daim Pasha, I noticed the first symptoms of the liberty movement in Turkey. My Pasha, a Circassian by birth, and formerly adjutant to Sultan Mahmud, had first heard of political liberty in his intercourse with Hungarian emigrants, and at once took up the idea, to try whether political liberty could not be introduced just as well in Turkey and the Islamic Husein Daim Pasha was a pious enthusiastic Mussulman who never undertook anything without the spiritual advice of wise Mollas, and Sheikh Ahmed from Bagdad, who often visited at our house, and had tried to convert me, was the right man to advise Husein in this matter. A haggard, bare-footed, fanatical Arab he was, with a remarkably piercing eye with which he seemed to look one through and through, and his erect figure as he firmly strode along will always

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in h a 1gh ays remain vivid in my mind. He held a conference with the Pasha and remain vivid the Pasha and other faithful Moslems in one of the inner apartments of the house. other talented only vaguely guess at what was going on in this secret con-I could only the was not till afterwards, when the Pasha had been venticle, and it was not till afterwards, when the Pasha had been venticle, and imprisoned by a high functionary, that I learned how carried off and imprisoned by a high functionary, that I learned how the threads of the famous Kuleli conspiracy had been spun in our house, and that my patron was the leader of it. The idea of the conspirators was to force the Sultan to grant a Constitution, on the grounds that Absolutism as hitherto practised was contrary to the spirit of the Koran, and that the Caliph as representative of the Prophet could not be allowed to commit such a sin.

This first attempt to obtain free institutions and to restrict the power of the Sultan was, of course, nipped in the bud. The idea, however, had taken root, and the number of its adherers grew in the same measure in which anarchy and tyrannical caprice increased, so that even in the reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz all educated young men and many older officials were caught in the stream, and built their hopes on a constitutional régime for the cure of all existing evils. Under the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid the movement had become almost universal, and although he forcibly prevented an outbreak, the explosion took place afterwards with such startling violence that all Europe wondered at the marvellous rapidity with which the insurrection spread, and the unanimous response of the whole nation, while it watched with interest the quiet, unsanguinary proceedings of the revolutionaries. With the downfall of Absolutism, for centuries the ruling power of the East, we in Western lands looked on with curiosity, and people began to query whether a Constitution, a purely European production, could possibly be established in Asia, or whether the whole thing would collapse shortly again.

I have often smiled at the sceptical and malicious conceit of the Westerners in this matter, for surely it would be too childish for us to pretend to believe that in Asia no one has any taste or desire for liberty—that most excellent of all our possessions. This opinion, however, is particularly prevalent in places where Western political aspirations predominate, and where the laws of national psychology are explained according to one's own fancy. Recent experiences show us that such a supposition is entirely false. The Constitution in Turkey caused such a ferment of feverish delight among the Mohammedan population as could hardly be credited of sober, quiet-going Turks. It would seem as if one and all had been waiting and longing for many years for the establishment of Constitutional rights, and had been fully acquainted with this form of Government as it exists in Western lands. Yet this was not the case. The simple Mussulmans had no notion whatever of all this, for to the mind of the lower classes in Asia, tyranny and Government are identically the same; but when they heard that the new form of Government meant freedom their joy

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was unbounded, and they completely forgot the sufferings and the injustices of past times.

Something of a similar nature took place in Persia, but the latest events there have either not been made known or else misrepresented. The Constitution granted by the sickly but kind-hearted Shah Mozaf fareddin was received with joy by the inhabitants of that unfortunate country. The Persians recognised in it the means by which they might be freed from the ancient yoke of bondage, misery and depravity. The whole aspect of things had suddenly changed. There was a general awakening out of the profound sleep of lethargy and national gloom, and in spite of all the opposition which the headstrong, self-opinionated and tyrannical Shah Mohammed Ali has brought to bear against the Constitution, the people of Persia will not relinquish their claim for freedom and independence.

The Constitutional Clubs known as *Endjumen* may possibly, partly through over-officiousness and partly from personal motives, have done more harm than good to the Constitution in the early stages of its existence, but this is no reason for us to condemn the liberty movement in Persia and to assume that the Persian people are not worthy of liberty and the nation not yet ripe for Constitution, as has been suggested in certain quarters.

The Iranians have always been among the most intelligent and most gifted people of Asia. The recollection of a thousand years' old culture and national greatness still exercises a mighty spell. Europe may think as highly as it likes of the power of its influence in the Western and Northern districts of the land, but certain it is that this material superiority of West and North can only last for a season. The desire for liberty once awakened in the Persian people can never again be crushed. Sattaur Khan, Samsam ed Dowleh, the Ilkham of the Bakhtiaris and other heads of the revolution are merely the instruments of the awakened spirit of freedom, for Islam will be independent, and will have it proved that the religion of the Arab Prophet does not stand in the way of political liberty or in any way impede the progress of culture and national greatness.

The love of freedom in the Persian people is a striking proof of the awakening of Islam. A stubborn, capricious despot has made up his mind that Absolutism which has brought his country and his people to the brink of perdition must be maintained at any cost, even to the final destruction of this ancient race. In this horrible intention he appears to be supported by the political constellations of his European neighbours, who have already in anticipation divided the spoils among themselves. They will have tabula rasa, and the deluded despot is helping to make the sharing easy for them. Yet, I greatly doubt whether the accomplishment of the scheme will be as easy as it looks.

The signs of awakening and of increased vitality are far too evident and too genuine for us to be possibly mistaken in them.

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From Tebro, against the presumptuous tyrant has spread in all directions throughagainst the P. Meshhed in the East, Ispahan and Shiraz in the South, out the land. Meshhed in the East, Ispahan and Shiraz in the South, out the land.

out the raised the standards of revolt and open resistance against the have raised the Shah Tradesmen ortices. have ranged of the Shah. Tradesmen, artisans, clerics, have made authority of the Shah. Tradesmen, artisans, clerics, have made common cause, while semi-nomadic Bakhtiaris and Lurs leave their common the mountains to give armed support to the demands of peaceful citizens. The provisional end of all this will probably be a foreign inter-

vention, but it is a delusion for the intervening foreign Power to expect that its authority can be established and maintained for any length of time. It may have been possible in the past, but now it is out of the question, for the Asiatics, whether Mohammedan, Buddhist, or Brahmin, have tasted of the nectar of liberty: our own example has proved to them its miraculous power, and they will not be satisfied until they also have drunk deep from the cup of the

While the Persians in their hard struggle for liberty lack all outside support and encouragement, the Osman nation, more favoured by fate, has successfully passed through the first phase of the struggle. Europe, as a whole, rejoices with the formerly despised and derided She admires the victor who without spilling of blood has attained his end, and who now quietly and cautiously has commenced his work of reorganisation. His task will not be an easy one, considering the heterogeneous elements of which the nation is composed and the mutual feelings of hostility which animate the different religious bodies. It will require an unusual amount of energy, and the success of his undertaking will depend first and foremost upon the political attitude of the West. As regards the internal conditions, if we may judge by the genuine delight which the institution of Constitutional life has created throughout the Osman Empire, and the glad participation of allied and non-allied Moslem nations in the joyful event, we cannot doubt the fact that the present movement is the expression of a unanimous desire for liberty, and we may take it as a happy omen for the awakening of their still slumbering Islamic brethren in Asia.

The political national unanimity of purpose which of late years has come into evidence, chiefly owing to the widespread circulation of the Moslem Press, first manifested itself in India. The Moslem Hindus, thanks to the civilising efforts of the English, were initiated into a new world of thought by their foreign Christian masters. They have realised that there are other ideals worth living for, besides those of religion, and that their only chance for obtaining the secretly coveted political and national independence is by the way of modern culture.

Like causes lead to like results in Egypt and among the Moslems

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of Russia. The nine million Mohammedans of the Nile-lands, of Russia. The nine minor who were, so to speak, the first to be elevated by European culture, who were, so to speak, the first to be elevated by European culture, who were, so to speak, the mounded in their enthusiasm at were as a matter of course unbounded in their enthusiasm at the revival of the Constitution in Turkey, and although the Turks have never enjoyed much popularity with the Egyptians, at the present moment they all join together in longing for the restored sovereignty of the Constitutional Caliph. The realisation of this wish, however, will doubtless be delayed for many years to come, for self-rule will hardly surpass the flourishing state of the country under British rule.

The Russian Mohammedans, i.e. the Tartars, whose national consciousness has first been roused by the Russian Talmi-Constitution are naturally greatly delighted at the revival which has taken place among their fellow-tribesmen and co-religionists in Turkey, and the Mohammedan faction of the Duma has sent a congratulatory address to the Osman Parliament, the text of which is as follows:

The Moslem faction of the Russian Duma desires to offer this day, the day of the opening of Parliament, hearty good wishes to their Osman fellow. tribesmen and co-religionists. We congratulate the deputies and through them the whole Ottoman nation on this happy day. We heartily hope that Turkey, awakened to a new existence, may grow and flourish under the protection of freedom. We feel and realise how great must be your joy on this day and it finds an echo in our hearts.

TEWKILEFF (President of the Mohammedan faction).

From India, Java, and Sumatra many similarly worded congratulations have been received. All speak of the joy and the enthusiasm which the success of their co-religionists in the Ottoman Empire has caused them; the personality of Sultan Abdul Hamid becomes particularly prominent, the man who was honoured by Hindus and Central Asiatics, even at the time when he was hated by the Turks on account of the régime of Absolutism, now stands forth in all the glory of a constitutional, liberal-minded sovereign.

Seeing how this sudden change in Turkish politics is exulted in by the Moslem world, and how Europe looks upon it as quite a phenomenal event, we ask ourselves the question in how far this excitement is justifiable, and whether the changed form of Government is likely to bring about a radical transformation in the national aspect of things and in the individual characteristics of the people. This is a most important question from the standpoint of the universal history of culture, and also for the future influence of Europe over the Near East. It is, therefore, well worthy of being thoroughly investigated, the more so as the leading circles of Europe, with regard to Mohammedanism, either labour under gross ignorance or else are so blinded by their own national-political interests that they cannot, or will not, see the true position of things. Since by our example and encouragement a portion of the Oriental community has been led to

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don the constitutional garment, made after strictly European cut and don the common done the control and fashion, it is surely permissible to ask, Will this garment fit the society fashion, It is a fashion, Arabs, &c., grown up among Oriental customs and habits, of Turks, Arabs, will they move with more and habits, of Turks, and habits, and, if thus clothed, will they move with more ease than heretofore? and, it thus stand form of Government is the control of the stand in the standard of the stand The European form of Government is rooted in the soil of a

European historical past, and is the result of a series of social and European evolutions, which as yet do not exist in the East, and have first to be created. It is still doubtful whether the European régime of liberty will be able to produce among Asiatics a sudden and radical They who quote Japan as an example in favour of this view are sadly in error, for in Japan the people, the national element, has always been an unresisting instrument in the hands of the Daimios, and the great transformation which there took place was the work of the ruling class of the Samurai. In Japan the new institution was not hampered by any hierarchical or exclusive religious tendencies, as has been the case up to now in Near and Central Asia with regard to Islam. Islam is known and famed as being an ultra-democratic religion, and it is only the tyranny and the excessive egotism of the absolute rulers of the Moslem East which have hitherto acted as

Now, since, with the introduction of the Constitution in Turkey, despotic power is done away with, it may be that with the removal of that obstacle, in all departments of human thought and activity, the spirit of reform will sweep away and utterly destroy all remnants of the old evil practices. This we must hope for. Yet we dare not indulge in any vain illusions, for we have to keep in view how allpowerful and all-inclusive is the influence of Islam over every emotion and action of life, by its fanatical upholding of the doctrine of future retribution. The pious Moslem must strictly adhere to all the precepts of the Koran and the Sunna, not only in his intercourse with the Deity, but in all the phases and points of everyday life. In dress, in eating and drinking, in walking and riding, in lying and sitting and sleeping, in mirth and in earnest, always and everywhere he has to keep religion before him, and the slightest neglect of any of the precepts referring to these points proclaims him a sinner, if not an infidel. Bearing this in mind—and we must bear it in mind if we are to understand the true position of things—we shall not so lightly look upon the Turkish Constitution as the wonder-working elixir by means of which the old evils in the Ottoman Empire will abruptly be eradicated, and State and Society made new again. Politicians may nurse this illusion, but the impartial inquirer must before all things respect the truth, and he may not ignore or purposely conceal the enormous difficulties with which the work of regeneration in Turkey is fraught.

There is, in the first To mention just a few of these difficulties.

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place, the great financial stress and the utter want of means necessary for the introduction of reforms and for the creation of those instruments which are unavoidably necessary for the exploitation of the wealth of the country. As I am told, nearly fifty millions of pounds are necessary for that purpose. Next to this is the social transformation, which hitherto has been confined to matters. Only the outer shell of Oriental life has been touched the kernel is still intact, and so long as the modern aspect of the world in general has not penetrated into the innermost parts of society there can be no question of a radical cure—i.e. an approxima. tion to the society from whose example the sickly East is to draw its salvation. I readily admit that the command of separation from the non-Mohammedan world—legally termed Elameti tefrikiye—i.e. sign of separation, and which means that Moslems must distinguish them. selves from the Christians by external marks—is of comparatively late origin. But this law is still in force now, and if, for instance, a Mussulman should wear a hat, he would be declared an infidel by his orthodox co-religionists. In regard to food the same strenuous law is observed, and also and particularly it applies to the separation of the sexes. This noli me tangere, even in the eyes of the most enlightened Mohammedans, is necessarily one of the chief obstacles to the reform of Moslem society. When Turks who have acquired European culture, such as Khalil Halid 1 and Ahmed Riza 2 (the latter is now President of the Turkish Parliament), in their writings declare themselves in favour of the harem, they apparently do so only out of consideration for their conservative co-religionists; for as long as the seclusion of women is maintained a radical transformation of Moslem society is impossible. In the primitive Islamic law the separation of the sexes was not obligatory. We have it on record that Moslem women have stood at the head of an army, in the pulpit, and have occupied other prominent positions in public life; but long usage and the fossilised conservatism of Orientals in general present almost insurmountable obstacles to any reformatory efforts in this matter. It is worthy of note that in places where the contact between Orientals and Europeans has been closer, the harem laws are already less strictly observed. Mohammedan writers from India and South Russia have expressed themselves very candidly about this matter, and boldly advocate the abolition of the harem. The Moslem women under Christian dominion have on several occasions pleaded for equal rights with men; and, not to mention occasional newspaper articles by Tartar women, a Moslem lady in Cairo quite recently delivered a noteworthy speech on the occasion of a festival in connexion with the liberty movement. lady, Madame Ferid, the daughter of the Adjutant of the late Redjeb Pasha, rightly suggested that with the revival of the Constitution the

<sup>2</sup> La Crise de l'Orient, by Ahmed Riza Bey. Paris, 1907, p. 117.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Crescent Versus the Cross, by Khalil Halid. London, 1907, p. 113.

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ancient bondage of Moslem women ought to cease, since it is historically proved that in olden times women took an active share in literary, educational, and scientific pursuits; and she insisted that without the emancipation of women a healthy reform in Islam society could not be carried out. Madame Ferid expressed very sound views about woman's influence on the education, culture, and character of men, and her address was listened to with much attention.

I can well imagine with what horror the orthodox conservative Moslems would read this speech. It is not so very long ago since the Sultan ordered a company of learned men to consult together about the colour of the Feredje (cloak), the thickness of the veil, and the shape of the shoes to be worn by women. Turkish women were strictly prohibited from visiting European shops; and now a Madame Ferid stands up to deliver an address before a male audience! Preposterous! Maybe, but there is no help for it. The unnatural separation of the sexes must be put an end to if the restored

constitution is to have any salutary influence on social life.

The reform of education goes hand in hand with the reform of social conditions, and more especially that branch of it which is concerned with the simplification of the language and the separation between religious and secular instruction. The Ottoman language in its present form is useless for the instruction of the masses. Considering that a Turk of good birth can only know the literary language of his own country after many years of study-for to understand it he has first to learn Arabic and Persian—a general distribution of knowledge in that tongue is necessarily out of the question. is hardly a Turkish farmer, artisan, or tradesman who can understand a well-written newspaper article; and strictly scientific works are, of course, altogether beyond the scope of the public. The task which the reformers have set themselves is therefore a very serious one, but the wall which still separates the educated from the masses will soon be pulled down. The promoters of progress in Moslem Asia have noted with pleasure the zeal of the Russian Mohammedans in their attempts to solve the problem. A Crimean man, the well-known Mr. Ismael Gasprinski, introduced the so-called Ussul-i-Sautie (vocal method), and has thereby considerably lightened the task of teaching children to read; by this method also universal knowledge has been made more accessible. One can imagine what a storm of indignation this innovation created among the orthodox conservative Mollas. For years the battle has raged; in Bokhara, that stronghold of fanaticism, it rages still, but in many places, even in the Steppes, the method is now accepted. Gradually the Turkish language is being simplified and the road to culture opened. Under British dominion public instruction in India has a brilliant future in store; but in Afghanistan, for instance, there is constant warfare between Emir Habibullah and the fanatical Mollas. Dr. Abdul Gani, who received

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his education in England, and at the invitation of the Emir under took the management of the Habibia College founded by him, was constantly in danger of his life. Only now, since some of the Mollas have been punished and made examples of, the new system of education is beginning to be respected. The constitutional Government of Turkey will have to be very energetic in this matter; and this will be the easier as the system of education has existed for some time in the Rushdie and Idadie schools, where it only needs more care.

No less difficult than the two former problems is the introduction of reform in the political administration. If the Christian States of Europe can only with the greatest difficulty keep together and govern an ethnically disjointed political body, how can this be accomplished in a State where, besides the ethnical differences, the poison of religious antagonism frustrates all attempts at agreement? Midhat Pasha, an enlightened, patriotic man, expected more from the collective name of Osmanli than it has proved to possess, for up to the present no Christian Armenian, Greek, or Syrian, and no Moslem Arab or Kurd, has shown himself proud of the name; nor is he likely to bear it in the future, for the idea of nationality, which with us is beginning to lose its charm, is only just beginning to wake up in Asia—that is to say, in those circles where the idea of nationality and the struggle for independence are inextricably connected.

In view of these facts, it seems likely that isolated national fragments will band together and in time claim the same privileges which the States of the Balkan peninsula have wrested from the Osman Confederation. This, however, will depend entirely on the vitality of the constitutional régime. No great hopes can be entertained in this respect, as even as early as the first sittings of the Turkish Parliament nationalistic tendencies were brought in evidence. long since past in which political States can be reconstructed into national States; and in Asia such a transformation would be even more difficult than elsewhere. If the Asiatic possessions of the Turkish Empire were of a stable and regular character-i.e. if the heterogeneous national elements of which they are composed were thoroughly settled and led a peaceful life-many difficulties might perhaps be overcome; but unfortunately this is not the case. From Bayazid to the Persian Gulf, and from the borders of the Tigris to Diarbekir and Orfah, as far as the frontier district of Damascus, the population consists of wholly or semi-nomadic Kurds and Arabs, who will have nothing to do with settled conditions of life, with agriculture and peaceable occupations, and who, in fact, are more loss than profit to the Government. To establish some kind of order among these wandering tribes, to force them into a settled life, is a task which will take many years to accomplish and require the most able management. What the Russians in the Trans-Caucasus and the

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French in South Algeria have thus far failed to do will be still harder

for Turkey to bring about in its Eastern possessions.

These points far from exhaust the list of difficulties which con-These points which constitutional Turkey has to face, and the question arises: Is Turkey fit to undertake the work? In order to answer this question, let us see what are the materials at her disposal; and here we are obliged to speak of what is called Young Turkdom. We in the West are apt to specific to look upon the Young Turks as a political party or a secret revolutionary confederation which has suddenly made its appearance on the scene of action, and, after the manner of European revolutionaries, attacks the Government and overthrows everything. This view, however, is not correct, as is evident in the case of the previously mentioned Kuleli conspiracy. The beginning of Young Turkdom dates back to the early fifties of last century, when Zia Bey, Shinassi Efendi, and other modern-minded patriots began to realise the necessity of radical reforms in State and society. The originally small company soon increased, and as they were in opposition to the conservative elements, the younger and more fiery members of the faction soon had to quit the country, and took refuge abroad as political refugees; while those who remained behind and conducted themselves quietly secretly propagated the revolutionary spirit. The strength and importance of the party grew in proportion to the anarchical, senseless, and tyrannical exploits of the Hamidie régime, and when, later on, the approach of the final catastrophe was feared, and the army also joined the Young Turks, the reign of Absolutism came to an end, and the Sultan, to whom the word liberty had always been a terror, was compelled to proclaim the constitution and inaugurate a condition of things which in the beginning of his reign he had fought against with all the means at his disposal.

The surprise of Europe at the unexpected changes which took place in Turkey was, therefore, the result of ignorance of what had gone before. Not merely a political party but rather the whole Turkish nation, with very few exceptions, belongs to Young Turkdom. Every one who feels Turkish and speaks Turkish is a Young Turk, and the difference lies only in the fact that some of them, a comparatively very small number, for a season have had to eat the bitter bread of exile. They have now returned to join the majority which remained behind and secretly furthered the cause. The former, who have suffered more for the cause of freedom than the latter, enjoy certain privileges. They also act as leaders in the 'Committees for Unity and Progress'; but, fully conscious of their minority, they have left the reins of government in the hands of the able patriots who stayed behind, in order that by their efforts the constitution might be successfully established. In Europe these 'committees' have been regarded with suspicion, as if there were some mysterious

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element at work in them; and, among others, to the committee at Saloniki some extraordinary power has been attributed. Saloniki some extraordinary positives surmises, however, have been very exaggerated. The repatriated exiles and the patriots at home thus far hold closely together Reactionary attempts like that of the half-demented Kor Ali (blind Ali), or of the Bond of the Extremists Fedakiaran (i.e. Ready for Sacrifice), under the leadership of Prince Sabah-ed-din, are not to be taken seriously, and will do no harm.

As long as the before-mentioned two sections of the Turkish patriots will work together in harmony and good understanding there is no danger in store for a happy development of the nation, But as soon as the much-needed unity gives place to personal dissensions all hopes of a revival of Turkey will vanish at once. It is for this reason that the recent fall of Kiamil Pasha is to be highly regretted. I have enjoyed the favour of his personal acquaintance for many years, and I am sure there is no second to him in statesmanship, patriotism and purity of character. The Young Turks ought not to forget that the success of their revolution is greatly due to the co-operation of those liberal compatriots who remained at home, and that the young men who returned from exile uninitiated in the administration, in diplomacy and in nearly all the branches of public life could have hardly formed a government without the assistance of the leading liberal statesmen at home. The Young Turks, by forcing their way to the front, have already given cause for complaint on the part of many of the old civil servants, who say 'Patriotism alone does not qualify anybody for the post of a minister or ambassador.' This kind of bickering is as yet going on behind the scenes, but it might increase and endanger the situation.

The recollection of the terrible time of the reign of Absolutism's as yet too vivid, and the danger which threatens the life of the Ottoman Empire is too imminent, to allow of any party quarrels or private interests to be talked of. Young Turkdom and the Osman nation in general, realising their patriotic duties, ought yet for many years to come to work side by side for the accomplishment of their object. The question now is: Is the power of the constitutional Turks equal to their desire, and have they at their disposal the strength necessary for the realisation of their project? To this question I can reply with a most emphatic 'Yes.' With the exception of a few foreign leading personalities—as, for instance, in the departments of Finance and Customs, in the Post Office, and the Marine—the Turkish State can have at its disposal the services of able, well-informed, and zealous officials, on the understanding that they are suitably and regularly paid, which has not been the case so far; and it is in consequence of this latter evil that officials have had to resort to extortion and distraint. The present-day Turk differs vastly from his ancestor in the first half of the past century, for of all his co-religionists in Asia and

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Africa he is by far the most accomplished and the most advanced in

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our culture. The modernisation of the schools dates back thirty years; the present generation gives distinct proofs of a modern turn of mind, present since the régime of liberty and patriotism has been gradually and now, since the Oriental character, we are invited by transforming the Oriental character, we are justified in expecting that the canker which undermined the Turkish administration will soon be removed, and with the rejuvenescence of the factors of the administrative body the State itself will also become young again. It certainly seems too bold an undertaking if we persist that the familiar dark side of Asiatic nature, the outcome of many centuries of despotic rule, is suddenly to be transformed with the commencement of the reign of liberty and progress. Negligence, laziness, and weak morality cannot all at once give place to conscientiousness, zeal, and integrity. The leaders of the present movement are comparatively few in number, and great is the company of those who need enlightenment and culture. But if our rulers really desire to show Young Turkey the sympathy which they profess to feel for them, they must before all things show patience, indulgence, for-The conditions in Turkey cannot be changed in a moment. An entire nation can only by slow degrees pass from one form of culture into another, and, however gifted and desirous they may be, they can only go over the road step by step. All extravagant expectations are vain and unprofitable. Turkey will need at least two decades to accomplish the transformation which Europe looks for at the hand of Young Turkdom. Absolute peace and quietness are, of course, a first necessity for bringing the work of reform to a satisfactory conclusion, and since the peace and quietness of the Near East depend mainly on the attitude of the European Powers, the success or the failure of the constitutional movement in Turkey rests in reality with our European If the Near East is to continue to be what it has been for the last three hundred years—the wrestling-ground for the intrigues of the diplomatic West; if by continuous and useless interference disorder is caused in the still loose joints of the constitutional structure; or if by forwarding individual interests the seed of discord is sown afresh and the work of reformation impeded—then all our hope for better things will end in delusion.

If to-day all Western Europe rejoices with the Turks and congratulates them on the successes achieved by them, it must be remembered that what has been attained can only be profitably applied if we help the brave Turkish people in their struggle by every means at out disposal, instead of taking from under their feet the very basis of true progress and development by our everlasting fight for precedence. It has now to be proved in good earnest whether it is our intention to keep alive in the Near East the constant fear of a universal conflagration, or whether we mean to banish from our political horizon

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the dreaded phantom which already has caused so much trouble the dreaded phantom which the decisive moment, and now it will be shown and harm. Now is the decisive moment, and now it will be shown whether Europe is for peace or for war.

As matters stand to-day, any inimical bearing against Turker As matters stand to-day, and is almost everywhere excluded. Even Russia, the historical enemy friendly feelings and is of the Ottoman Empire, betrays friendly feelings and is ready to support the new constitutional era. How long this favourable situation to the new constitutional era. tion will last, nobody knows. It is, however, necessary to prevent any too sanguine expectations concerning the present period of transition in Turkey. We have but to remember the high-going tide of sympathy for Turkey before and during the Crimean War when David Urquhart published his Spirit of the East, and to bear in mind the utter disappointment which resulted from finding that Turkey did not become at once civilised. Public opinion fell from one extremity into another, and it is in order to forestall any unjust criticism that the foregoing lines have been written.

A. VAMBÉRY

The University, Budapest.

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## INDIA REVISITED

HAVING within the last few months revisited the scenes of my labours in India, after a lapse of some years, I am perhaps in a fair position to note the political changes which have happened quite recently.

On the whole, I am surprised that the present unrest, which has only lately taken active shape, has not so far succeeded in touching the masses. Surprised, because at its head (especially in Bengal) are undoubtedly clever men, some of whom-but only a few-are genuinely working for the upsetting of the existing Government. And it might be assumed, in these circumstances, that the first step of the Irreconcilables would have been to wound us deeply in our pockets and in our means of resistance. To touch our pockets the milch cow must be persuaded to refuse supplies. In other words, the payer of land revenue must adopt a no-rent programme. Were this to happen on a large scale in any one province, our difficulties would indeed be great. It was attempted last year in one of the northern districts of the Punjab, but was stopped in time by the energetic action of the local magistrate, who promptly put the ringleaders into gaol. And if, at the same time, our sepoys were made to believe in unfair dealing on the part of the Government, and that they were going against the interest of their own class in serving us, then indeed our position would be precarious. The sepoy has been preached to by the extremists, but so far without result. He is usually a small landowner, or has some interest in the soil, and rarely (as in our British Army) is he the product of the towns. So we must rest our peaceful occupation of India upon the peasant who pays the taxes and upon his brother or son who shoulders the musket. When these fail us we have to fall back upon Thomas Atkins for the restoration of order; and blood is shed in the accomplishment of this.

I may at the outset record my belief that neither the peasant nor the sepoy has so far been 'got at' by the Irreconcilables on any scale worth discussing. One reason is that the leaders are not men of such social position as would tempt the agriculturist to risk the substance in following them. They have nothing to offer which would improve the lot of the zamindars. These latter (when they give themselves the trouble to think the matter over) know that whether it is Self-

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Government or British Government the land must be taxed, and it would be hard to convince them that a lowering of their taxes would be hard to convince them that a lowering of their taxes would follow the lowering of the British Flag. They are astute enough to perceive this, in spite of the poison poured into their ears from the mouths of the village schoolmasters, interpreters of the farthing mouths of the vinage schooling newspapers which circulate everywhere at specially reduced postage postage rates. My belief is that the land masses will only listen to a cry which affects their religion, be it Hindu or Mohammedan. They have dotted everywhere in their midst little tracts of foreign territory in the form of native States, and in these the land is taxed far more heavily than in neighbouring British possessions. And it will take much to persuade them that the Bengali editor or Punjab barrister-atlaw, proclaimed Badsha, would take less freely than even the existing Indian rajah. I remember a few years back an instance in point, The British revenue assessor had decreed an increase in the taxation of a certain rich tract, and the people demurred. 'Well,' said the assessor, 'it so happens that the Rajah of --- is prepared to take over your villages in exchange for some lands of his which it will suit us to acquire. So, if you are not satisfied with my assessment, I will recommend Government to sanction this exchange.' To which the villagers replied: 'We will pay anything you please, but, for God's sake, don't make us subjects of the Rajah.' Now, in this particular case the native State in question was admirably administered, and there was no apparent reason why the people concerned should have objected to a transfer of masters, except that the land tax was lighter under British rule and the administration of justice a trifle more efficient. I give the incident in support of my belief that on general grounds the peasants are not anxious to see the British at the bottom of the Indian Ocean. We have our faults and we commit mistakes, but on the whole our efforts for their improvement are appreciated by the people, and I feel certain they prefer us as rulers to the rule of their own educated classes. It was one of my daily duties for many years to receive petitions and distribute them among a subordinate staff for inquiry. And a week seldom passed without the cry: 'Let my petition go to any sahib you please, but not to a native magistrate.' In recording this I merely wish to state a fact which every official in India is cognisant of, namely that the Indian as a rule has great faith in the impartiality of the Englishman. I have no desire to belittle the services of the Indian judges and magistrates, the great majority of whom are to-day upright, honourable, intelligent and laborious. That I fully believe this, will be shown by proposals for the advance ment of Indian officials I shall have to make later on. I must repeat, there is a halo surrounding the 'sahib' which secures for his decisions—even when wrong—a higher respect, which does well-deserved credit to the members of the Civil Service generally one of the purest and most devoted services in the world.

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And now I come back to the agitators. Who are they, and what do they want? I have not to my knowledge an Anarchist among do they want Indian friends. But if by 'agitator' is meant one who is my many Indian friends. But if by 'agitator' is meant one who is my many that the present administration and wants to see things dissatisfied with the present advantage, then I have been the present advantage, then I have been the present advantage. dissatished to his own personal advantage, then I have met them by the improved to his own personal advantage, their crieves are them by the improved they have talked over their grievances with me more candidly, perhaps, than they would have a few years ago when I was a power—a small one—in the land. As to organised Anarchism, I think I may assert it does not exist outside Bengal, though there are individuals elsewhere—mostly lads who have just left school—whose exotic education leads them to approve of violent measures merely to rub into Government the fact that they are discontented. Excluding the extremists as a quantité négligeable, I believe one-half of the younger educated men is a most moderate estimate of those who have an axe to grind, and these are supplemented by about twenty per cent. of the older educated men who are also in the movement. The very old men are not generally troubling themselves about politics. Intellectual numbness comes on in India at a much earlier age than in Europe. Further, the Mohamedans generally are holding aloof from active politics, not believing either in the genuineness of the agitation or in a likelihood of its success. And still more are they sceptical of receiving generous treatment at the hands of the Hindus were the movement Moreover, they fully appreciate the absolute fairness with which they have ever been treated by the British Government. If they are backward in the competition for administrative posts, they recognise that this is due to their own failure to educate themselves up to the level of their Hindu compatriots.

The majority of the discontented would probably like to see our backs for the last time could this be accomplished without personal risk; but a few are convinced that this is a hopeless prospect at So they adopt the attitude of tolerating our supremacy, and of screwing out of us all they can by making things unpleasant Now no one can blame them for this. After all they are To expect an intelligent man to glory natives and we are foreigners. in a government by foreigners, however benevolent, is to mark him as having no ambitions and no patriotism. He can only submit to physical force, and it is by physical force we keep our check in India over the educated and the uneducated. We are not loved. We are tolerated because there is no present possibility of an independent India, and because we are on the whole less objectionable than would be the Japanese or the Russians. This puts the feeling of India towards England in its bluntest form. There is appreciation of what we have done for the country, but no gratitude, because in all we have done we have considered the benefits, direct or indirect, accruing to ourselves, and the trail of self-interest marks our every step in the progress of the country. So say the reformers. Their aim is to make us realize

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that their educated men must have a substantial share of the higher appointments hitherto mainly reserved for members of the Civil appointments interest many service. No one can blame them for this, so long as their methods Service. No one can plante strong the voung men who have the voung m and newspaper editors are drawn from the young men who have been educated in England, from the class that benefits by our legal system: barristers, pleaders, and their clerks; from the ever-increasing roll of college and university youths who have been disappointed in securing Government service. Be it remembered that the industrial and commercial openings are infinitesimal in India, which is mainly an agricultural country. Every student starts in the hope of securing a small Government office, and, failing in this, he has only the law to fall back upon. But even the law courts are limited in their requirements, and consequently the examinations for pleaderships are far more searching than those required of the legal profession in England. Hence the numbers who flock to England to enter by the more open door. The failures are glad to accept the smallest Government clerkships, usually beginning on a salary of £12 per annum But even of these there are not sufficient to go round. The incumbents are not happy, and their eyes turn with envy towards the young Civil Servant whose pay begins at £320 per annum on the day he lands in India and culminates in a pension (after twenty-one years' residence) of £1000 a year. This is the pie in which the educated Indians would like to have a finger, without, of course, the formality of a stiff competitive examination in England. I will revert to the subject later on.

In still smaller position financially, and with less hope of substantial advancement, are the teachers in Government primary schools existing in almost every village of importance. They are politicians before everything, and carefully study their anti-English newspaper, interpreting its contents to those who cannot read for themselves. In the towns, where higher education is given almost gratuitously, the mischief made by the masters is still more serious, because the boys are better able to appreciate the difficulties they are about to meet

with in securing a livelihood, even on starvation wages.

Such is the prospect for educated men. I mean men who can read and write in their own vernacular and have a fair knowledge of arithmetic and a fair knowledge of English-much better than the average university man at home has of French or German. And is it surprising that they aspire to something better in the only line now available to men of education, namely, Government employment; and can it be wondered at if they curse the Government which (after educating them almost gratuitously) fails to provide them with the means of a decent livelihood? For, mark you, to the Government door every evil is placed, be it plague, or famine, or earthquake, or bad times. And whether Government does or refrains from doing it is set down in the worst light by the native editor. And can you

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blame the native editor? He must live, and to live he must sell his No one will buy it unless it is full of abuse of Government; paper. No state of the paper is full of abuse. Financially, the vernacular therefore, the restance of the restance of the vernacular newspapers are a poor investment, their average profits being less than £100 a year.

Broadly speaking, the political movement is strongest in Bengal, largely incited by the recent administrative splitting of the Province largery mortions, a measure recently denounced by Lord MacDonnell into two portions, a measure recently denounced by Lord MacDonnell as 'the greatest blunder which has been committed in India since as the Solution of the Conquered at Plassy.' Lord Curzon has the credit, or discredit, of this act; but it is one of the few great questions of his time in which he took no initial share, and only after its accomplishment did he perceive the fatal consequences of relying on the judgment of others without examining the pros and cons for himself. The uproar that ensued awoke him to the fact that a mistake had been made. Lord MacDonnell errs on the side of hysterics when he counsels the retrograde step of restoring the union of Bengal. Even the placating of the irate Bengali would be too heavy a price to pay, and I doubt if he would be placated. Rather would he ask for more, and our administrators would have no peace.

Next to Bengal comes the Bombay Presidency, where the movement is engineered by the Mahrata Brahmins, having their headquarters at They are probably more bitter in their hatred of the existing Government than the Bengalis, but they are less demonstrative. Their work is mainly underground, and they are credited with having something in the nature of a big surprise for us when the psychical moment arrives. Madras and the Central Provinces are less formidable for the moment than Bengal and Bombay, though the Poona Brahmins are actively pushing their operations in these directions. the United Provinces are comparatively inactive. The movement has not 'caught on 'in Burma and the North-West Frontier Province, nor in the southern Punjab.

Prospects lately were particularly gloomy from a Government point of view in the central and northern Punjab, where a serious attempt was made to influence the landowners and the sepoys. was stopped by the vigorous action of the Executive. Two selfconstituted leaders were deported. They have since been pardoned, and are now absolutely discredited by their fellow-agitators. are not likely again to come into prominence. It is rumoured that they agreed to renounce the Devil as a condition of their release. This is the view taken by their countrymen, who regard them as having been bought over by Government. Enough to damn any patriot! An unfortunate Bill was passed by the local legislature withdrawing certain rights in land which had hitherto been freely exercised by a vigorous group of occupiers on a large tract watered

<sup>1</sup> House of Lords, December 17, 1908.

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by a great Punjab river. These occupiers—known as colonists—are men carefully selected by Government as the pick of the basket from the best agricultural districts in northern India. They include many pensioned officers and sepoys and many of our most devoted subjects, distinguished by this substantial reward for services rendered, and they are thriving and prosperous. But to the astonishment of those who framed the Bill, the cultivators rose en masse against the harshness of the proposals, and were even prepared to go into open rebellion had not the Supreme Government fortunately stepped in and at the last moment vetoed the measure. Meanwhile the alarm had spread all over the province. The intentions of Government were freely criticised by the sepoys in all the cantonments of upper India. The vernacular Press saw its opportunity, and pointed out in venomous language that no landowner was safe if even the old soldier and the loyalist were to be thrown over. The affair has left an unpleasant feeling behind it and is by no means forgotten. Nor the moral: that agitation pays. There was at the same time a serious upheaval at Rawal Pindi in the north of the Punjab. The land revenue of the district had just been enhanced after a period of rest, under the ordinary settlement operations. The incidence of the tax was most severely felt in the immediate neighbourhood of the city, where the lands are largely owned by Hindus of the non-agricultural classes, The opportunity was seized upon by the political malcontents, who in violent speeches advocated non-payment of the Government demand. Five of the local leaders were asked to show cause why they should not be prosecuted for inciting the people to resistance. They were accompanied to the magistrate's court by an enormous mob of sympathisers. A riot ensued, in which some houses of Europeans and of persons known to be loyal to the British were wrecked, also a mission church and a post-office. The judicial proceedings which followed were dragged out for several months, and in the end the persons accused of being ringleaders were discharged by the sessions judge. But the magistrate's prompt and vigorous action had the effect of nipping the movement in the bud, and Rawal Pindi has been lamblike in behaviour ever since. At the same moment there were disturbances of a quasi-political character at Lahore, and the agitators were reported to be dangerously busy at Multan. But the executive action at Rawal Pindi caused the leaders everywhere to pause, and nothing serious has since happened.

It was an anxious summer for civilians and soldiers and for Indians who were known to be on our side. Loyalists and sepoys were suspected on most improbable grounds—or on no grounds—on the mere report of paid spies of the lowest type. Cipher telegrams coursed freely over the wires. Were we on the eve of another 'Fifty seven'? Many thought so, for the simple reason that no one knew, from the Governor-General down to the common policeman, what the

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extent of the agitation was and what hold it had got on the agriculturists. I think it is now generally admitted that there was no organised conspiracy; only the letting go of gas from soda water; that the 'conspirators' had no common plans; that they intended no immediate physical harm; and that they were more astonished than the Government at the successful result of their ebullitions. They have doubtless taken careful note of the ease with which a panic may be created and put it away for future guidance. Doubtless, also, when opening the next soda-water bottle they will have organised a more efficient backing through the agency of village school teachers and disaffected units.

For the moment things are perfectly quiet on the surface all over India with the exception of the Bengal provinces. They will remain so if the recent special repressive Acts are promptly extended to any tract in which disloyalty shows itself active. The mischief in Bengal had a good start of two years while Lords Morley and Minto were discussing the most humane methods of its crushing. In fact, had not the anarchists forced the pace by adopting assassination the House of Commons would not to this day have sanctioned vigorous dealing with a possible grave danger in the future, and the extremists would have continued to rejoice in 'a fair field and no favour.'

I have not yet touched upon the attitude of the feudatory States; and yet their position is one of the most interesting problems in modern Their rulers, one and all, may be counted on at this Indian history. moment as absolutely loyal to the King-Emperor, and entirely untouched by the lever-movement for reform which presses around The majority of these States are governed by men of common sense, either by their rulers in person or by experienced officials acting under the rulers' instructions. And they have in most cases a British officer on the spot whose advice is usually sought and generally followed on questions of importance. I cannot say too much in praise of the Agents of the Political Department and of their devotion to the simple old-world communities among whom they spend their term of official life. These feudatory States are a quaint mixture of the Their customs and observances date back ancient and the modern. to times whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary; and the visible signs are the elephants, the retainers and the soldiers in curious garb, the multitude of councillors, the astrologers, the physicians wedded to the bedi and ûnáni systems, the 'lucky' moments for work or play, the dancing girls, the musicians, doles to the Brahmins, and a hundred other old-fashioned happenings, as if the British had never approached nearer than the British Channel. And alongside these, but never ousting them, a system of courts of justice, gaols, dispensaries, schools—such as often exceed in magnificence, but seldom in efficiency, the hard-and-fast institutions of neighbouring British territory. These native States form a very important factor

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in the maintenance of our rule in India, and their chiefs deserve all the sympathy and all the support they receive from our Government, I will only here repeat that their present attitude is one of absolute I will only here repeat that the loyalty, in spite of attempts made to awaken them to what the reformers are pleased to call 'a dignified sense of their wrongs.' have wrongs and grievances, of course; who has not? But they are not making a lever of these by sulking at a moment when their declared support is of consequence to the Government.

In Lord Morley we have a statesman who kept his head throughout the crisis now no longer acute. Lord Minto very wisely submitted himself to the orders of his chief and loyally seconded him throughout, To Lord Morley and Lord Minto are due the recent concessions, which have come none too soon. But it must not for a moment be supposed that the nominations of one or two Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council, or the elections of an unofficial majority to the local legislative bodies will slake the educated native's thirst for office. The measures announced by Lord Morley on the 17th of December are gratifying to the small group of loyal men of note who will be invited to lend a hand at the helm; and their presence will have a steadying effect on those who believe that the Government has lately wavered from the only true course—that of gradual inclusion within the administration of men of the Soil who are fitted for more than mere spadework. But we must look forward before long to a generous sharing with Indians of the higher posts now monopolised by members of the Civil Service. I would suggest that at least one-quarter of the annual recruitment for this service be made by nomination in each Province of educated local men of good social position belonging, as far as possible, to well-known families whose members have stood by us when there was trouble in the past. This will not content the 'agitators,' who spring for the most part from the money-lending and socially lower classes; but the measure will be popular with the landowners, whose support in an agricultural country is politically far more valu-To these young men I would give every opportunity of becoming fitted eventually for the highest posts in the administration. place them, in the first instance, under selected officers who would teach them their work, and by degrees they should be entrusted with offices of responsibility. In the end they must sink or swim by the reputation they may have made for themselves in the course of their service. If the experiment prove a success, then all the better for us. If a failure, we shall at least be credited with having done our honest best to give the Indian a chance of sharing in the government of his own country. When the agitation has died out (and I believe this will happen very soon) I would introduce an element of competition for these appointments, safeguarding, as far as possible, the interests of the Sikhs and Mohammedans and other races who are not so quick witted as the Hindu of the commercial class.

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I fear I may have given the stay-at-home Englishman an impression that the civil administration is only recruited from two bodies, namely, the higher Civil Servants proper and the lower clerical establishments already alluded to as beginning their career on £12 per There are several very important intermediate branches known broadly as the Uncovenanted Service, whose members rise through many grades in judicial and executive posts to a fairly comfortable competence. But they rarely, in pay or position, reach the top rungs of the ladder. These appointments are freely shared in by the Indians, who are appointed by nomination or competition. I have not in these notes made reference to positions in various other departments, such as Medical, Education, Public Works, Forests, Railways, Customs, Surveys, Posts and Telegraphs, in the higher branches of which the Englishman is usually seated. I take it as granted that all these posts will likewise be more generously shared with Indians once the Covenanted Civil Service consents to surrender some of its own particular primeurs. Always, of course, on condition that good men and true are to be found for the posts. On this point I shall not be contradicted when I assert that every Englishman of experience in India can put his finger on at least half-a-dozen Indian fellow-workers who are intellectually able to administer in the departments in which they have been trained. The only doubt is as to their partiality in dealing with their countrymen, the tendency being to lean towards people of their own caste or creed. But there are many brilliant exceptions, and I personally know some Indians whose fairmindedness is absolute and who have worked without prejudice throughout their service. This high quality will become more common as time goes on. Let us consider, in mitigation of the partiality habit, the difficulty we ourselves often feel when we are called on to punish a white man for an offence against a black.

I have still some impressions to note regarding two matters of absorbing interest, namely, our relations with the feudatory States and our present military position in India. These I will reserve for future notice. My present notes embody the kernels of many conversations and of much inquiry lately made with Indians of various shades of political ideas, from the declared loyalist to the most suspected of the so-called rebels; also with Englishmen holding important offices in the country. My readers have my assurance, for what it is worth, that the recent measures of repression will deal a death-blow to open agitation, provided they are freely made use of, and without hesitation or delay, in any portion of India showing symptoms of getting out of hand. I do not think there were at any time deep-laid plans (except in Bengal) for the upsetting of the administration. The discontented were fairly astonished at the commotion they created pour si peu de chose. But they now know their power, and only if checked in good time will they refrain from starting another scare.

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Hence the importance of the repressive measures. We have a rod Hence the importance of the representations will also help ready for the malefactors. But the Morley concessions will also help enormously towards keeping the peace, and no intelligent agitator enormously towards keeping the pour, the leaders are all intelligent—will for a moment regard them as wrung the leaders are all intelligent—will fear. The internal from us by force or conceded through fear. The internal peace of India will be disturbed only if a religious cry be started. The masses will never move merely for the sake of lifting the educated denizens of the towns into high administrative office.

Mr. Buchanan has recently announced in the House of Commons that the Home Government are considering the question of controlling the preparation in this country of printed matter which may incite our subjects in India to rebellion and murder. It is to be hoped that the offenders will be made liable to some punishment more repressive than the mere confiscation of their literature. Unfortunately if England is purged of their presence, the anarchists will still have an uncontrolled field of operations on the Continent and in America, whence they have no difficulty in transporting the offensive literature to India. A more thorough system of supervising imported seditions publications might perhaps be instituted in India itself. It is comparatively easy to pass an enabling Act in that country, if the existing provisions of the Post Office Act do not authorize the Executive to exercise sufficient control.

As an instance of the literature that does harm, the Times of the 20th of February gives prominence to the views of an Extremist, who proclaims that the 'Indian Nationalists are prepared to shake off at all costs the oppressive foreign yoke.' We may conclude from the tone of his letter that this gentleman approves of assassination as a means of securing the independence of his country. He merely sets forth for the benefit of the British public what is patent to every man of experience in India, that we are cordially hated by a certain section of the Indian educated classes, as already pointed out in this article; and that the Extremists will, unless the Executive is strong, always find human instruments to execute their purposes. Witness a recent case in which the hired assassin declared that his price was a revolver and twenty rupees. But I again repeat that the propagandists of assassination are in no way countenanced or supported by the vast majority of the Nationalists, whose aims are defeated by violent measures, calculated only to estrange from them the sympathies of many English men who are quite prepared to give to Indians fitted for it a fair share in the government of their own country. To the Government they look for the putting down of violent crime; and in their ranks are men of the right stamp who will assist in this if called upon. The assassination tion danger can best be met by extending to affected localities the provisions of the Frontier Crimes Act, under which the fanatical murderer is summarily tried and hanged within a few hours of his capture. At present, under the ordinary operation of the law, trials

for political crimes are dragged out for months and have not the for political the first which accompanies speedy retribution. The Executive deterrent armed with the power to arrest, deport, and detain the is already whose work is to bargain with semi-fanatics for the doing of the actual deed. Arm your Executive with every power to meet the emergency promptly, and this class of crime, absolutely novel in India, will in a very short time die out, as did the fanatical murders on our Afghan border in the early days of annexation.

CHARLES FRANCIS MASSY.

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## SCOTTISH ORDERS AND CATHOLIC REUNION

Beyond question, the subject of Church reunion—or, shall we say, the scandal of religious strife—lies heavily upon the conscience of the Christian world at the present time. That it has come much to the front among the English-speaking peoples has been made evident by many recent conferences and discussions in London, in Scotland, in Australia, and elsewhere. For us who are of the Scottish race, a nearer problem than that of the larger reunion—that, namely, of the reunion of the various fragments of Scottish Presbyterianism—no doubt presents itself most urgently of all. But Scotsmen are not in the habit of allowing the engrossments of local statecraft to blind their eyes to the wider issues which claim the attention and tax the ingenuity of mankind.

Two hundred and fifty years ago, it is true, Scotland read herself a lesson in the fatuity of ill-judged schemes of reunion which she is not likely to forget. That lesson may well have taught her caution. The ignominious burning, by the common hangman, of the 'Solem League and Covenant' in London on the 22nd of May 1661 marked the humiliating termination of an altogether ill-starred attempt to impose a uniform Presbyterianism on England and Scotland. Through her alliance for this purpose with the forces of Cromwellian Nonconformity, the Church of Scotland sacrificed much in the traditions of her worship, which even to-day she has but partially regained: she bartered much that she held dear for the chimera of mechanical uniformity. The lesson cost us dearly. But there is a danger lest we forget the cause of this episode of failure whilst remembering the failure itself. The cause lay in the ambitious delusion that spiritual unanimity can be achieved by the method of external uniformity. This was the delusion of Laud and the Episcopalians in 1637; it was the delusion of Alexander Henderson and the Presby terians in 1643. 'Non tali auxilio,' we may well exclaim, as we survey at this calm distance the methods alike of Laudians and Solem 'Not by such aid.' Leaguers.

The question of Presbyterian reunion in Scotland only enters in

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part into the field of our present discussion. That the accomplishment of such a reunion, so far as practical difficulties are concerned, might almost be achieved to-morrow, will be every thoughtful Scotsman's conviction. But that it does intrude in a minor degree cannot be wholly denied. For, in contemplating reunion, it is undoubtedly important that the different branches of the Presbyterian Church should have a common understanding as to what precisely they hold, and what discipline precisely they will enforce, with regard to the Orders of their clergy. That every Church entitled to general recognition as a true branch of the Presbyterian Church must hold and put into practice clearly defined views as to the necessity of a duly ordered ministry, and a ministerial succession secured by adequate safeguards, no one will deny. The very word presbyterian implies it, and the acknowledged standards of the Church have prescribed it. could be no more unambiguous definition of the position of the Church with regard to this matter than is to be found in the Form of Presbyterial Church Government and of Ordination of Ministers agreed upon by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and approved by an Act of the General Assembly of 1645. Under the heading 'Touching the Doctrine of Ordination' we read that 'No man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the Word without a lawful calling'; 'Ordination is always to be continued in the Church'; 'Every minister of the Word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by these preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong.' These are but a few of a series of regulations which, as is historically demonstrable, have been systematically and painstakingly carried out throughout the subsequent centuries in the Church of Scotland.

With regard to one brief period antecedent to 1645, it may be acknowledged that there is an element of doubt. In the First Book of Discipline (1561) there was a clause to the effect that the imposition of hands was not an essential of the Act of Ordination. But this difficulty is less grave than might appear. For, in the first place, the Books of Discipline were never sanctioned by the Scots 'Estates'; in the second place, the Second Book of Discipline (1581) as imperatively enjoined the imposition of hands as its predecessor had disallowed the ceremony; and in the third place, there are considerations which render the possible breaches of practice in the doubtful years of secondary importance. Among these considerations are the following: The period was immediately post-Reformation, and, in the words of that fair-minded Episcopalian writer of Scottish Church History, the late Mr. Stephen, 'a considerable number . . . of the Protestant ministers had been priests of the Catholic Church, and may be supposed to have carried with them the virtue of their orders.' Moreover, there is evidence that the encouragement to laxity which the First Book of Discipline afforded was not very extensively taken advantage of, even in the few years of its partial authority. In 1571, halfway

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through this period, we have it, on the authority of Erskine, Supering the custom of hands was the custom through this period, we have it, on the tendent of Angus, that imposition of hands was the custom even at tendent of Angus, that imposition of 1571 enjoined 'a public at the custom even at the custom eve that time; whilst the Assembly of 1571 enjoined 'a public and that time; whilst the Assembly of Leishman in an all and the Dr. Leishman in an all and the D solemn form of ordination.' The late Dr. Leishman, in an able argument, has made it clear that the proportion of irregularly ordained ment, has made it clear that the relation of the latest and herein is one clergy at any time must have been negligibly small. And herein is one clergy at any time must have been negligibly small. And herein is one of the virtues of the Presbyterian system, according to which a number of presbyters take part in the ordaining act; for, granted the presence among the assembled presbyters of one or two whose manner of ordination may have been questionable; still, there would be present a far greater proportion of others whose Orders were uninpeachable; and these, by their participation, would secure valid ordinations when the universal imposition of hands was resumed.

Thus it is clear that, from the Reformation to the present day, the ritual and discipline of the Church of Scotland have provided ample safeguards for the valid transmission of ministerial Orders. These Orders she has received through the more ancient Church—Roman for a time, as it were by affiliation, but derivatively Celtic and indigenous That Scottish Orders were and are presbyterially rather than prelatically conferred only strengthens our belief in their validity and in their immunity from corruption. The contention is one perhaps which Anglicanism may combat, but which is implicitly countenanced by Rome herself, when she proclaims that the presbyterate, not the episcopate, is the highest of her seven orders, and is the radical order of the ministry, and that there are but two generic orders-the presbyter or bishop, and the deacon.

So far, then, it is plain that the reformed Church of Scotland has always maintained, and to-day maintains, a clear and definite view with regard to the importance of Orders, and the necessity of their proper transmission. Of their necessity, and of, in her own case, their validity, she is in no manner of doubt or uncertainty whatever. But what is of importance, in view of schemes of proposed reunion, is to secure that this definite attitude with regard to Orders shall be similarly upheld and valued by those other Churches calling themselves Presbyterian with which she might come into alliance or coalition Rumours which reach us from here and there of indifference of opinion and laxity of practice in this matter may or may not be well founded If they be unfounded, the matter ends; but if, on the other hand, there should prove to be branches of the Christian Church calling themselves Presbyterian in which a laxity of practice obtains, it is undoubtedly the part of the Mother Church, and of those who hold along with her, not only to 'brace up' opinion on this point, and discount on the point of the po countenance infidelity to the traditional and accepted theory of Presbyterian discipline, but even to contest the right to recognition as integral portions of the Presbyterian comity of those bodies which offend in so vital a particular.

Let it be clearly understood that what we have said in no sense Let it be claim, on behalf of the Church of Scotland, to any disconstitutes a dictatorship among Presbyterian Churches. The appeal made to her practice is purely historical; and we justify it because that practice has been historically consecutive since the Reformation. that practice.

The argument, however, extends still further back; for the practice for which we contend is in the fullest accord with the ideal laid down by John Calvin, the historical resuscitator of Presbyterianism, the fourth centenary of whose birth we are on the eve of celebrating. To Calvin belongs the honour of reviving the Presbyterian polity after aslumber of fourteen hundred years. There is perhaps no more loosely and ignorantly applied term in ecclesiastical language than that of 'Calvinism.' In the average polemic of the average English dabbler in theology it is a mere term of abuse, for which any other truculent expletive would be a suitable equivalent. It is used in depreciation of Scottish theology, in forgetfulness of the fact that the basis of the Anglican Articles is Calvinistic, and that the less lovely severities of Calvinism were intruded upon Scotland by the violence of English Puritans. So far as Calvin's influence controlled the Scottish theory of Orders, it was in the direction of what would be called in modern speech 'High-Churchism.' Laud himself was, in a sense, a no keener High Churchman than John Calvin. The character of the Church as a divinely constituted organism was so strongly held by Calvin that from his works we can easily deduce the formula 'out of the Church, no salvation.' The theory of the divine right of presbytery came to Scotland direct from Calvin and Geneva through Andrew Melville. The spirit of Calvin, the reviver of presbytery, lived again in Andrew Melville.

It is the stamp of Melville rather than that of Knox which has proved the more permanent in Scottish ecclesiastical polity. Andrew Melville was John Calvin translated into Scots. He formulated a thoroughly uncompromising theory of the divine right of the Presbyterian autonomy. The contemporary claim put forward in England for the divine right of episcopacy was strictly analogous to the claim advanced in Scotland on behalf of presbytery. One is, in fact, struck by the contrast in this respect between the attitude of the Reformation period towards these matters, both in England and Scotland, and the much more uncompromising spirit which sprang up at a later period. In the earlier times, the feeling in the Church of England towards Presbyterian Churches was generous and comprehensive. English Articles,' said Dean Stanley, 'are so expressed as to include the recognition of Presbyterian ministers. The first English Act of Uniformity was passed with the express view of securing their services to the English Church. The first English Reformers, and the statesmen of Elizabeth, would have been astonished at any claim of exclusive sanctity for the episcopal order.' The 'Church of Scotland' was (and

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still is) included in the 'bidding prayer.' Similarly, in Scotland, John type of Church government which is still is) included in the blutting in the type of Church government which he had no brief for unadulterated Knox, whilst preterring the type seen under Calvin in Geneva, held no brief for unadulterated presh, seen under Calvin in Geneva, asserted its exclusive divine seen under Calvin in Geneva, noted presh, tery as such; certainly never asserted its exclusive divine right; tery as such; certainly never asserted its exclusive divine right; cultivated friendly relations with the Anglican Church and even with Scottish prelates; himself ministered for a time in an English parish; was offered, and declined, the living of All Hallows, London, and the was offered, and declined, see a some of Edward the Sixth's chap bishopric of Rochester; acted as one of Edward the Sixth's chap lains; and sent his sons to Cambridge to be educated for the English ministry. The rôle of Hildebrand in Scotland was reserved for Andrew Melville, not for Knox; in England, for Laud, not for Cranmer. One turns with a sigh of envy to the civilities of the earlier days, when the two lands and the two Churches lived together in brotherly toleration, with but one aim—Reform; and one common aversion—the Pope of Rome. It is well to remember that the battle of Orders in our country is not a Reformation battle; it belongs to a later and more pragmatical epoch.

The question may here be asked—and it is an important onewhich of these two views most generally obtains among those who are entitled to speak for Presbyterianism at the present day? Can we define our position with sufficient clearness to enable us to go to the rest of the Catholic Church and say 'This is where we stand with regard to Orders: let us compare our position with yours?' I think it is fairly safe to say that we still hold, with Calvin, that Orders are a necessity of the organisation of the Church; that they originated in apostolic times and have been unbrokenly perpetuated since; and that ordination by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery is Scriptural, and is indubitably valid. But while we hold with Calvin that presbytery is of divine right, we do not hold with him that it is of exclusive divine right; while we hold the validity of Presbyterian Orders, we do not simultaneously declare the invalidity of Orders otherwise conferred We combine, in fact, the High-Churchism of Calvin and Melville with the Broad-Churchism of Knox. We go perhaps even further than either, and lay a greater stress than either on the Evangelical contention that a spiritual vocation is of an even paramount importance of such importance that its absence might make an ordination, other wise perfect and unexceptionable in form, spiritually invalid. as an approximate statement of the Presbyterian position, one might be reasonably confident of obtaining the assent of the majority of Presbyterians to-day, at any rate in Scotland; and, not improbably, of Presbyterians beyond the seas as well.

If, then, we, on our part, have reverted to the attitude of the Reformation rather than to that of Melville and the post-Reformer can we say that those who hold to an episcopal polity have in all degree reverted to an attitude similar to that of the Episcopalians of the same era? The visible signs of this desirable change are not so numerous as might be desired. Yet undoubtedly there are some, even

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10t 80 , even on the surface; and there are still more beneath the surface, evident on the surface, evident to those who have opportunities for watching the undercurrents of to those and drift, and the vigorous searchings of heart on this subject ecclesiasited are in process among earnest men in the Reformed Episcopal Churches.

What evidences have we of this? Let me adduce one of recent date and very considerable significance. As we all know, there was held at Lambeth last autumn an Œcumenical Council of Anglican Bishops. At the inception of the Congress its members met for common worship in Westminster Abbey, and a distinguished scholar, the present Dean of Westminster, was chosen to be preacher. His very subject was significant—'The Vision of Unity'; and still more so were the following passages in his sermon:

It is plain (he said) that we cannot abandon what we have hitherto declared to be the four essential characteristics of our position-the Holy Scriptures, the two great creeds, the two great sacraments, and the historic episcopate. But we can and ought to recognise that where the first three are found, and where there is also an ordered ministry, guarded by the solemn imposition of hands, there our differences are not so much matters of faith as matters of discipline, and ought with humility and patience to be capable of adjustment. A fuller recognition on the one side of a charismatic ministry, which God has plainly owned and blessed; a fuller recognition on the other side of the permanent value of an episcopacy which has long since ceased to be a prelacy; a readiness on both sides to arrive at some temporary agreement which might ultimately issue in a common ministry, regular in the historic sense, though admitting the possibility of separate organisations and exempt jurisdictions—given such recognitions and such readiness, and what a prospect of reconciliation at no distant future opens out before us!

This eloquent and magnanimous utterance, spoken from Stanley's pulpit on an occasion whose importance was a guarantee that every word would be well pondered and well weighed, encountered, so far as I am aware, no hostile criticism; but, on the contrary, many signs of approval. Yet, more than once in the course of it, we meet with the word 'recognition'-a word which, to my mind, embodies the crux of the whole position. Dean Armitage Robinson advocates the 'recognition' of a 'charismatic ministry, which God has plainly owned and blessed.' He defines such a ministry as 'an ordered ministry, guarded by the solemn imposition of hands'; and the fact that it is presbyterially rather than episcopally conferred he regards, if I read his words aright, as a matter of 'discipline' rather than one of 'faith' capable of subsequent adjustment. Of course it is obviously the personal view of this eminent author that what is ultimately to be desired is the general adoption of episcopal ordination in that united British Church which is the present limit of his dream. But that is another matter; our dialectic point is this, that during the transition period he advocates the 'recognition' of presbyterian Orders. It might be objected that the Dean does not here employ

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Let us look in another direction for a sign of the times. If desire to make researches in the very arcana of High-Church Anglican theology, we naturally turn to Canon Newbolt's Oxford Library. Principal Whitham's able volume in this series on Holy Orders we find as we might expect, that pronouncements on this subject are pitched to a very high key. Ordination, according to this writer, is essentially sacramental in its character; the gifts conferred in ordination are sacramental, spiritual, and indelible—'no clergyman can get rid of his Orders any more than he can of his Baptism.' It follows, of course that, from this standpoint, every unordered ministry is wholly with out the pale of the Catholic Church. 'The self-chosen or popularly chosen ministry of the multitude of sects which run wild in England and America'—the words are Principal Whitham's—it is quite impossible to recognise. But the writer makes a discrimination which is remarkable, emanating from such a quarter:

A distinction, no doubt (he writes), ought to be drawn in the case of those who, like the ministers of the Established Church of Scotland, are admitted to their office by a form of ordination which many of them believe to be the same as that of the New Testament, and which some indeed go so far as to imagine to be in unbroken continuity with the Apostolic ordinance.

We can afford to smile at the air of unconscious patronage manifested in these remarks. The things we are credited with 'believing' and 'imagining' we believe, of course, and imagine, for the simple reason that Scotsmen are sufficient scholars to know them to be true; and indeed it is the increasing sweep and thoroughness of scholarship within the borders of Anglicanism which is bringing the same belief and imaginings into the field of conscience of that august community But, as I have said, we can afford to smile at the patronage, and at the subsequent dictum that the most that can be said for Scotting Orders is 'perhaps.' Such a 'perhaps' from Canon Newholt and from Cuddesdon, if not of the importance of a portent, may at least rank as a minor sign of the times.

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But let us turn to what in this connexion is of real importance. What had the notable gathering of Bishops at Lambeth this year What had so on this subject? It is matter of common knowledge that this very topic was remitted by the Conference to what was probably the ablest and most representative of all its sub-sections. The result of the labours of this committee we must at once recognise as marking an immense advance on the attitude taken up by previous Lambeth Conferences. Let us notice some marks of this advance. In 1888 the assembled bishops set down four specific articles as the indispensable basis of any home reunion. The first was the recognition of the authority of Scripture; the second, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; the third, the essential character of the two sacraments; the fourth, the historic episcopate. It will at once be perceived that there is already practical agreement between Episcopalians and ourselves as to the first three; and that therefore the fourth forms the key to the situation. At this stage the matter rested during the nine years which elapsed between 1888 and 1897, when another Lambeth Conference assembled. During the interval, the opinion of the component prelates on this topic seems to have been marking time. They returned to the subject merely to reiterate the four conditions of 1888, and then went on, in a sectional report which paradoxically bore the signature of the Scottish Archbishop of York (Dr. Maclagan), to busy themselves over the relations of Anglicanism with those two Communions which had proved so coy to woo-the Greek and the Latin Churches. Presbyterianism is not so much as named in this report, except in an obiter dictum; it apparently represented, in the view of the writer, neither a 'Church,' like the Eastern, nor a 'Communion,' like the Latin organisation; it is slumped with a nameless congeries vaguely described as 'bodies.' To make concessions in the direction of an advance on the position of 1888 would have been—so the committee somewhat magniloquently announced to 'barter away 'a 'part of our God-given trust.' The magniloquence disappeared and a greater candour emerged when the further reason for caution was given—that 'new barriers' might thereby be placed between ourselves and the ancient historical Churches.' In other words, any dalliance with Presbyterianism might make difficulties with the Greek and Latin Churches which, in spite of the meagre encouragement given, it was still thought desirable to conciliate. Alike in diction and in tone the report of the Lambeth Conference of 1897 was arrogant, reactionary, and uncompromising.

In 1908, however, we perceive a marked and a welcome change. Many things had happened about and since 1898, both within and without the Anglican Communion. The Eastern Church can hardly be said to have perceptibly advanced in cordiality; Rome, by declaring Anglican orders 'absolutely null and utterly void,' had thundered forth in 1896 a stunning and final caveat—so stunning that Arch-

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bishop Maclagan's committee had not the heart even to mention it bishop Maclagan's committee that the British Imperial ideal had in the report of 1898. Meanwhile, the British Imperial ideal had in the report of 1898. The English Church, just as put had begun to impress itself upon the English Church, just as politically begun to impress itself upon the mind of the English people. The it had impressed itself upon the Church, moreover, had begun to find herself hard pressed on many conformity: spiritually by seconds: Church, moreover, had began to be apparent that there and sides: politically, by Nonconformity; spiritually, by secularism and the 'spirit of the age.' It began to be apparent that there might be something to be said, after all, for alliances nearer home. But, far more strongly than all these reasons of expediency, there had been growing up in the Church at home, and perhaps still more in the Church of the colonies and of the mission field, a great and noble longing for an end of strife; there had been developing a wider scholar. ship, which saw both sides; and a charity had been evolved, conscious of the deadness of the letter that divides and of the life of the spirit which unites. And so it came about that we read, in the report of 1908, much that marks a real advance. We are no longer a body. we Presbyterians; we are now frankly called a 'Church.' To the question of the recognition of Presbyterian Orders there are devoted three pages of letterpress and two long and learned appendices. With much fairness and scholarship the history of Presbyterian Orders is narrated, and the arguments in favour of their validity discussed, The goal of an ultimate episcopacy is, no doubt, still kept in view; but there is contemplated with apparent equanimity a sort of 'intermediate state,' in which not only will presbyterial ordinations be respected, but consecrations to the episcopate per saltum—that is to say, without the reordination of the presbyter-will be sanctioned, as in the year 1610. We are allowed to read between the lines that even more was meant by the committee than it was deemed prudent specifically to record; and we are given for our meditation, as we leave, a curious and oracular pronouncement to the effect that, even were the question of Orders to prove an insuperable obstacle for the present, yet 'before another Lambeth Conference can meet, the course of events may change the situation.' These words may, of course, mean anything-or next to nothing. But we prefer to regard them as heartening words, giving us something for which to work and to pray in the immediate future with a degree of confidence, or at least of hope, such as the language of a decade earlier could not have supplied.

To what, then, are we to look forward? Not, I take it, in the meantime to any detailed scheme of organic reunion between the episcopally and the presbyterially constituted Churches. no.doubt, a temptation to formulate such schemes; but those who have yielded to that temptation have only succeeded in demonstrating the folly and the fatuity of their experiments. There is, in my view, a step which must precede all schemes of corporate reunion; and that step is the step of full and mutual recognition. But such full recognition

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will only be possible when each has made a detached and scholarly will only be respect the standpoint of the other. Let there be no mistake about it—the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches, if they are to meet at all, must meet on equal terms. If they are to deliberate and bargain, they must bargain and deliberate as between equals. If they are finally to coalesce, it must be as England and Scotland coalesced at the Union—as independent, free, and equal high contracting parties. It will be no treaty of conquest, no treaty of patronage or condescension, that will be concluded, if treaty there be at all. These two great communions, each aspiring to something of an œcumenical character, will meet as those who have each something to give to the other which the other lacks: something equally precious in either case: the give and take of equals. Until this can be done with perfect honesty and complete intelligence on either part, proposals of corporate reunion will be nothing more than the babble of a sterile and mischievous sentimentalism.

And what, on these terms, has each to give the other ? Episcopacy -let us be frank-has that to give to Presbyterianism which bridges the otherwise unbridged gulf of some fourteen hundred years. Let us avoid controversy and for a moment concede it to be uncertain whether the immediately post-apostolic Church was predominantly episcopal or presbyterian in its constitution. We know, at any rate, that, after an obscurity of thirty years or so, it emerged in the second century definitely episcopal. For more than fourteen hundred years it so remained; and the transmission of Orders throughout that long period was according to the episcopal prescription. It is only when we come to the age of Calvin that we find the presbyterian form definitely revived. The Presbyterian Church received Orders at that time through men episcopally ordained.

If this homogeneity of tradition be the gift in the hand of Anglicanism, what is the gift of Presbytery? In the first placeand it is no small one-contact with almost every other branch of the reformed Church. In non-British lands, wherever there is Protestantism, the tendency is ever to develope on presbyterian rather than episcopal lines. And again, granting, as Lightfoot held, that at the very beginning of the Church, something at any rate very closely resembling a presbyterian system prevailed, we have had, since its resuscitation in the sixteenth century, an unimpeachable demonstration, throughout the three or four hundred subsequent years, of the effectiveness of a method of Church government which has proved marvellously fertile in the graces of virility, freedom, scholarship, and capacity for self-government. The conception of the Church as a whole, and not merely of a sacerdotal caste, expressing the purpose and doing the will of Christ—the conception of the priesthood of the whole body of the people—that has found its fullest expression in the evolution of the Presbyterian polity. And, after all, is there not a sense—a perfectly

logical sense—in which both systems may be regarded as merely the same generic reality? We Preshyd Mar. logical sense—in which both system reality? We Presbyterians specific variations of the same generic reality? We Presbyterians in this—that it is bishops when the same generic reality? specific variations of the same general specific variations of the same general are we not Episcopalians in this—that it is bishops whom we are we not Episcopalians in this—that all our presbyters are enison. are we not Episcopanans in multiply when we hold that all our presbyters are episcopi, the multiply when we hold that an all the functions of the ministry, the episcopal power to ordain a and corporately possessing the episcopal power to ordain? And and corporately possessing the their ordinations, in point of actual the Episcopalians—what are their ordinations? practice, if not in theory, but Presbyterian ordinations? For does not the Anglican ordinal itself prescribe that the presbyters present along with the bishop, shall impose their hands upon the head of the candidate for orders? I am aware of no modern instance in which a bishop has taken it upon himself to ordain without the assistance of other presbyters imposing their hands along with his; although of course, opinions may differ as to how much or how little this implies The truth is that the positions will prove reconcilable enough when the will to reconcile them shall have grown up in the Churches The underlying spirit and intention of ordination will then be recognised as identical; whilst as to matters of form and government and discipline, the pact will be concluded when each has become ready to meet the other half way.

Only this remains to be said. Surely, at any rate, the epoch of internecine warfare is approaching its conclusion. Surely we have at any rate reached the stage of recognising parallel spheres of influence: parallel schemes of beneficent operation; perhaps, at length, even parallel streams of apostolic order from the same divine source. After all, enlarging scholarship and broadening charity may conclude that it is not a thing impossible that, as there is the grace of the two sacraments, so there may be a like grace transmitted through the two channels of ordination of which we have been speaking: the grace of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper on the one hand; the grace of presbyterial or of episcopal ordination on the other. In the first Christian century, were not both forms of transmission equally blessed? In this latest century, may not the same grace again replenish both? I press the point. Is it an unthinkable thing? Is it unreasonable? Nay, is it unlikely? Such momentous speculations as these I would especially commend to the younger readers of these lines, who, after all, rather than we, will make the strife or the peace, the discords or the harmonies of to-morrow.

ARCHIBALD FLEMING.

St. Columba's, Pont Street, S.W.

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#### THE MAKING OR MARRING OF THINGS MILITARY

ONLY by proper preparation in peace can a State deserve or have any right to expect success in war, and the most important element of such preparation is the strategical policy of its statesmen. 'War,' says Clausewitz, 'is only a continuation of State policy by other means'; so that, although it is manifestly desirable that those 'other means' shall be fully adequate, it is even more important that the transition from diplomatic to warlike measures, whenever it may take place, shall be made under the most favourable conditions that a sound strategical policy, consistently and courageously maintained previously by prescient statesmen, can possibly procure. Forces comparatively inferior may be enabled by the happy conditions under which they commence a war, to prevail against far larger forces less favourably situated. The Japanese beat the Russians in the Far East, not because they had the better general—a point which is, moreover, doubtful—nor because the Japanese soldiers were more highly trained than the Russians, but because the Muscovite Government had plunged into war in a state of strategical unreadiness. It was the unwise policy of St. Petersburg previous to the war, rather than the valour of Japanese troops before Port Arthur, at Liao Yang, or at Mukden, that gave victory on land to the Island Empire. The Rubicon of war is to be jumped successfully only if a spot has been chosen that affords a sound 'take off' and a good landing on the other side; if this essential precaution has been neglected, grief is likely to ensue, though the army be a very Pegasus ridden by a Hannibal, a Marlborough, a Napoleon, or a Wellington. The secret of Napoleonic successes was that the Emperor was his own politician and blessed with an eye for political country that seldom failed him until overweening confidence in his 'star' had overborne his natural sagacity.

Of all great empires, ancient or modern, the British owes least to its so-called statesmen at home, and most to fortune, for its rise, progress, and continued existence. What evilly disposed or fatuous politicians can do—and this is much—to handicap pro-consuls,

admirals, generals, and frontier pioneers, British politicians in and out of office have seldom failed to do from first to last. The policy which of office have seldom raned to which Sidney Herbert wittily styled 'improvident economy,' so short. Sidney Herbert within Styles Sidney American Independence, sightedly practised after the war of American Independence, made England helpless when the French Revolutionary Government de-England helpless when the wind of criminal folly sown by her clared war against her, and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her, and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her, and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her, and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her, and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her, and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her, and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her, and the wind of tears and her before the clared war against her against he politicians had to be reaped in a whirlwind of tears and blood, at a cost of an additional six hundred millions to the National Debt. Had England in 1793 been able to place in the field and maintain an army of even 60,000 good soldiers—commanded by the often reviled Duke of York, of whom a disingenuous and incompetent Government made a scapegoat—Napoleon had died a lieutenant-colonel, perhaps only a major. The Duke of York was not a great general, but he was the best we then had, ranks considerably above the average, and was far more competent to command an army than Pitt and Dundas to conduct the military policy of a State.

The elder Pitt was indeed a very great statesman, but he had always to fight against the open hostility of some and the mean jealousy or stupidity of others. To the genius of Pitt, and to the skill and courage of Wolfe and Saunders, we owe Canada; but party politics are answerable for a shameful peace, the ill effects of which have lasted to our own day. Had we had a strong Government and a reasonably powerful army in 1854, there would have been no Crimean War; had we had a Government worthy of the name, Majuba would have been no more than a 'regrettable incident'; and had not Governments and Oppositions been alike contemptible from 1881 to 1899, we should not have been obliged to expend 250,000,000l. on the Boer War. The tale of wicked incompetency is interminable, and as charlatanism among politicians has increased the number and the cost of wars in the first place, so also in the second have their chicaneries resulted in our armies being too often led by inferior generals, to the exclusion of the few good ones, the survivors of a rotten system peculiarly adapted to the manufacture of bad ones. Thus was Moore rejected, because he had the courage of his opinions, and placed under Dalrymple and Burrard; and it was only in spite of the politicians that Wellington succeeded in driving the French out of Spain.

It is right that Cabinets should have the military authorities under their control; the public pays the piper, and is entitled, through its Parliamentary representatives, to call the tune; but it is utterly wrong that the possibility of war at short notice should be ignored, that preparations for it should be neglected, or that the politician should arrogate to himself, wholly untrained as he is, the strategical direction of the operations decided upon. It is by the overstraining of their under the line of the line of the line of their under the line of the li ing of their undoubted right of supreme control that our politicians have made the British general what he so often has been and is likely

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Preparation for war is divisible into two primary elements—the strategical policy pursued in respect to foreign Powers and terristrategical policy is eventually to be grant and territories, and the organisation, maintenance, and training of the forces by which that policy is eventually to be supported if occasion should by which the business of the statesman, in consultation with the professional strategist, to foresee the probable march of political and other events, to adopt definite aims with reference thereto, and to strive continually, by whatever methods, diplomatic or warlike, may be found necessary, to promote most effectually the advantage of his own country. By treaties with other Powers, or by the occupation, peacefully if possible, of strategical points that seem likely to prove useful, offensively or defensively, against potential adversaries, the statesman must unceasingly labour to strengthen the strategical situation, so that other Powers may be deterred by prudence from provoking a conflict, or, in the event of war, may find themselves at a serious disadvantage.

The application of strategical geography to preparations against the danger of war consists chiefly in the selection and occupation of points which might be of use to ourselves or which it seems desirable to deny to a possible adversary. For example, we hold various coaling and other stations in different parts of the world, some because they are indispensable, but others rather because it would be dangerous that other Powers should have them than that they are primarily essential to ourselves. Strategical policy to be worthy of the name must be of an entirely selfish nature; and in strategical policy, as in war strategy or in tactics, the grand secret of success is to 'get there first.' Beati possidentes is a principle to be ever borne in mind. If an occupation has been completed before any rival has had the opportunity to enter a protest, grumbling may be expected to follow, but not war. The fait accompli is usually recognised, perhaps with a bad grace, yet nevertheless accepted as an evil too late to remedy. We have the Germans for our neighbours in South-West Africa, and a 'boundary question' with them, for no other reason than that we ourselves not only neglected but refused to occupy the territory in which they have established themselves. We could not now peacefully procure a German evacuation except by the concession of some more than ample 'equivalent'; but in the first instance occupation on our own part would have induced no trouble whatever. Pettifogging politician ticians are, as they have ever been, content to compose by any means the difficulties of their own period of office; of the consequences to their country in the hereafter they care as little as they think. Had Lord Glenelg been a statesman, instead of a rudely presumptuous and foolish politician, Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir Harry Smith

would in 1837 have made the whole of South Africa permanently 'Not in our time, O Lord,' and 'S are the whole of South Africa permanently would be so that the south africa permanently would be south africance with the south africance would be south africance with the sou would in 1837 have made the peaceable and British. 'Not in our time, O Lord,' and 'Sufficient peaceable and British.' represent the normal rules of unto the day is the evil thereof,' represent the normal rules of political life. The further enlargement of an empire already so great as the British is quite naturally repugnant, but the fact remains that en British is quite naturally repus organisms, must either continue pires, like plants and all other living organisms, must either continue growing or else fall into decay; and it is clearly more convenient to grasp a thorn, turning its point against others, than to allow it to run into your own flesh.

The military advisers of a Government are properly responsible to the country for the efficient organisation, training, and maintenance of the forces, but as a rule they are prone to foist upon the politician the entire burden, which he himself is seldom loth to assume so far as regards party advantage. It is quite true that the Government holding the purse-strings and controlling foreign as well as domestic policy, and also having the military authorities under legal subjection, must eventually bear the odium of any misfortunes that may attend our arms, just as in all cases care will be taken to make the utmost political capital out of whatever successes may be achieved in war-for example, the 'Khaki election.' But the politician must either have been guided by his expert advisers or have neglected or refused to follow their advice, and it is quite clear that if the military members of the Army Council find themselves unable to gain the adherence of the Secretary of State upon any vital matter, or in spite of his support are overruled by the Cabinet as a body, they must be content to suppress their views for the sake of retaining office, unless prepared to resign their appointments in order to bring the matter at issue before the tribunal of Parliament and the people.

It can scarcely be that military advisers who 'supported' with equal 'loyalty' Mr. Arnold-Forster and Mr. Haldane can actually have schooled themselves into full agreement with both. The miltary policies of these two successive Secretaries of State have been sufficiently divergent to make it impossible that both can be right If the military members of the Army Council did in truth agree with Mr. Arnold-Forster, it is difficult to understand by what acceptable reasoning they could defend their conversion to the views of Mr. Haldane. Is it desirable that the greatest military authorities should be required to keep silence—unless prepared to face the consequences of candour—until after their retirement? Lord Wolseley and Lord Roberts have both made, as private persons, some striking disclosures; but no member of the Army Council has yet resigned office as a protest against the proceedings of a Minister, although such is the only alternative to accepting full responsibility for every Ministerial action. Speaking at Aldershot on the 27th of January of the present year, Colonel à Court Repington adjured the General Staff to pro1909

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# 1909 MAKING OR MARRING THINGS MILITARY

claim the truth in reference to national defence. But this no officer claim the state on do, unless he is prepared to compromise his professional on full pay can do, the chief culprits are therefore the on full pay and the chief culprits are therefore the occupants of the prospects; and the chief culprits are therefore the occupants of the prospects, and prospects, and prospects in Parliament, since these gentlemen know the two Holl conceal it for the sake of 'party' convenience.

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It must have been perfectly clear to every member of the Army Council that while the formation of the Territorial Force was highly desirable, and the admirable organisation provided by the scheme would answer perfectly, if needs be, for application on a compulsory basis, it was nevertheless very unwise to proceed with any reduction of the Regular Army while the new creation had not yet advanced beyond the stage of 'adumbration.' So strong, however, is the force of habit (the habit in this case of declining any responsibility that can possibly be left to some superior authority) that men who are neither ignorant, foolish, nor unpatriotic, have permitted without practical protest the commission of a most reprehensible act at the dictation of the rump of the Radical Party. The only wonder is that Mr. Haldane has succeeded so well as he has; had his military advisers been sufficiently independent to speak their minds, making him their spokesman, he might easily have defied the anti-military section of his political supporters in Parliament. Mr. Haldane has faults, no doubt, but lack of common sense is not one of them: he had no desire to swap horses in the middle of the stream; and he would never have consented to reduce the Regulars before the Special Reserve and the Territorial Army were fully materialised, had his military advisers been ready to risk their appointments by plainly exhorting him to defy the apostles of 'improvident economy.'

How is it that officers of distinguished service, presumably selected because of their great professional ability to serve on the Army Council, have apparently no opinions of their own? is easy to give. It is a regrettable fact that the prevailing system of the British Army is such that independence of thought has in the majority of cases been completely crushed by the time that the rank of general officer has been reached; and, more than this, it usually happens that the survivors of previous intellectual compression seldom retain their virility under the yet more crushing influence of service at the War Office. Just as the second lieutenant replies, and is expected to reply, 'Yes, sir,' to the lieutenant-colonel, and unquestioningly to obey him to the very letter, stifling entirely every idea of his own as to the manner in which the order received might best be executed, so does an Army Councillor, compelled by force of habit, reply, 'Yes, sir,' to the Secretary of State. Far be it from me to suggest that the authority of a superior should be otherwise than absolutely paramount, or that discipline could be maintained if subordinates might freely cavil against their instructions; but when a subordinate feels convinced that his superior is imperfectly informed

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in respect to details, and would probably give different orders if he were more fully aware of the facts, or has failed to foresee some undesign has issued, that subordinate should be has issued. were more fully aware of the faces, able result of the orders he has issued, that subordinate should not able result of the orders he has issued, that subordinate should not able result of the orders no managed to explain his own views. Per the subordinate is quite might haps—and it will often be so—the subordinate is quite mistaken, but haps—and it will often be so in such cases it is educationally better that his error should be explained in such cases it is educationally better that his error should be explained to him—forthwith or later, according to circumstances—than that he should be snubbed for his objections, told to mind his own business and to keep his opinions to himself unless he is asked for them, If a commanding officer were to order one of those under him to put his head in the fire,' disobedience would be condoned; yet orders equally silly are frequently given, while any protest against them however respectfully made, would be held to constitute a breach of discipline.

Let us consider a concrete example in respect to the foregoing In December 1907 there was issued from the Adjutant-General's Department a 'Time Table' laying down what every recruit of the Special Reserve is to be taught, in hours, half hours, and quarters of an hour, during each 'fortnight' of his six months' course of training on enlistment! It was pointed out in the public Press in reference to this precious document that recruits are of various physical and intellectual capacities, and that weather is also an uncertain factor. To frankly withdraw forthwith this fatuously conceived order would have been a proceeding unpleasant to the responsible official, and 'reports' were therefore called for from regimental districts. Supposing an officer called upon to 'report' to have replied briefly to the effect that it would be 'impossible to train recruits satisfactorily according to the proposed time table,' he would have rendered himself very unpopular; while if he had spoken his mind, roundly asserting that 'no man out of Bedlam who has ever trained a recruit would for a moment countenance such ridiculous nonsense,' he would probably have been placed in arrest—and quite rightly. Yet the latter opinion would differ from the other only in being the more completely truthful. The trouble in this particular case has arisen in consequence of men absolutely without practical experience of training being placed in positions that enable them to impose their follies upon others by the issue of foolish orders which no man with brains or knowledge could condemn adequately in language suitable for official correspondence. It is not yet realised, apparently, that men who have never themselves been instructors are incapable of framing regulations for the organisation of inches tion of instruction, or that, given a competent instructor, the less he had been a competent instructor. is hampered by hard-and-fast rules devised by others, the better results will he probably achieve.

An extremely valuable lesson may be drawn from the comparatively trivial example that has just been quoted, in reference to the right and the wrong way of exercising superior control. It is clear that a result military or other been kept tightly in leading-strings, never encouraged last, officers have been kept tightly in leading-strings, never encouraged last, officers have been structions given in minute detail, how to think, but merely to obey instructions given in minute detail, how to think, but here there is it possible that when thrown, as they must be at times, absolutely

is it possible that the should immediately rise to the occasion upon their own resources, they should immediately rise to the occasion and meet responsibility as if they had always been accustomed to and meet to reason and meet to respect to the field it was laid down exercise it? In the framing of 'Orders should contain the field it was laid down by Von Moltke that 'Orders should contain instructions on every point that the subordinate cannot arrange for himself, but nothing further.' In other words, having indicated the task to be performed and the general conditions attending its performance, which the

subordinate cannot or may not alter, or in respect to which he has not hitherto been sufficiently informed, the manner of executing the

task imposed upon him should be left, so far as possible, to his own

discretion. Obviously, an officer should not be charged with responsibilities which he is not considered capable of meeting, and the superior

officer should therefore be careful in his choice of instruments, or, if he finds that his confidence in one man has been misplaced, turn upon the next occasion to another. Give an officer his task to perform and judge him according to results, but do not 'dry nurse' him by arranging

for him details which, if he is fit for the work given him to do, he can arrange far more satisfactorily for himself. In the preparation of

personnel for war there is no part more important than the education

of all officers, high and low, in meeting responsibility, and this branch

of education cannot be too early commenced with, nor be too con-

sistently pursued. Might it not, for instance, be assumed that the major appointed to train recruits at a regimental depôt is capable of

conducting that training without any need for cast-iron regulations?

It is the business of the War Office Staff to decide what the recruits

are to be taught, and who is to teach them; but so long as the required standard of efficiency is actually attained, it cannot matter two pins by what process of progressive training the responsible officer has

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succeeded in producing it. If, on the other hand, Major 'A' fails, then superior authority should certainly intervene by appointing Major 'B' to supersede Major 'A'; but that is all. The intellectual fetters that press so sorely upon the British officer represent an evil that has been handed down from the earliest times; the ancient restrictions have been, as a rule, relaxed somewhat of late, but they are still galling to those who suffer from them, and by cramping their powers of initiative prevent their development as efficient servants of the State. The old jealousy of the standing army entertained by politicians lies at the root of the whole matter. Ministers have always been so anxious to keep the higher military authorities in complete in complete subjection that the latter in their turn have been com-

pelled, for their own sakes, to keep the tightest possible hand upon pelled, for their own sakes, to have their orders, lest the latter might compromise them with those under their orders, lest the latter might compromise them with those under their orders, lest the Thus it is that 'May I?' and 'Yes, the civilian tyrants above them. Thus it is that 'May I?' and 'Yes, sir,' rule everything, and that no man can call his soul his own. The officer commanding 1st Battalion Blankshire Regiment is powerless, without the consent of the Brigadier, to substitute Private Brown for Private Smith as schoolmaster's orderly, or to excuse, for never so important a reason, any officer or man from a brigade field-day. Thus it runs right up the ladder of so-called 'responsibility.' Inability to think and decide for himself must necessarily spell inefficiency in the case of an officer holding any position of responsibility, and yet throughout his service the officer is carefully taught to regard independent thought as the greatest of all crimes! The wonder is not that the British Army has been singularly unprolific in the production of really capable generals, but that it should ever have succeeded in producing them. There are few generals now in the Army who were not formerly first-rate subalterns, blessed by nature with plenty of initiative and adaptability to circumstances. Lord Cromer has borne eloquent witness to the versatile capacity of young British officers in Egypt. What other explanation, then, can be given for subsequent deterioration than that the irresolution of later days has resulted from the increasingly crushing influence of red-tape fetters? We are now far less ill supplied with capable general officers than in any previous epoch of our history. Why? Simply because the fetters have to some small extent been relaxed. The time has fully come for the shackles to be altogether removed. A man who has all his life been treated as if he were an irresponsible idiot cannot be expected to cast aside in a moment the too securely rooted habit of diffident selfsuppression, even if his mental powers have themselves survived unimpaired.

In Germany things are quite differently managed: the officer from quite early days has his duty laid upon his own shoulders, and is rewarded or censured according to the measure of success achieved. The commander of a German squadron, battery, or company is practically his own master from the conclusion of the manœuvre season of one year until the commencement of the battalion training at the close of the following spring—that is to say, from October to April inclusive. Unless under quite exceptional circumstances, neither regimental, brigade, nor any other authorities ever intervene: the annual draft of recruits requires to be trained, and, except for occasional visits by superior officers to observe the progress made, the responsible control of the responsible control of the responsible control of the responsibility of the responsibil sible commander is subjected to no interference whatever. consequence is that the German officer learns the meaning of responsibility, and the German recruit receives a complete and thorough grounding in his work during the first six months of his service, whereas the British recruit does not. After six weeks with his bat

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talion—that is to say, after at the utmost four and a-half months' talion—that is recruit is held to be a 'duty man,' available for fieldservice—our resonance duties of all kinds; the decision as to when he days and garried his course of musketry is given by the Staff, regardshould commence and battalion commanders; and if he should less of the company to be attending the garrison course of gymnastics when his happen to be detailed for the annual field training, the latter is sacricompany is a most important part of the soldier's military education ficed, and the following year. Considering how greatly the British regimental officer is handicapped by Staff interference with his work, it is truly wonderful that he succeeds in doing as much as he actually accomplishes. Of scope for initiative there is practically none; absurd restrictions meet the officer at every turn; everything possible is done to render him a mere cypher in his own eyes and in those of his men, nothing whatever to prepare him by small beginnings for the weighty responsibilities that may some day be thrust upon

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How differently the officers of the Indian Army are treated has been shown, though probably without intention, by Colonel Younghusband in that most delightful book The Story of the Guides. The commanding officer of the 'Guides' is a very king in his regiment. enjoying such absolute discretion as to his manner of recruiting and training it that he in turn finds no difficulty in deputing to officers commanding the minor units under him almost equal independence. The 'Guides' have but one unalterable rule, which is that every officer and man, whatever he may be doing, and wherever he may be, must always remember that the credit of the regiment is the first object of his life, and that he must act accordingly. The result is a regiment certainly unsurpassed, and probably without an equal in efficiency, in all the world. The contrast between the practically despotic powers enjoyed by the officer commanding the Guides and the fettered existence endured by a British lieutenant-colonel is truly remarkable. The commanding officer of a British regiment who ventured to enlist or discharge a man otherwise than in strict conformity with the regulations would be lucky in escaping trial by court-martial; but in the Guides all this is quite different: it is taken for granted that, being more intimately concerned with the efficiency of his regiment, and naturally more solicitous for its well-being than any outsider, the officer commanding may be trusted to see to these things for himself. Thus we find a notorious robber chief, whom the Guides had failed to catch dead or alive, being invited to enlist in the regiment; what is more, the elusive cateran duly accepted the invitation, and became an admirable soldier. Again, a brave Pathan who had disdained to run away when the Afghan garrison was dislodged from Ali Musjid is hailed hailed as he rides leisurely through the Khyber Pass by a Guides' officer who has been impressed by his cool courage, and straightway

This man serves gallantly throughout the war; but when the enlisted. This man serves galaxies, the thought of riding school at the thought of riding school at the usual vivacity. fighting is all over he becomes sale with the second state of the usual vivacity, and on the second Mardan; his officer notices and would you like your discharge?, and on hearing the reason of it asks 'Would you like your discharge?, 'Yes

Would the world really come to an end if a British officer might would the world really control of height or grant a cold or under the regulation standard of height, or grant a soldier his dis charge in like manner merely because the man did not wish to con. tinue serving? Is it not rather likely that under a more elastic system there would be more recruits and fewer deserters? If an officer is fit to command 'eight hundred fighting Englishmen,' why not allow him to get them and to keep them by whatever means and under whatever conditions he finds most profitable? Why not let him train them as he pleases?—subject only to his producing a thoroughly well-trained, well-disciplined unit at brigade, divisional, or army manœuvres annually. Such a proposal will to some appear to involve the rankest heresy; but which is preferable, that soldiers should desert or that the commanding officer should have power to grant or inflict discharges at his own discretion? Would the Army, in the conditions suggested, lose more men in the course of a year? I feel sure that it would actually lose far fewer than now, and be infinitely better trained.

Of all the troubles the British nation is heir to, it is doubtful whether any have exercised a more consistently baneful influence than false sentiment in respect to strategical and other politics, and red tape in the administration and ordering of the Army; and it seems unlikely that emancipation from the thraldom of either will be consummated during the present generation. The cure in the latter case needs to proceed from the top downwards, but in the former inversely. If Secretaries of State would but abandon the mistaken idea that by virtue of their appointments to the head of the War Department they have been rendered military experts of the first rank, and have as such become charged with special missions to 'reform' the Army (more particularly by undoing whatever has been effected, well or ill, by their predecessors in office), a possible result would be that the Secretary of State, as the Minister responsible for the Army, would be found content to regard himself chiefly as the special guardian of the public purse against any extravagant tendencies upon the part of the military authorities. Human nature being what it is, ordinary men, if there is no proper check upon them, naturally think more of getting what they want, at whatever expense to the taxpayer, than of attempting by economical administration to save in one direction in order to have larger sums of money to spend more profitably in another. Assuming the Secretary of State to be a really able man, and especially if, as in

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The upon th battalion of each unit, the does his but not doing it 'teach y grandmo how to been giv should b The duty brigade ; posed; a troops, b training

the case of the present holder of that office, he possesses a highly trained legal mind, the fact that his military colleagues had succeeded in convincing him of the expediency of a proposed measure would constitute prima facie evidence in its favour. The proper method of constitute prima facie evidence to all matters concerned with Army administration in reference to all matters concerned with expenditure is that the professional military authorities should expenditure is that the professional military authorities should propose and the Secretary of State dispose: it is against common sense propose and the secretary of State would be content to be the content of the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be content to be the secretary of State would be secretary to be secretary of State would be secretary

If the Secretary of State would be content to hold the military members of the Army Council individually responsible for the efficiency of their several departments and collectively for the efficiency of the Army as a whole, reserving to himself only the control of the purse and of matters of policy, such a loosening of their own bondage would incline the Army Council—or, better still, a re-established Field-marshal Commanding-in-chief—to concede greater freedom to generals, and so the shackles of red-tape would gradually slacken right through the whole series of stages until the lieutenant-colonel would eventually be enabled to concede to captains actual instead of only nominal command of their companies. At present every superior authority is so busily employed in directing in minute detail the duty of the officer next under him that he has no time left for the proper performance of his own work. The right system is 'one man one job,' and let each stand or fall by the result of his own unaided efforts. Only thus can men be schooled so as to be ready at any moment to grapple with greater responsibilities. The all-the-year-round interference by generals is at present a very grievous stumbling-block to efficiency.

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The efficiency of an army, like the stability of a building, depends upon the quality of its foundations. Good companies make good battalions, good battalions good brigades, and so on; the commander of each unit must be primarily responsible for the training of that unit, the business of the superior officer being to see that the subordinate does his work, to note how he does it, and to judge him by results; but not to do that work for him nor to interfere with the manner of doing it so long as it is done well. It is proverbially superfluous to teach your grandmother'; but neither is it necessary that your grandmother should always be at your elbow after you have learned how to walk alone. The officer who has been educated and who has been given his orders should not require dry-nursing; if he does, he should be compelled to make way for some more capable successor. The duty of a brigadier is to instruct his officers and to train his brigade as a whole, not to train the battalions of which it is composed; and the proper object of army manœuvres is not to train the troops, but to put to the most severe test practicable in peace the training the severe test practicable in peace the training the severe test practicable in peace the training the severe test practicable in peace the severe test practicable in peace the training the severe test practicable in peace test practicable in peace the severe test practicable in peace the severe test practicable in peace test practicable in peace test p training they have received, and to train the generals and staff.

Therefore it is obviously necessary that he whose duty it is to train should have full opportunities concelled Therefore it is obviously necessary and the full opportunities conceded to any unit, large or small, should have full opportunities conceded to any unit, large or sman, should him for the purpose. Constant field-days impede minor training, and by him for the purpose. Consequences object. First train the companies so doing defeat their supposed object. Let work be done structured to upwards. Let work be done structured to upwards. then the battalions, and so upwards. Let work be done strenuously when it is in progress, but let there be sufficient holidays periodically when it is in progress, but to the and intermittently; and, above all, let there be no mistake as to when work and play are to be respectively the order of the day: it is the work and play are to be resp. the list the uncertainty now prevailing, which soldiers call 'messing about,' that makes the Service unpopular with all ranks. It is because the first essential is that everybody should be allowed to do his own work in his own way, and given the needful time in which to do it well, that reform in military matters must begin at the top.

For the reformation of our political system, or lack of system, in all its branches, and to purge it of pernicious sentiment, the beginning needs to be made at the very bottom. In the Army itself the dog wags the tail till that appendage is wearied of the wagging; but in politice, external and internal, the tail wags the dog, and so insistently that the bewildered animal frequently loses his way altogether. There are many men in so-called public life who, but for the extravagance of their untruthful assertions, would never have been heard of; because the newspapers would never have reported their utterances but for their astounding absurdity or rascality. The first stepping-stone to Parliamentary honours is to be frequently 'before the public,' by means of reported speeches. Only men who are already public characters of great prominence can dare to talk sober sense, confining themselves to actual facts, with any hope of being listened to or reported at length; but if a man is sufficiently mendacious in giving vent with fiery eloquence to the wild imaginings of a fifth-class brain, the pencils of the reporters will surely be at his service. The mass of the people is ignorantly impressionable—populus vult decipi d decipitur-and idiotic sentiment is thus easily aroused and maintained, despite the utmost efforts of wise men to confute or stifle it. More over, 'Oppositions' are prone to see a ready way to office in the adoption of prevailing sentiments, however false, and thus the mere vapour ings of political cracksmen, poured forth with no other object than to direct attention to their own existence (which would otherwise have been likely to escape observation), may at any moment serve to emasculate the policy of the State.

We are already pretty certain to lose South Africa, and out authority in India is being daily undermined, solely in consequence of an ignorant public having been stuffed full of utterly misapplied Recent events in Persia should have exposed the sentiment. error of attempting to put the wine of Western Parliamentary systems into Oriental bottles.' Yet there are some who, knowing

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India, have nevertheless pandered wickedly to preposterous senti-

Lord Morley is not responsible for the present unrest in India: he has merely failed as yet to adopt the sternly repressive measures he has included pampering of a politically warlike but militarily which long the inhabitants has now rendered indispensable to the restoration of order. The political 'rights' of disloyal agitators and of their dupes greatly concern some people in this country, but no thought is taken of the British lives, of soldier and civilian, of men, women, and children, that will certainly be sacrificed if the Hydra is not speedily destroyed. Hitherto the martial races have been on our side; but the East is the East, and if the fighting men are led to suspect that we are afraid to deal decisively with the Babus, they too will turn against us, and India will once again be deluged in blood. Shall we await the outbreak? Or had we not better prevent it betimes? Von der Goltz says that 'the statesman who, knowing his instrument to be ready, and seeing war inevitable, hesitates to strike first is guilty of a crime against his country.' What, in comparison to the calamities of an insurrection. is the hanging of a few dozen Babus?

The gentle art of political lying, as practised pertinaciously by obscure aspirants to public attention, lies at the very root of most of our failures in high politics. In addition to the inevitable scarcity of genuine statesmen, the actual number disclosed is unnecessarily small, because too many who might be statesmen prefer to be politicians: by constant indulgence in pleasant insincerities they can more easily gain the popular plaudits and suffrages. But the flashy twaddle talked would be far less mischievous if it were not reported in the newspapers. The unbridled licence, misnamed the 'liberty of the Press,' is at the present time a very serious danger to the Empire. What a political Ananias gives forth in some obscure locality becomes advantaged in the Press until it grows into a popular sentiment, rolling in a great flood that truth, wisdom, and common-sense are alike powerless to stem. We cannot perhaps legislate so that an ignorant public shall become wise, but at least we might arrange that that ignorance shall not continually be imposed upon by unscrupulous politicians of the baser sort. At all events, until the statesman is free to act unimpeded by sentimental pressure, solely in the true interests of national and Imperial security, it is idle to hope for a consistent strategical policy calculated to give to our fleets and armies the sound 'take off' which must be of such infinite importance to them whenever they may be required to negotiate the dread Rubicon of war. It is the duty of our soldiers and sailors to die for their country if need be, and both have done so, willingly as well as gloriously in the past; but it involves an overstraining of their duty to require them to die merely in order that time-serving, self-seeking politicians may freely talk pernicious

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nonsense and so befog the path of the responsible Ministers of the crown. If soldiers and sailors are slain in the effort to make good Crown. If soldiers and sanoth political blunders, those responsible for the commission of such political blunders, those responsible for manslaughter, for they are political blunders, those response manslaughter, for they are many blunders should be indicated by the blunders of sleepy pointsmen times more guilty than reckless engine-drivers or sleepy pointsmen who may be tried for their lives upon account of railway accidents, who may be tried for their five trade for which no qualification curiously enough, politics is the one trade for which no qualification but loquacity is required, and yet the fate of nations is concerned! It is a fact that lawyers also live by their tongues, but in their case brains and knowledge are behind the words, whereas among politicians it is as a rule vox et praterea nihil.

Speaking in the House of Lords on the 21st of July 1908, Lord Cromer told his Majesty's Government that 'their main duty is to make provision betimes for the European conflict which may not improbably be forced upon us before many years have elapsed ... a danger of which I, in common, I believe, with most people who can speak with real authority on foreign affairs, am very firmly convinced. This full note of solemn warning fell upon deaf ears; but a 'patriotic play,' chiefly realistic though with an absurd ending, appears to have accomplished what the carefully weighed words of a great pro-consul proved powerless to initiate! Could bathos be more profound? However, officers and men are now flocking into the ranks of the Territorial Force, and this fact is in itself so eminently satisfactory that we can afford to ignore the nature of the incentive. We are getting our soldiers, and it only remains to train them. It was not with an intention of holding up the Territorial officer to ridicule that the author of An Englishman's Home presented him in caricature, but in order to point a most valuable moral. Had 'Captain Finch' been of the normal type, his native pluck could not have been contrasted in such bold relief against his professional deficiencies. The lesson taught is sufficiently obvious. Superlative courage is totally unavailing unless fortified by training for war. Herein, then, lies the root of the whole matter in reference to the Territorial Force. to Mr. Haldane, we have an excellent organisation, and thanks to a theatrical stimulant we seem likely to obtain the necessary personnel, but the final 'making or marring' of our newly born National Army depends chiefly upon whether those who join it are to be given, as recruits, a sound course of genuine training. The ship has been well designed, and her timbers are good British 'heart-of-oak.' Let her not be spoiled for a 'ha'porth o' tar.'

A. W. A. POLLOCK.

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#### A YEAR WITH THE PUBLIC TRUSTEE

EMERSON observes that 'every man has a history worth knowing, if he could tell it, or if we could draw it from him,' and he elsewhere speaks of the sensibility and magnetism needed to establish this rare human contact. There is not even a vainglorious Dives who does not readily assent to the observation, a forlorn human creature that does not illustrate it, nor a member of that vast population between want and wealth, living though they may be on 'the slopes of Sydenham and Penge' denounced by Ruskin in that splendid thunderstorm in the twenty-ninth Fors, who cannot establish it.

From one who has been privileged, and profoundly interested, to hear daily for the last year many a life's history, and every one of them worth hearing; from one who has counted himself fortunate in being allowed to assist in the founding of a department perhaps unique in the State, it is thought that some account of those 'crowded hours' may prove of interest, and, possibly, also valuable by way of explanation upon a subject which is still but imperfectly understood. A year ago in this Review in writing upon the Public Trustee conjecture alone was available. The creation of the office had excited attack, the enemy vacillating between an opinion, like Mr. Chamberlain's forecast of the Liberal Government, that after six inglorious months it would be 'hissed off the stage' of State enterprise, as a useless and futile conception, and that given in the printed report of a serious and august body that the new office would cost the State a million per annum. Details were given as to how these terrifying figures were arrived at, and the nation was almost persuaded that it had to choose between a new Dreadnought and the security of its trust estates. The bogey of compulsion appeared too like a will-o'-the-wisp in various provincial centres, and an attempt was made to infect the public mind with the apprehension that all trusts, with their vast number of matters requiring the exercise of a close and delicate personal discretion, would be arbitrarily seized by the Department, that our daughters' marriages would be delayed beyond the bloom of youth, and our sons miss whole terms at school while boots to enable them to return were being purchased by a dilatory department, struggling like a sort of Laocoon with strangulation by red tape.

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Under such chastening influences then, in all humility of mind, did Under such chastening mind, did a staff of five men assemble on the 1st of October 1907, to cry aloud a staff of five men assemble on the 1st of January aloud a staff of five men assemble on the last of January 1908 in the wilderness, and to prepare against the 1st of January 1908 the date when the Public Trustee Act took effect, a path that no one was likely to tread; that staff now numbers fifty-four. was likely to tread, that state of January 1908, the opening day, trusts with a capital value of 1st of January 1906, the operation is by the end of the year there were some 400 current trusts in course of being administered, whether arising under wills or settlements, having a capital value of over two millions: or almost two new trusts for every day the office was open Furthermore, and in addition, some hundreds of intending testators had voluntarily informed the Public Trustee that they had made their wills, and nominated him their Executor and Trustee, disclosing at the same time some general information as to the probable value of their estates at a total amount of 19,000,000l. So far as disclosed by the published accounts of any commercial company carrying out the duties of Executor and Trustee as a business in this country, not more than about 1000l. would appear to have been taken as fees solely from such business in the first year's operations. The Parliamentary estimates show that the Public Trustee with an almost incredible sanguine temper of mind put his fees at 4000l. for the receipts of the first financial year; they will reach more than 58001.; furthermore. 88 facts of general activity, 9000 inquiries have been received, and 28,000 The legend which purports to describe the life of a Government office is archaic and untruthful, so that it is not intended here to provoke repetition, and make much point of the fact of it being necessary to increase a staff of five to fifty-four, otherwise than to say that had the strenuous Mr. Stead, when he was compiling his 'interesting symposium of men who have worked hard ' for the December number of his review, 'Do we sleep too much, or, Do we sleep too little?', approached the Department, a very affirmative answer could have been given him to the latter question. But controversy may go; for it will be admitted by all unprejudiced observers that the Public Trustee is to become the intimate, valued, and valuable friend of the great majority of the community. He desires to be regarded as the highly skilled private trustee, intimately acquainted, and personally sympathetic with all that concerns his duties, and not to allow for 8 moment any such cold and formal atmosphere to be created as would repel absolute confidence in regard to all matters however delicate, or choke the confiding beneficiary with dry-as-dust. It is on this ground of alleged official personal incapacity that he was, before he began to act, often criticised, and yet it is on this very ground that he is prepared to claim his right to general acceptance and gratitude. Hamerton, in that most delightful book, Round my House, wherein many of his French neighbours are faithfully portrayed, allowed that in some circumstances 'it would be better not to excite popular

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curiosity about people whose privacy ought to be respected'; at the same curiosity about that even 'most fictitious characters have did been suggested in some remote way to begin with, by a living person, bud been suggested with the least imagination stops at portraiture.' The statutory rules of the Department enjoin absolute secrecy, which, it one is needless to say, is observed at the peril of place and fortune, but, casting suggestion into the form of imagination, enough may be said of to show that in these very important personal relations no trustee ere. ever did more, few probably so much. Beginning with those children her in the West of England who when taken over with their estate had OW to have their faces washed and so reported upon, much as children after a nursery tea prepare for the realms of the blest downstairs, so 018 leir these children realised the beneficent change in their probably earthy ing and earthly surroundings. Again, no rules of secrecy are violated, lue if that estate is referred to which almost solely consisted of a pair of by man's boots, and even they had to be redeemed from pawn. Further, the also, there was a case of the Border widower who lay sick, following not upon his wife's death, and, being in relations with the Public Trustee, ely implored him to seek out suitable medical aid. The disease was ary obscure, London was ransacked, the specialist was found: 'Yes, he ble would treat the case, and, moreover, under the special circumstances, the charge nothing; he was interested in the patient.' The good news , 88 was sent to the bereaved one, and next day from this remote Cumber-

> 'the Public Trustee might look out the trains!' This widower, however, already had won all hearts. After his wife died, he associated us with himself in choosing a suitable stone for the grave. Infinite pains were taken over it, and first one curb and stone was discussed, and then another. Like most things in life, even this discussion ended in compromise, though not, as Lord Morley says of politics, with 'the second best.' For, on one design hovered a most reverent representation of the holy dove. This he desired to have transferred to the design of a plain stone, for, he explained, 'my dear wife was so fond of birds!' Again, too many a detail of the Misses Flite and Misters Flite might be told: those happy, yet earnest creatures whose fortune hovers always on the marge of some distant horizon, if only some aid be forthcoming to reach it. One particularly charming applicant of this type came early. He had launched an action against the mightiest in his part of the country. He had taken all his preliminary steps in person, pursuing his action from dawn to noon, and supplying the sinews of war disguised as a hawker from noon to night. and everyone, judges and masters, clerks and ushers, had behaved like noblemen and gentlemen; he could repeat the ipsissima verba. Yet he lacked proof on one point. Had we got it? Alas! not. Nevertheless, when he entered into his own, he had been so kindly

land village came a letter, sparse in thanks, but accepting all arrange-

ments made, and enclosing local and general time-tables in order that

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received by the Public Trustee that all who had helped should live

But let it not be thought that the Public Trustee's aid is not invoked But let it not be thought that and death. Conceive the case of the morning post bringing some urgent entreaty for full information as to morning post bringing some tagon. Can anyone be sent as the powers and duties of the Public Trustee. Can anyone be sent as well?' the writer asks. 'It is a large estate, and involves matters of great importance.' The distance is great, but a wire is sent, and an assistant leaves by the next train. On arrival, he is met and driven high up on to the edge of a North-country wold; there, in a large country house, remote from all busy life, is the master of the house, a human being in dire need of powerful aid. He is in bed ill. As one enters it is evident at once that the lamp of life is at best but low, indeed it may give but one last flicker and go out for ever. A few sentences, tense with the tenacity of the sense of vital opportunity ebbing away, and the visitor is put en rapport with his host, Everything is said to be explained, the Public Trustee agrees to act under the will and to be guardian of the daughter, the representative surmises that the contents of a sealed packet will explain much more, and comes away impressed, not only with the charity but with the wisdom of Madame de Staël's Comprendre c'est pardonner.

It will be seen, therefore, that infinite variety characterises the day of the Public Trustee; his visitors are numerous. It may be that the story unconsciously surpasses the best ever told by Dickens or Mark Twain; it may be some romance, or tragedy sharp and poignant, imminent often over the visitor himself as he states his case, or again awakes the echoes of a forgotten crime. At other times it is Christmas presents for fatherless boys and girls which have to be bought, winter outfits provided, school prospectuses to be read, debts of some prodigue to be paid, a daughter to be married, a battle of wits over the sale of some business forming part of a trust estate, perhaps a trust for the benefit of a police constable's widow who has sacrificed his life in the discharge of his duty, or of a fund for children orphaned in the Messina disaster. The criticism that an official can never take the place of the personal trustee must go, for there is no reason why there should not be that flexibility and the readiness to be human and personal over even important trifles which will enable this soulless corporation sole to satisfy every private need. For, be it remembered also, it is not a case where the more he does the more he gets paid, as the fees are fixed, and the temptation might be to earl those fees as easily as possible. But the Public Trustee knows that to become a permanent habit of mind with the public he must make his office a living human organisation. He accepts Mr. Haldane's eloquent conception that 'the life of the State, in its controlling power for good, is as real and great as that of the individual.' As Lobby rumour had it that Mr. Chamberlain, when he started the 'tearing

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and raging propaganda,' told the passive resisters to 'tear up their and raging property be that to the extent that the Public Trustee leaflets, so it leaflets, so i satisfies an income satisfies and the Fabian Society, although by one of the Socialist Labour party and the Fabian Society, although by one of those Socialist Lawrence of which nature is fond we should then see a Socialist State assisting to preserve inviolate the dispositions of the individual. The future, however, may take care of itself; for the moment, The little, and the success of the Public Trustee on the personal side of his office that has caused the scheme of custodian trusteeship to fail is securing popular favour. The scheme is unnecessarily elaborate and expensive, but it had some theoretical virtues. The practical defect of it is that it shuts out the custodian from all questions of management, whereas the public prefer that a skilled trustee should have the full powers of an ordinary trustee. Out of 425 trusts taken last year, the Public Trustee was appointed custodian in nine cases only.

Another criticism that is frequently heard against the Public Trustee is that with regard to investments he puts everything into Consols, the assertion being frequently met with even in correspondence, there put forward like the grotesque estimate of expenses at a million pounds per annum with every show of sober authority. The value of the Stock Exchange securities belonging to trust estates now held by the Public Trustee, or in course of being transferred to him, is, as has been said, about 2,000,000l.; his holding in Consols The evasive antagonist may, however, reply that he does not mean strictly Consols, but that all investments will be confined within those allowed to trustees by Act of Parliament, and all other securities will be disallowed. The assertion has no foundation in fact. The Public Trustee in this matter is like any ordinary private trustee—that is, he is bound entirely by the provisions of his trust deed as to the limits of investment permitted him. If there are no provisions as to investment, then, like any private trustee, the Public Trustee is confined by law to investment in trustee securities only. As a general rule, however, the Public Trustee finds that most trust instruments give him a fairly moderate range of investment over which to exercise his discretion. In cases where a change is desirable he acts as would a highly skilled private trustee, by making the best use of his knowledge and experience for the benefit of the estate; with this further advantage that the highly skilled private trustee has for the most part only his own knowledge and the advice of, perhaps, the one broker with whom he deals to assist his judgment, whereas the Public Trustee, in addition to his own judgment, consults the tenant for life, also in certain cases the reversioner, and is in touch not with one broker only, but with many brokers; so the Department accumulates much knowledge by way of verification of the real merits of the various securities and so assists the

exercise of the official discretion in such matters. As an example of what may be done in certain cases, the following illustration may be what may be done in certain cases, in value some 20,000l., bringing in given. Of a large estate, a portion, in value some 20,000l., bringing in given. Of a large estate, a portion, 500l. a year, came to be realised, and the reinvestment of this 20,000l. had to be undertaken. A fairly wide range of investment was both permitted and justifiable, regard being had also to the investment of the rest of the estate. In result, after much consideration, a schedule of reinvestment was settled, the 20,000l. was vastly better secured than it had been when in the hands of the late private trustees, while the income of the same was increased by very nearly 300l. a year,

If blame is to be laid anywhere in the matter of investing trust funds it should be on the shoulders of the private trustee. He it is who tends to put everything into Consols or Trustee Securities, and lets them remain there, that is if he esteems himself conscientious; but if conscientiousness is merely, in his opinion, a piece of red tape, the estate may be found in anything from Consols to Premium Bonds.

In one case of an estate of 16,000% in value, the whole of it had been invested in English railways thirty years ago and had not been touched since, whereas in the Public Trustee office this estate would originally have been better distributed and periodically reviewed. Before leaving altogether this question of investment, it may be pointed out that it has been unfairly and improperly imputed to the Department that it favours reinvestment because a fee is earned on such an occasion. The answer to this charge is that out of this fee the brokerage is defrayed, and as this brokerage may be anything from per cent. upwards, it does not follow that, taking the rough with the smooth, the Public Trustee will have much left after paying the broker, especially as the general run of his investments carry high rates of brokerage. He may receive some rebate of commission, but in any event he will not make enough from any source out of this minor fee to tempt him to go in and out of investments for the sake of revenue. Moreover, unwilling as the prejudiced and hostile may be to believe it, the Public Trustee fully realises that such a foolish policy would only defeat itself. One of his greatest assets will be to show the public year by year, and from one generation to another, how under his care the permanent and stable character of the capital is assured for all time, as well as a reliable stream of equable and adequate income provided for the life tenant, therefore nothing but a clear benefit to the trust coupled with the assent of the beneficiaries to the benefit proposed, would induce him to make any change not necessarily imperative. It is submitted that the Department leaves the Court without any 'additional stain' on its character in regard to the allegation as to investments.

What then is left? As to the personal element it has been shown that the private trustee, already harassed by the growing complexity of the law, cannot hope to compete for the future favour of bene1909

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ficiaries and humane Settlors and Testators as against his strenuous ficiaries and that even the somnolent world of trusts, where dignity new rival, and that even the somnolent world of trusts, where dignity new rival, and that even the somnolent world of trusts, where dignity new rival, and that even the somnolent world of trusts, while as to invest-detestable 'get on or get out' spirit of the times, while as to invest-detestable 'get on or get out' spirit of the times, while as to invest-detestable 'get on or get out' spirit of the times, while as to invest-detestable 'get on or get out' spirit of the time of the expense. As has been often explained, then only the question of expense. As has been often explained, then only the question of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fee in the has fees on the capital, and 31. 10s. a year as fee on income, where a fees on the capital, and 31. 10s. a year as fee on income, where a fees on the capital, and 31. 10s. a year as fee on income, where a fees on the capital year and the fees were a matter of great consideration; every known fees of the states are policies.

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Some criticism is occasionally levelled at the income fee of 1 per cent., but a great deal is included in this charge. It includes the duty of maintaining the trust in a proper state of investment (no light duty this); it includes the keeping of all accounts and rendering the same to the beneficiaries, seeing to the due yield and remission of income, and attending to all matters requiring attention in the course of the year. In one trust where only 3l. a year in fees were taken 300 letters were written, in another where 5l. a year were taken in fees, 200 letters have been written in ten months, and these in addition to many interviews and other activities of various kinds arising out of the administration. For these low fees then, the public in England get the Government guarantee answering for their estates, and honest and economical administration. They avoid also for ever afterwards the expense and trouble of appointing new trustees, as the Public Trustee never dies; and the expense of appointing new trustees may be a serious one in the life of a trust, to say nothing of the trouble of finding suitable persons. For this great and permanent advantage, for this insurance against loss, against indefinite expense and trouble, it must in all honesty be confessed that the fees are a mere nothing, very often indeed they may be obliterated in the improvement effected in the investment of the estate, and, as all this is realised, private persons will no longer feel it in the least incumbent on them to act as trustees to save the estate these moderate charges, and expose it to other risks and expense much more serious; but, rather, satisfied as to the readiness of access, as to the personal and businesslike methods of the Department, they will come to resort to it as an office formed by themselves to answer their own needs, in their own time.

In the modern State the individual has a hand-to-hand fight to make his way through the impeding forces of fierce competition, and he feels that immunity from misfortune and poverty for himself, and those dependent on him, once secured, is not to be exposed to

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the malversations, so often seen in recent years, by those who voltage for, the confidence reposed in Man the malversations, so often seems, the confidence reposed in the modern State are Moreover, if the conditions of life in the modern State are so keep man is at Moreover, if the conditions or rich (and the rich man is at present the Public Trustee), does not feel it to as alleged, the worker, poor in the majority with the Public Trustee), does not feel it to be at present in the majority with the Public Trustee), does not feel it to be at present the state, organised on undesirable extension of officialism, if the State, organised on so broad undesirable extension of officialism, if the State, organised on so broad undesirable extension of officialism, if the State, organised on so broad undesirable extension of officialism, if the State, organised on so broad undesirable extension of officialism, if the State, organised on so broad undesirable extension of officialism, if the State, organised on so broad undesirable extension of officialism, if the State, organised on so broad undesirable extension of officialism. a basis, creates some machinery whereby the devolution of property for the purposes intended can be absolutely guaranteed.

This guarantee no one other than the Public Trustee can give, and the Public Trustee can give can g This guarantee no one standard the Public Trustee give, and I have endeavoured to show how abundantly the Public Trustee give.

even far more than he guarantees.

E. K. ALLEN.

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### THE DEFAMERS OF SHAKESPEARE

I.

It is a curious, though perhaps a lamentable fact, that paradox has at all times in man's history exercised an irresistible attraction for certain minds. Men of known intellectual capacity and high educational attainments are seen, every now and then, to hang back on the broad highway to truth, misreading, or pretending to misread, the obvious finger-posts that warier and less impulsive travellers have been content to take for their guidance, and finally, with a reckless precipitation, to leave the beaten track and plunge into some tangled by-path, which they, from that time forward, loudly proclaim to be the only way. The straying of the few would in itself be a matter of trivial importance if they would only hold their peace. however, insignificant though their number be, they will not do, but must needs cry aloud to others to follow them; and it is when other waverers and stragglers on the road show signs of drifting in their wake that the main body is forced to utter a word of warning. Such, briefly, has ever been the way of those who lean to paradox, and the by-ways of Geometry, of Physics, and of Literature are whitened by their bones. Yet, for all that, we have not heard the last of the squarer of the circle, the trisector of the angle, the constructor of perpetual motion, the subverter of gravitation, or of the Baconian.

Now, when a writer has been recognised over a period of 300 years as the author of certain literary works which have been looked upon as his without question through the whole of that time—when he has been identified with clearness by those who knew him in his lifetime, has been extolled with generosity by those who mourned for him when dead, and has since then been pointed to with pride by all the generations that came after him, it requires evidence of a peculiarly convincing character to dispossess him of the title he has so long enjoyed; and proofs, even more convincing still, must be adduced to establish the fact that these works were in reality the creation of some other mind. Advisedly, perhaps, the would-be demolishers of Shakespeare waited for some centuries after his death before con-

testing his title—no embarrassing Statute of Limitations running against them in such a case. Here was their rare opportunity, personal being no longer procurable: have against them in such a case. The such a case testimony of living persons being no longer procurable; huge mass testimony of living persons being no longer procurable; huge mass testimony of living persons being no longer procurable; huge mass testimony of living persons being no longer procurable; huge mass testimony of living persons being no longer procurable. of documentary evidence swept into nothingness in the course of of documentary evidence sucretime; original manuscripts, private letters, printed works, pamphlets, time; original manuscripts of a like kind gone in the memoirs, inventories, and other papers of a like kind gone in thousand and unlikely ever to be available for reference, with just a fraction left, and no wonder, of what might have been procured, if only it cannot be assert his belated claim. had occurred to the Baconian to assert his belated claims a few centuries earlier than he has done. Had anyone done so, even immediately after Bacon's death, and when the suggested seal of secrecy was removed from the lips of those, who, we are asked to believe, had entered into an unaccountable conspiracy during his life, it does not require any violent stretch of imagination on the part of those acquainted with the rough-and-ready methods of the early seventeenth century to conjure up a scene in which the stocks or the pillory would have played a somewhat prominent part in the solution of the questions raised. But these methods are no longer available, having disappeared as completely as the greater portion of the evidence relating to the subject, and so one can only take such arguments as are from time to time brought forward in support of the extraordinary theory propounded, and deal with them one by one, pointing out that ther are, every one, based upon either impossibility, misconception, or ignorance.

Innumerable as have been the volumes, the pamphlets, and articles devoted to the inculcation of this curious doctrine, and frequently as the arguments and inferences contained in them have been answered and demolished by those most qualified for the task, the Baconian is still large amongst us; and, stranger still, calling even more vociter ously than before for the general recognition of his now somewhat battered faith. He refuses to accept defeat; and during the past year the organ of his propaganda, Baconiana, has continued to appearthough its articles are now based more on trivialities than heretoforeoccasional articles in support of the heresy still meet us in the magazines, and quite lately the most voluminous and erudite book which we have yet seen on the subject has made its appearance, ushered into publicity with all the importance attaching to an author who is not only a practising barrister but a member of Parliament as well, i

This last work differs in one remarkable respect from others that preceded it, inasmuch as it professes to deal only with the negative side of the subject, the author being apparently content in provide that, whoever may have written Shakespeare's poems and plays it certainly cannot have been the Shakespeare identified with Stratford The extent to which this profession is maintained in The Shakespeare Problem Restated. By G. G. Greenwood, M.P. John Lane. 1908 on-Avon.

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the way of consistency will appear later on when the book is dealt the way of conditions the book is dealt with in greater detail, but, for the present, it will be enough to say with in grain arguments are those on which professions. with in greater arguments are those on which professed Baconians that the main arguments other works on the subject of Baconians that the main and, like other works on the subject, it is largely habitually rely, and, that there is a problem or many habitually loss, it is largely directed to showing that there is a problem or mystery of a very directed to show the grovenance of the writings of William serious kind connected with the provenance of the writings of William Shakespeare, the only satisfactory solution of which is to deny that Shakespeare of Stratford can have been the author.

When the heretical theory was first broached, now about half a century ago, it was received with incredulous laughter, and, naturally enough, perhaps, some playful suggestions of mental aberration in connection with the promoters were indulged in, which, in the case of one of its originators, were too speedily verified by her dying in a lunatic condition. Baconians have since that time shown a touchy sensitiveness to any reference to that unhappy occurrence; and there are critics who still think that as a body they have not yet done enough to clear themselves completely of all traces of what is

occasionally represented as an hereditary failing.

Other critics on the orthodox side find it hard to believe that the whole contention is not a carefully devised practical joke, got up merely 'to draw' the authorities, in the way in which, according to Horace Walpole, a member of the Royal Society attempted in the middle of the eighteenth century 'to draw' that august body of scientists by reason of their having refused to admit him as a The story is worth repeating if only for the purpose of showing Baconians a simple expedient by which they might end an unprofitable controversy, and at the same time acquire a character for the possession of a sense of humour which up till now has been as conspicuously dissociated from them as it is from the writings of the eminent philosopher who, they would have us believe, was the creator of Falstaff, Touchstone, Mercutio, Bottom, and other witty immortals.

Sir John Hill, it appears, contrived a communication to the Royal Society from Portsmouth, to the effect that a sailor had broken his leg in a fall from the mast-head; but that bandages and a plentiful application of tar-water had made him, in three days, able to use his leg as well as ever. While this communication was under grave discussion-many people at the time thinking that tar-water had extraordinary remedial properties—the joker arranged that a second letter should be delivered, which stated that the writer had forgotten in his previous communication to mention that the leg was a wooden one! Whether as the result of this playful incident or not, the Royal Society is said to have resolved shortly after that it would not in the future examine any more quadratures or kindred problems, following the example set them in 1755 by the French Academy of Sciences.

Put broadly, the Baconian case, as stated by its chief supporters, is this. Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon was the son of illiterate

parents, a young provincial, with such a smattering of education (if he ever had any) as ne counce produce in his native town, was a neighbourhood; who, while he remained in his native town, was a neighbourhood; who, while he remained in his native town, was a neighbourhood; neighbourhood; who, while as apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler, a butcher's apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler, a butcher's apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler, a butcher's apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler, a butcher's apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler, a butcher's apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler, a butcher's apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler, a butcher's apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler, a butcher's apprentice, and the associate of book poacher, a tippler of book poacher, a tippler of book poacher, a tippler of the associate of book poacher, a tippler of book poacher of the associate of th and petty tradesmen; and who left it a penniless wanderer, under horse-holder outside, and 'servitor', under and petty tradesmen; and underer, under a cloud, to become a horse-holder outside, and 'servitor', inside one of the London playhouses; that he obtained a place in a theating company, and was constantly and assiduously so employed before city audiences, or touring in the provinces, eventually becoming an actor-manager with shares in two theatres; and with all the turning out each year at least two plays belonging to the supremental supremen rank of literature,' replete with learning and redolent of the higher culture. That there is no evidence to prove that he ever claimed authorship, or exercised any acts of ownership, in reference to the works, and that he showed himself to be completely careless in the matter of their preservation. That he died without being in possession of either a book or manuscript; although, if he was the author of the plays, his written copies of them, his Holinshed, his North's Ply. tarch, his Florio's Montaigne, his Belleforest and his Italian Romances. without mentioning other works, should necessarily have been amongst his property; that in his will he never mentions that he had a literary document of any kind in his ownership; and that his handwriting judged by specimens that have survived, was of so cramped a nature that he never could have written any continuous and legible work That he retired from the scene of his proposed triumphs several years before his death to become a mere country gentleman, to lead a life of illiterate indolence, oblivious of name and fame, concerned more with the acquisition of a grant of arms from Heralds' College, the repayment of small debts, the purchase of tithes and the enclosure of common lands, than with the fate of his plays and poems; proud to have shaken off at last the odium attaching to his earlier callinga 'retired gentleman, among the petite bourgeoise of the dirtiest village in all Britain.' Further, that there is no contemporary evidence to show that the author and the player were one the inscription on his Stratford tomb, flattering though it be in other respects, not even recording the fact that he was a dramatist—no tribute paid to the memory of this great tragedian until seven years after his death, when the First Folio was published—published, too, enshrouded in mystery—a series of facts which taken together, form so mysterious a concatenation of inexplicable riddles as to justify the doubts expressed by such men as Hallam, Lord Palmerston, and John Bright, and amply sufficient to satisfy any ordinary reader of the works of our greatest poet that they were at any rate never written by William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon. So much for the negative side of the Baconian case; but there is another side, and of no less importance importance.

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Having ousted the man whom a silly world for some centuries Having out to be the author, the propagators of the new heresy had believed to fill his place. And here their task was in believed to fill his place. And here their task was, in a sense, an of course to hand, waiting meekly through the years for he had rejected in his lifetime, was a man was, in a sense, an easy one, to the had rejected in his lifetime, was a man whose intelthe honours were in every way equal to the production of these parvellous plays and poems; a paragon of learning; a master of classic lore; personally familiar with the courts of England and of France; brought up as the son of a Lord Keeper, with all the advantages of a University education; deeply read in the scientific knowledge of his day; immersed in philosophy and natural history; a trained and erudite lawyer; an author and a master of English known to have written some poetry, but, for reasons of his own, preferring to remain 'a concealed poet,' and reluctant to appear in the world's eyes as in any way connected with the stage—none other, in fact, than Francis Bacon. They then find that Bacon was engaged throughout his life—as can readily be gathered from certain hints in his authentic prose writings—on a great work for the instruction of mankind, and, the better to approach the ears of the people, that he set his teaching in a dramatic form, selecting the actor Shakespeare to be his coadjutor, and as a fitting person to lend him his name as the author of the plays and poems, which, as a matter of fact, so closely resemble Bacon's acknowledged works, in diction and in other striking features, as to prove, without further evidence, that the two series of writings are the obvious outcome of a single brain.

In support of these various assertions as to the inability of Shakespeare and the capability of Bacon, or some other, to have been the real author (which, if true, would undoubtedly establish a strong case) a multitude of irrelevant facts are paraded in a motley procession before us, together with a series of ingeniously contorted readings of the documentary evidence which still remains. Tradition, when it serves the purpose, is accepted with an unquestioning faith-discarded with contumely when it tells in favour of an opposite contention; and as an unpleasant sequel to the ejectment of Shakespeare from his long-occupied niche in the Temple of Fame, Baconians have, in recent years especially, resorted to maligning our greatest writer as a man, and discrediting his powers as a playwright and a poet, in so acrimonious a spirit of personal acerbity as to lead one to think that such unworthy comments are possibly intended as a set-off to some strongly worded suggestions touching their own intellectual capacity and critical acumen which writers on the orthodox side have occasionally made.

The childish and self-destructive nature of this form of folly will be best appreciated by those who perceive that the lower the intellectual intellectual and moral status to which poor Shakespeare is condemned,

the more inexplicable becomes the idiocy of their champion of sagacious statesman, who, by their own admission, deliberated selected this 'thieving, tippling, and letterless peasant' to represent him in his literary compositions, and entrusted him with the keeps of his mysterious message to mankind. There are, of course, some honourable exceptions to be found amongst writers on the heretical side who do not see the necessity of vilifying the alter ego of the masked author; but even these are slow to dissociate themselves from the more reckless colleagues, for the moment they admit that the Straton player was fitted by natural ability, education, and character to justify his adoption by Bacon as a confederate, they are pressed with a greater difficulty than ever, having to give the lie to a large portion of the main case and at the same time allow the possibility of Shake speare having been, after all, the author of the plays and poems himself.

That it was possible for a man of more or less humble originand of deficient educational training, who happened to be endowed naturally with poetic gifts of a high order, coupled with an inboninstinct for the drama, to attain a great position in literature, is unfortunately for the Baconians, a thing which we know could be accomplished. The manner in which it was accomplished, at less in one historical instance, deserves in this connection to be more widely known than it seems to be. I refer to the life of Plautus, the famous Roman playwright, the circumstances of whose origin, early struggles and ultimate success so closely resemble what we know of Shakespeare's career as to form one of the most striking parallels in the literary history of the world.

This comedian, the greatest known to ancient Rome, was born at Sarsina, in Umbria, B.C. 254, in an extremely lowly grade of like. He came to the Roman metropolis as a young man and in a needy condition, and, like Shakespeare, found his first employment at the theatre, where he filled the humble office of a handy-man for actors or a stage carpenter. Thus employed he saved a little money, with which he left the capital to set up in business in the country. This business failing, he returned to Rome in a destitute state, and was employed by a baker to work a hand-mill for grinding corn.

With a mind retentive of what he had already seen, during of hours he wrote three comedies, by the sale of which to the managers of the Public Games he was enabled to quit his drudgery, educate himself, and start on a literary career. That literary career was in every sense the equal of Shakespeare's. The purity of his language and the refinement and good-humour of his wit were celebrated by the critics of old days; the grammarian, Aelius Stilo, used to say of him, and Varro adopted his words, 'that the Muses would use the language of Plautus if they were to speak Latin'; and amongst other who joined in the chorus of his praise were Aulus Gellius, Cicero, and St. Jerome. Lessing, the great critic of recent days, pronounced

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his Captivi to be the finest comedy that was ever brought upon his Captive And yet the opportunities of Plautus in the way of educathe stage. And the way of education were even less than those of Shakespeare, for all the books open tion were even playwright were in manuscript, and the way. tion were even to the Roman playwright were in manuscript, and the writer of comedies to the Roman playwright difficulties to surmount be to the Roman pass had metrical difficulties to surmount beyond anything in those days had seventeenth centuries of in those ways in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of our era. the time of Varro (who died in B.C. 27) we are told that there were the time of these were in reality written by the poet Plautius—while others of them were said to have been the work of more ancient writers which had been retouched and improved by Plautus. After literary controversies which continued for many years in Rome, Varro reduced the number of genuine plays to twenty-one, the whole of which, with one exception, have come down to us. Besides all this, we know that Plautus modelled his plays on the Greek, but made his characters genuine Romans, and to this fact, as we have authority for believing, was attributed the greatness of his popularity. We are told, moreover, that his plays, like those of Shakespeare, were written for the stage, and that 'content with the applause of his contemporaries and the pay which he received, he did not care for the subsequent fate of his works.' 2 Again, as in Shakespeare's case, we know that objection had been taken to the coarseness of some of his jests, but we learn that these were intended for the lower classes of Rome.

Without going further to meet the Baconian case, we have in these well-authenticated details of an earlier dramatist's life and works an answer, that would satisfy most reasonable critics, to about four-fifths of what is described as 'the Shakespeare Problem.' One would imagine that in a literary controversy directed to the dethronement of our greatest English poet, and carried on in some instances by men well acquainted with the classics, some reference at least would have been made to so singular a parallel, and so curious an anticipation in its main features of the so-called mystery surrounding Shakespeare's career and work. But, so far as I am aware, no Baconian has ever touched upon the subject, though it is impossible to believe that the classical scholars amongst them, such as the late Judge Webb and Mr. G. G. Greenwood, were ignorant of these remarkable facts.

The truth is, for all that may be said to the contrary, that preeminence in the world of literature is not, and never will be, the monopoly of the educated or the high-born. Anyone of an ordinary critical faculty, with a smattering of history or biography, could recall innumerable instances of literary success achieved by men whose birth and early education were likely, according to Baconian lights, to form an insuperable bar to their becoming famous. Go back for a moment to the early days of the Athenian drama. What else

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, iii. 409. Vol. LXV-No. 385 FF

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but what Baconians would term a miracle, or a mystery, can account into glorious perfection of the world's me but what Baconians would term account for the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the world's master than the sudden leap into glorious perfection of the sudden leap into glorious perfect that the sudden leap into glorious perfect the sudden leap into glorious perfect that the sudden leap into glorious perfect that the sudden leap into glorious perfect the sudden leap into glorio for the sudden leap into giorious properties of tragedy Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides? The spirits of tragedy Aeschylus, birth associated with their solutions. spirits of tragedy Aesonyka, was little of the purple of high birth associated with their achieve The air they breathed, the land they lived in, their religion ments. The air they breather, the manly magnificence that drove their education. the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from their shores—these were their education; and the Persian from the Persia would be but the humiliating occupation of a paltry mind to seek would be but the numbers by the yard-wand of calculating mediocity, to measure their greatness by the yard-wand of calculating mediocity. For twenty centuries these three reigned unrivalled in the work of dramatic literature. Then Shakespeare rose; and not till the did the figure of an equal, not to say a greater than they, take it place amongst them. And, forsooth, because some trivial difficulties have been discovered in relation to the latter's life and works the hundred years after his death, we are to be told by certain person quite undistinguished amongst Shakespearean scholars, that he was a mere play-actor who never wrote a play.

But, coming to more recent times, what would such people say of John Bunyan, the ill-taught tinker son of a tinker father? Yeth wrote a book that will last as long as the English language has a reader, and wrote it, too, as tradition tells us, in the 'bookless neigh bourhood' of Bedford Gaol. Taylor, the Water-poet, too, might be cited as an instance of one who really knew nothing of the classical and even boasted of his ignorance, yet his works teem with classic allusions. Then, again, as we are reminded by Canon Beeching in the excellent and convincing little volume,3 in which he answers the main contentions of Mr. Greenwood, there was yet another Warwickshire 'butcher's son' (as Aubrey calls him), who ranks high amongst the singers of this country, namely Michael Drayton, born just a year before Shakespeare, who has left the following charming description of the manner in which his unknown schoolmaster set him on the right road to Parnassus—an illustration which loses little of its force even if we accept the tradition that tells us that Drayton had opportunities, never known to Shakespeare, of studying polite society as Sir Henry Goodere's page :-

> For from my cradle you must know that I Was still inclined to noble poesy; And when that once Pueriles I had read, And newly had my Cato construed, In my small self I greatly wondered then, Amongst all other, what strange kind of men These poets were, and pleased with the name To my mild Tutor merrily I came (For I was then a proper goodly page Much like a pigmy, scarce ten years of age),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> William Shakespeare, Player, Playmaker, and Poet. London, 1908.

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Clasping my slender arms about his thigh—
'O, my dear master, cannot you,' quoth I,
'Make me a poet? Do it, if you can,
'And you shall see, I'll quickly be a man.'
Who me thus answer'd smiling: 'Nay,' quoth he,
'If you'll not play the wag, but I may see
You ply your learning, I will shortly read
Some poets to you.' Phoebus be my speed,
To 't hard went I; when shortly he began,
And first read to me honest Mantuan,
Then Virgil's Ecloques. Being entered thus
Methought I straight had mounted Pegasus,
And in his full career could make him stop,
And bound upon Parnassus' bi-clift top.

There is, therefore, neither difficulty nor mystery in the rise to literary pre-eminence of such mortals, and the Baconian may learn from Shakespeare himself a good deal more about the process by which such positions can be attained by men naturally gifted with intellects above the average. His description in *Henry V*. of the suddenly acquired knowledge of the young Prince, the wildness of whose salad days so closely resembles the early life of Shakespeare according to the traditions on which Baconians so strongly rely:—

CANTERBURY. The courses of his youth promis'd it not. The breath no sooner left his father's body, But that his wildness, mortified in him, Seem'd to die too: . . . Never was such a sudden scholar made: Never came reformation in a flood With such a heady current, scouring faults; Nor never Hydra-headed wilfulness So soon did lose his seat, and all at once, As in this king. . . . Hear him but reason in divinity, And all admiring, with an inward wish You would desire the king were made a prelate: Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs, You would say—it hath been all-in-all his study: List his discourse of war, and you shall hear A fearful battle render'd you in musick; Turn him to any cause of policy, The Gordian Knot of it he will unloose, Familiar as his garter; that, when he speaks, The air, a charter'd libertine, is still, And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears, To steal his sweet and honey'd sentences; So that the art and practick part of life Must be the mistress to this theorick: Which is a wonder, how his grace could glean it, Since his addiction was to courses vain: His companies, unletter'd, rude, and shallow; His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports; And never noted in him any study,

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Any retirement, any sequestration From open haunts and popularity.

Henry V., I. i.

His sketch in Cymbeline of the rapid education of the child Post

all the learnings that his time Could make him the receiver of; which he took, As we do air, fast as 'twas minister'd;

and, again, his picture of Orlando in As You Like It, one and all seem to indicate in a modest but forcible way that the writer of these passages was not unmindful when he penned them of his own marvellous advancement, and of whom one may yet say:—

This is he;
Who hath upon him still that natural stamp:
It was wise Nature's end in the donation,
To be his evidence now.

In the face of the foregoing remarks, it would be mere waste of time to enter on any extended discussion as to the actual schooling of Shakespeare when a boy at Stratford. As a matter of fact there is no direct evidence of his ever having gone to school at all, although, as Canon Beeching suggests, it may fairly be assumed that the eldest son of the chief Alderman of the town was sent there in due course. We do know, however, pretty well what the usual school curriculum was in the time of Shakespeare's boyhood, and it is not a little singular (though quite unimportant on the question of authorship) that the writer of Love's Labour's Lost, one of the earliest of the plays, and of the Merry Wives, seems to show a knowledgeable familiarity with the course of instruction pursued at such places of education.

Me may, therefore, without hesitation, give the go-by to such arguments of the Baconians as are based upon any question relative to the amount of learning shown by the writer of the plays, for, however interesting it may be to investigate such matters for our own satisfaction and in our general desire to know all that can be known connected with so extraordinary a human being, the conclusions arrived at cannot by any possibility be said to affect the general question of the authorship of Shakespeare's works. The best judges of his own day, with Ben Jonson at their head, saw nothing to wonder at in such erudition as is found in either poems or plays, and one cannot help thinking that their acquaintance with the circumstances in which these works were written, the opportunities for self-instruction which were within the writer's reach, and the capacity of the man himself, provincial though he had been, as he moved amongst them, was of a somewhat sounder character than that possessed by even the most

1 Cymbeline, V. v.

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Much is at present known as to the conditions surrounding the writing and the staging of plays in Shakespeare's day; and although writing and actual account of how Shakespeare's own work was done, we have no actual account of how shakespeare's own work was done, we have no work was done, we cannot, from what we do know, imagine that the conditions in his case, at least in his early efforts, were very widely different from what is found in others. One has only to look through that most interesting volume (to be dealt with more fully later on) Henslowe's Diary, as edited by J. P. Collier for the Shakespeare Society in 1845, to see the very working of the hive—and there is no more remarkable feature in the play-production of those early days than the method of joint authorship which was on many occasions adopted.

Nothing was more common than for dramatists to unite their abilities and resources; and, when a piece on any account was to be brought out with peculiar despatch, three, four, five, and perhaps even six poets engaged themselves upon different portions of it. Evidence of this dramatic combination will be found of such frequent occurrence, that it is vain here to point out particular pages where it will be met.5

Besides, it is well known that many of the best playwrights of the time had been actors as well-Marlowe, Kyd, R. Wilson, Peele, Lodge, and Ben Jonson almost certainly having at one time or another been of that class. Has it ever occurred to Baconians that the masked man they think Shakespeare to have been would have had a somewhat trying time of it under such a system of literary co-operation? How long do they imagine the uneducated rustic from a provincial town would have succeeded in wearing his visor down? Or are we to assume that none of the many who knew him behind the curtain ever saw him pen a verse, not to say a scene ? Or again, is it that all his 'fellows' shared his secret, playing, before they were yet created, the parts of Horatio and Marcellus to his weird Hamlet as he exhorted them :-

Never, so help you mercy! How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself, As I perchance hereafter shall think meet To put an antick disposition on— That you at such time seeing me, never shall With arms encumbered thus, or this head-shake, Or by pronouncing of some doubtful phrase, As, Well, well, we know; or, We could, an if we would; or, If we list to speak; or, There be, an if they might; Or such ambiguous giving out, to note That you know aught of me: This not to do, swear; So grace and mercy at your most need help you! GHOST (BACON, OF COURSE). Swear."

<sup>5</sup> Introd. pp. xviii, xix.

<sup>6</sup> Hamlet, I. v.

It was not so; and for the simple reason that even to imagine it is to strain average work-a-day credulity to breaking-point.

I have suggested that with the example of Plautus and others I have suggested that will before us the exact amount of Shakespeare's learning, as shown in his works, cannot be regarded as a factor of any vital importance in works, cannot be regarded at determining the question of authorship. What is really important in the consideration of any difficulties that may present themselves in the matter is to ask ourselves what was Shakespeare's real school. The one satisfactory answer to that question is—the playhouse. The precise date of his leaving Stratford is not known; there is a record of his being there in March 1587, and when next we hear of him he is in London in the year 1591, already an actor good enough to play before Royalty at Whitehall. The intervening years, no unimportant period in the education of a young man of high intellectual capabilities, is lightly passed over by Baconians, who do not seem to see the vast opportunities for self-education which it perhaps afforded. We know that Leicester's Company visited Stratford in 1587; and whether it was with them, or for the purpose of joining them in London, it is admitted by everyone that the young provincial came direct to the theatre in or about that time, and never ceased to be connected withit during all those years. What better school, then, could he possibly have attended? Design or happy accident led him, like Plautus, to the very head quarters of the profession to which all that was best in him was naturally directed. To both these towering intellects the stage meant more than any university. Here before his own eyes Shakespeare saw the finest actors of the day playing characters of every period and every rank of society, in plays penned by such playwrights as Kyd, Webster, Lyly, Greene, Marlowe, Peele, and Lodge, and the other giants of Elizabethan times. Where else was such an insight to be obtained into the manners, the fashions, the ceremonies of social life in England or abroad, in the present or the past, in all their variations from Court to stable yard? Here, as it were, living kings, queens, and princes, home or foreign, with all their varied hosts of attendants, statesmen and cardinals, soldiers and philosophers, lovers, merchants, tyrants, lords, and clowns spoke and moved before him, filling him with completest knowledge of just those details of language, action and observance with which he was least acquainted. Here, too, and here only, was to be learnt the playwright's art of arts, stagecraft, an ignorance of which has so often proved to be the grave of many a would-be dramatist since his day. If, as there is reason to believe, he first tried a prentice hand at play-writing under the guidance of, or in conjunction with, the great play-makers who wrote for the Company to which he attached himself, and in which he afterwards became possessed of so large an interest, a mind such as his could not have failed to drink in vast draughts, 'fast as 'twas ministered,' of the knowledge that was theirs—and what that know

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ledge was no student of the literature of Elizabeth's later days requires ledge was no state days requires to be told, being only too well aware that Latin was then still a to be told, being that the spirit of the classic world, its mythology living tongue, and that the spirit of the breath of the post. living tongue, and all else appertaining to it, were the breath of the nostrils of all who and all else apper in hand. at the time took a pen in hand.

As to the precise amount of his knowledge of Greek and Latin, As to the private study, or picked up from his colleagues, in resulting from France as he may have brought with him from Strataddition to best source of information is the works themselves. It is ford, our best source of opinion and dogmetics. ford, our both a matter of opinion, and dogmatism on the subject gets us after an out of the subject gets us no further forward. There is, however, one view that should command respect, that which is embodied in Ben Jonson's well-known small Latin and less Greek,' relative though the phrase be at best. Jonson was himself a finished classical scholar; and it is possible that even if Shakespeare had become a fair classic, as we should now term it, the description so given of his deficiencies might not be very far from accurate. On the other hand, if this description be taken literally, as most Shakespearians are inclined to take it, it is conceivable that even the high standard of knowledge attributed to him by the late Professor Collins may have been the result of assistance given him by his more learned coadjutors, who may have supplied him with their own translations of some striking passages from the Greek tragedians or the Latin poets. Or, indeed, some such extracts from the classics may have been taken from plays that have since disappeared, for his power of borrowing was great. The more generally accepted opinion on the matter has been well expressed by Augustus De Morgan:—

If Shakespeare's learning on certain points be very much less visible than Jonson's, it is partly because Shakespeare's writings hold it in chemical combination, Jonson's in mechanical aggregation.

Be this, however, as it may, the subject is at least one for reasonable discussion by all interested in the manner of the making of the plays and poems; and though one Shakespearian may differ widely from another on this point as on many others, it is quite unnecessary for Mr. Greenwood to tell us that their doing so is but another instance of 'The High Priests of Literature' being 'at loggerheads,' and that there is therefore 'a Shakespeare Problem,' which can only be solved by assuming that all Shakespeare's works were written by someone else of the same name. What Mr. Greenwood, in making such assertions, seems to forget is, that, for all their differences on minor matters, Shakespearians are absolutely at one on the question of the authorship of Shakespeare's writings; and the greater their differences on such minor points, the more logically valuable becomes their unanimity upon the main question.

When a cynical American humorist some time ago pithily summed up the Baconian theory by saying that Shakespeare's works were not

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written by Shakespeare, but by another man of the same name, he was founding a literary school. written by Shakespeare, but by the probably far from thinking that he was founding a literary school; yet probably far from thinking that he was founding a literary school; yet probably far from thinking that he strange as it may seem, his witty utterance forms to-day one of the strange as it may seem, his witty utterance forms to-day one of the strange as it may seem, his with superstructure of Baconianism is main planks on which the phantom superstructure of Baconianism is main planks on which the phone with a phone arrived and Mr. Greenwood attaching airily raised—both the late Judge Webb and Mr. Greenwood attaching to it such all but vital importance that, without it, the whole house of cards would be in immediate danger of being blown down under the first breath of common-sense criticism. Let us consider, then, in some first breath of common-sense value of this aspect of their contention An obvious weakness inherent in an argument of such a kind will, of An obvious weakness inner with the topsy-turvy orthography of Elizabethan and Jacobean times—but let that pass. Mr. Greenwood rests his case so strongly on the spelling of the name that he tells us in his Notice to the Reader that all through his book he writes 'Shakespeare' when he is speaking of the author of the Plays and Poems, and 'Shakspere' when he refers to the Stratford player. His doing so is not at all times conducive to clearness, his Esperantoin nomenclature being of too recent date to be readily 'understanded of the people 'who are his readers. I shall not follow him in making what can be shown to be a merely fanciful distinction, but in referring to his peculiar arguments, when necessary use the words 'the Stratford player 'as equivalent to his 'Shakspere.' The origin of the adoption of this novel theory is fairly apparent to anyone familiar with the general history of Baconianism. Mr. Greenwood has, as it were, been brought in as 'special counsel' on the rehearing of a case in which the many advocates who addressed the court on previous occasions have made no impression. Obviously it would be but waste of time on his part to repeat what had heretofore failed to move the judges, and, skilful practitioner that he is, he has the wit to see that the really weak spot on his clients' side is the suggestion that a shrewd statesman and man of the world like Bacon would ever have selected a country bumpkin of no education to speak of (as Baconians generally describe him) as the ostensible author of the plays and poems. No, he will have none of this. Some new turn must be given to the line of argument on this point if the ear of the court is to be reached, and while admitting to the full that the Stratford player is a completely different individual fom the author of the dramas and other works, he evolves the brilliant notion of showing that 'Shakespeare' was merely a pseudonym or nom de plume of some other writer, whose real identity he at first with some show of indignation refuses to disclose, but which, later on, by the very force of tangled circumstances, he is driven to acknowledge to be the same old claimant, Bacon. The vehemence with which, every now and then, he assails his opponents in person is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A few interesting instances of variation in spelling may be mentioned here. The ne of the famous Dr. Coincip for a region pine: name of the famous Dr. Caius is found in ten different forms; Dekker's name in nine; Raleigh's in more than half a dozon. Raleigh's in more than half a dozen; while Bunyan's is spelt in over thirty ways.

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distinctly suggestive of a hopeless case, but it would be uncharitable distinctly suggestion, as he has, in his Preface at least, expressed his to press this relation to press this disapproval of indiscriminate vilification. He, of course, does not disapplied at the show that there is even a shred of evidence to prove that attempt to the time ever did make use of 'Shakespeare' as a nom de anyone as a nom de plume, nor can he suggest an intelligible motive for anyone to take this extraordinary course. He admits practically that it is a case of circumstantial evidence at best—and here, in accurately summarised form, is what it comes to. The Stratford player never himself used the form Shakespeare (a matter, by the way, which is by no means certain); the dedicatory pages of Venus and Adonis (1593) and Lucrece (1594) were subscribed 'William Shakespeare'; the 1598 editions of Richard II. and Richard III. were published as by 'William Shake-speare'; the Sonnets came out (1609) as Shake-speare's Sonnets; and the earliest known allusion to the author of the poems is in some verses of an address to 'Willobie his Avisa,' 1594:-

> Yet Tarquyne pluckt his glistening grape, And Shakes-peare paints poor Lucrece rape.

The family of the Stratford player (so the argument goes on), though writing their name in some sixty different ways, never seem to have employed the form 'Shakespeare.' Many other instances are adduced, and amongst them the 1598 edition of Love's Labour's Lost, 'corrected and augmented,' with the name of 'W. Shakespere' on its title-page; but this last somewhat significant bit of evidence, obviously destructive of his own case, is passed over without even a word of comment or explanation. Besides, the new advocate of the Baconians, in his examination of the evidence, does not seem to have come across a record of interest and importance which is to be found in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, drawn up by the Countess of Southampton, where 'William Shakespeare' is mentioned as the name of the actor who played before the Queen on two occasions in December 1594. And yet the Countess may be presumed to have known something of the individual who had just dedicated his two great poems to her own son.8 But such are Mr. Greenwood's methods; and one is left to wonder what kind of audience he really believes himself to be addressing.

But further than this, he adopts and amplifies the argument relied on by the late Dr. Webb, that Ben Jonson was in the secret, and, to use his own words, 'had clearly distinct in his own mind two different personages, viz. Shakspere the player, and Shakespeare the real author of the Plays and Poems.' Further, that Ben Jonson assisted in the

It is not without significance that Venus and Adonis was entered for publication (April 18, 1593) by Richard Field. He was the son of Henry Field, tanner, of Stratford-on-Avon, who died in 1592, the inventory of whose goods, attached to his will, had been to be stratford-one will, had been to be stratford-one will be stratford to his will be stratford to be stratford to his will be stratford to his will be stratford. will, had been taken by Shakespeare's father in August of that year. See Fleay's Life and Work. Life and Work of William Shakespeare, p. 112.

production of the First Folio, the Preface to which he 'undoubtedly wrote.' In this the new advocate, to a certain extent, follows Malone. wrote.' In this the new advocate, but the latter is careful to point out the parts which Jonson did not

Accepting for the moment this theory in its entirety, however Accepting for the moments what most of us know to have been inconsistent it may seem with what most of us know to have been honest Ben's general character, let us see how this conspirator plays his part in the curious plot. He was manifestly no adept at such a business, for admittedly the greatest opportunity he had of empha. sising the distinction in spelling between one name and the other was in this very First Folio, the earliest official copy, as it were, of the plays, And here is what is done under his supervision. He allows the name of the author to appear on the title-page as William Shakespeare; and closely following is a list of 'The names of the Principal Actors in all these Playes,' at the very head of which stands William Shakespeare, spelt in identically the same way! Besides, in the folio edition of Ben Jonson's own plays (1616) the actor who played in Every Man in His Humour is given in exactly the same form, while the name of the same actor in Sejanus is printed Shake-speare. 'Of all styles he loved most to be named Honest,' says Drummond of Hawthornden; and here, so far as Ben Jonson had to do with the First Folio, as on other occasions to be referred to later, he identifies the author with the player in a way that is absolutely irreconcilable with the whimsical theories of either Mr. Greenwood or any other—good and sufficient reason, perhaps, for Mr. Greenwood saying nothing about it.

But Jonson's references to Shakespeare are not yet exhausted; and desperate efforts, as will be seen later, are resorted to by the Baconians to get over the simple statements made by him in his verses in Shakespeare's praise which are found with some others of a like kind at the beginning of the First Folio.

EDWARD SULLIVAN.

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## MISSING ESSENTIALS IN THE ECONOMIC SCIENCE

I. THE FALLACIES OF KARL MARX AS AIDS TO THE ELUCIDATION OF TRUTH.

It has been often and truly said that the creed of orthodox Christianity only achieved precision through the need of refuting heresies. Only when errors became definite was it necessary to trace them to their sources, and exclude them by a barrier of doctrines, equally definite, which were true.

In this respect theology is not peculiar. A striking analogy to it may be found in the science of economics. When this science first achieved a specific position and authority, and developed into the system which has since been known as the 'orthodox,' and which Socialists now denounce as the 'capitalistic' or 'bourgeois,' the main object of its exponents was to elucidate such detailed problems as arose out of the industrial order of things which they found existing round them. That order as a whole they accepted rather than examined, just as a practical chemist accepts the order of Nature. They did not examine it, because nobody called it in question.

This procedure on their part sufficed for practical purposes so long as no heretics, rivalling them in their own domain, began to submit the fundamentals, thus carelessly assumed, to discussion; to represent as unnecessary and passing what had been accepted as necessary and eternal; and to deduce from the very principles which the orthodox themselves had formulated, conclusions which they had

never contemplated, and which they could not even regard as sane. Such, however, was the disturbing event which actually took place when, a hundred years or so after the appearance of Smith's Wealth of Nations, Karl Marx issued his treatise on Capital, a work with regard to which we may admit the claims of his admirers, that it formed the foundation of that reasoned economic heterodoxy

which is, under various forms, now known as 'scientific Socialism.' By most Socialists of to-day who rise above the level of mere demagogues, and have any claims such as Marx has to be regarded as serious thinkers, the particular doctrines by which Marx is most

widely known are repudiated. But in spite of all the fallacies while have discovered in it, his treatise on a widely known are repudiated.

even sympathetic critics have discovered in it, his treatise on Cappille and it is the control of the control o even sympathetic critics have discrete. It embodies and it investores of form one fundamental truth with a masterly definiteness of form one fundamental truth and also which the Socialists of to-day one fundamental fallacy, which the Socialists of to-day, howere one fundamental lanacy, nowers they may disavow the latter, still use as their principal weapons to creanisation of which the orthodor. assaulting that economic organisation of which the orthodox economic assaulting that economic organisation of which the orthodox economic assaulting that economic organisation of which the orthodox economic organisation or the orthodox economic o mists were the exponents, and to the efficiency of which it was the aim to minister. And the orthodox economists even to this day though they have refuted the Socialists successfully as to many detailed points, have never succeeded in establishing any body of positive principles which, by placing the truth just mentioned in its proper setting, and killing the fallacy by substituting a further positive truth for it, shall destroy Socialism at its roots instead merely cutting down its branches. The very language of orthodor economics does not even yet possess generally accepted and pro perly defined terms sufficient to render an attempt of this kind intelligible.

When we say, then, that Socialism as a reasoned theory is defective, that it represents, in short, not a true science but a sham science, we are bringing a corresponding charge against orthodor economics also. We are not, indeed, saying that it is a sham science but we are saying that, as it stands, it is a radically defective science It has elucidated with signal success the secondary phenomena with which it deals; but the primary facts and forces from which the phenomena arise it has left to be assumed by a slovenly common sense which, though trustworthy enough so long as its assumption are not questioned, has no means of defending them when they are subjected to systematic attack. It was in this region of assumed but undefended fundamentals that Marx secured for Socialism is main strategical basis. His success has been hitherto but the measure of his opponents' weakness; but it puts into their hands the means of recovering their original strength, and making it incomparably greater than it ever was before. The errors of Marx are of a kind so precise, so coherent, and so positive, that they serve to indicate like a red line drawn on a chart, the route which it still remains for sound science to follow.

These general observations shall be now illustrated by facts.

## THE THEORY OF MARX, AND THE IMPOTENCE OF ORTHODOX II. ECONOMICS TO REFUTE IT.

If we look into any ordinary school text-book of economics of scripture are sure to encounter the time-honoured proposition at the beginning of it, that all wealth is of it, that all wealth is produced by land, labour and capital. Isosands, we shall find the stands, we shall find, for the materials and the forces of Nature;

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Such, reduced to a brief but sufficient summary, is the argument of those economists who, when Marx addressed himself to his work during the middle of the reign of Queen Victoria, were found by him in possession of the field, and whose science, as still represented in the text-books of their present representatives, has not radically

amended its methods or enlarged its borders.

Such being the case, then, what Marx did was as follows. Seizing on Ricardo's doctrine that labour is the measure of value, and on the fact the the fact that value is the admitted measure of wealth, he confronted the orthodox economists with the very pertinent question of why March the orthodox economists with the orthodox eco since things are of value in property them, all values or wealth do not go to the labourers. The landlords them, all values or wealth to ke what they do take because, under and the capitalists only take what they do take because, under present and the capitalists only take the conditions, land and capital happen to be owned by them. What things have they, he asked, to either the conditions and the capitalists only take the conditions. right, in the nature of things, have they, he asked, to either? And since it was possible to answer with respect to land that most existing estates have been honestly acquired by purchase, so much capital having practically been the price paid for them, he concentrated his main criticism on the question of capital itself. In what, he asked does capital itself originate? By what right or by what means have its present owners come into possession of it? To this challenge the orthodox economists were ready with one answer, and with one answer only. Capital, they said, is 'the reward of abstinence.' It represents so much of the products of bygone labour as the labourers who produced them had prudently abstained from consuming. Such is the answer given in the orthodox text-books still. So far as it goes it is doubtless true enough, but, taken by itself, it is childish There can be no libraries unless we abstain from burning books; but merely to abstain from burning them does not cause books to be written. The fact on which Marx insisted was that, under moden conditions, capital to an increasing degree is being concentrated in a few hands; and even if the men who possess it claim that they have been labourers once, the great growth of their capital takes place after they have ceased to labour. How, if all wealth-spent wealth and saved wealth equally—is great or small in proportion to the labour embodied in it, can saved wealth keep on increasing in the hands of men who, if they abstain from spending, abstain from labouring also?

Such was the riddle of the Sphinx which Marx propounded to the orthodox economists of his day; and in his treatise on Capital he elaborated his own answer to it. The fallacies which vitiate his reasoning in that work are, as we shall see presently, incomparably more profound than the mere deficiencies inherent in the reasoning of the body of thinkers whom he attacked; but he at all events brought into prominence one fundamental truth which these thinkers had altogether neglected, and as soon as this truth has been placed in its proper setting, illuminated by its true explanation, to which Marx was altogether blind, and thus become part and parcel of sound economic science, such science will have to recognise the debt which it owes to Marx.

This truth consists in neither more nor less than the specific application to economics of the principle of historical evolution. we wish to understand, Marx said, why in the modern world capital, as fast as it increases. as fast as it increases, is monopolised by a non-labouring class, whilst the labourers—its admitted producers—see it slip through their

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fingers, we must not only cease to indulge in idle talks about 'absti-We must cease to limit our attention to things as they are nence. We have the desired explanation not in the present but the now, and look for the desired explanation not in the present but the now, and note the whole present régime—that of the employer and empast. For the capitalist and the wage-paid labourer—which the ployed, or the ployed, or the ployed accepts as the only régime possible, is, he said, orthodox distinctive features, a wholly modern phenomenon, evolved by historical causes from conditions that were widely different. Indeed, so modern is it that, although we can trace its birth to a period coinciding with the decline of the feudal system, and identify thenceforward the precise nature of its development, it can hardly be said to have assumed considerable proportions at a period earlier than the beginning of the reign of George the Third, and even then it was practically confined to England, from which country, since then, it has been spreading itself throughout the world. If, Marx continued, we would understand the phenomena of capitalism, we must consider how, as a historical fact, capitalism rose out of feudalism; whilst if we would make our understanding of the matter complete we must consider how feudalism rose out of something that went before it.

If we take, then, a bird's-eye view of the history of human civilisation, remembering that labour is always the sole producer of wealth, or of the whole material conditions on which civilisation depends, we find that labour has exerted itself under three successive systems, each of which has gradually given place to another owing to historical causes which have pertained to an evolutionary world-movement, and have lain entirely outside the intentions or the desires of individuals. The first of these was the slave system, the second the system of corvée, or work exacted from the labourer as an incident of his feudal status; the third is the system of wage-paid labour, or of capitalism. All three systems have one feature in common, namely, that under each the labourers, who are always the majority, support and are subject to the orders of a smaller class above them; but as each system has historically given place to the next, the details of their subjection have undergone an evolutionary change. Under the slave system the labourer was a chattel belonging to his master, and could, like a domestic animal, call nothing but his food his own. Under feudalism he rose to a condition of limited independence. If a craftsman or artisan, he found his work defined for him by his status, hereditary or otherwise, from which it was difficult for him to escape, and a portion of his products was taken from him as tolls by his feudal superiors. But the implements of his industry were his own, and he conducted it at his own discretion. Similarly, he had it had, if a cultivator, a property in the fields he cultivated with his own plough and spade, and he only failed to be free because he was tied to him. tied to his holding, and was bound for specific periods to place his

labour at the service of his overlord. But neither under the slave system nor under the feudal system was any part played by capital as then Marx asked, did the capitalistic. system nor under the lendar system asked, did the capitalistic system it exists to-day. How, then, Marx asked, did the capitalistic system in its origin a strictly local product. arise? It was, he says, in its origin a strictly local product. It arose in England out of various local circumstances, chief amongst which were the dissolution of the great feudal households consequent of the rapid growth of sheep-fame. the Wars of the Roses, and the rapid growth of sheep-farming at the expense of tillage. Anyhow, in England, by the time of Henry the Eighth, a large class had already made its appearance consisting of men who, neither as artisans nor cultivators, were provided any longer as they once had been by the general constitution of society with the means of prosecuting the labour necessary to support their lives Here, says Marx, we have the germ of the modern working class, or the proletariate, the essential characteristic of which, as distinguished from the working class under feudalism, is the fact that its members, whilst obliged to produce, are without the implements of production, and are consequently driven to borrow them from another class altogether, which is able to make with them in their necessity whatever terms it pleases. The essence of modern capitalism is, in short, simply this, a divorce unknown in any previous stage of civilisation between the implements of production and the producers, the result of which is that the class which owns the implements is able to exact from the producers, as the price of being allowed to use them, the whole of the product except that irreducible fraction needed by the producers to keep body and soul together.

This divorce in Henry the Eighth's time was but just beginning to be appreciable. To bring it to its completion was the gradual work of centuries; but the eighteenth century saw it a completed fact in England, and from England it has spread itself like an epidemic

throughout the civilised world generally.

The labourers remain, however, the sole producers still. The interests and profits of capital are created by them alone, being merely names for a portion of their products which is taken from them. But, though under capitalism they have lost much, there is something which they have meanwhile gained. They have gained a mobility they did not possess under feudalism, and through that mobility Their economic condition, they will ultimately find redemption. bad as it is already, will necessarily grow worse and worse. Capital will take more and more, leaving them less and less, until out of unified misery a unified class consciousness shall complete itself, and labour, combining against capital, shall repossess itself of its own implements. It will thus recover the independence which it had gained by the substitution of the substitut by the substitution of feudalism for slavery, and retain the freedom which it had gained by the substitution of capitalism for feudalism This new régime, when established, will constitute what is meaning by Socielism: by Socialism; and thus Socialism will be evolved from capitalism 1909

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Here in its outlines we have the bold and far-reaching theory. Here in his confronted the theory of the orthodox economists, with which Marx confronted the theory of the orthodox economists, with which are existing conditions by taking their existence for who explained existence for granted, whereas these conditions in reality were the things which granted, whereast explanation. We will now briefly consider both the truth and the errors embodied in it, and then we will proceed the truth the first of those positive lessons which orthodox economics still has to learn from both.

THE THEORY OF MARX AS INDICATING FOR THE FIRST TIME THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF WHICH IT OFFERS NO SOLUTION.

It might easily be shown that the evolutionary theory of Marx is, on its historical side, inaccurate in many particulars. The economic stages into which he divides the past are really less sharply separated than they are in the picture which he draws of them. Abraham purchased land with capital in the form of silver. The merchant princes of Tyre owned capital in the form of ships; and, whereas he takes the slave system for his starting point, this in reality grew out of conditions that went before it. His neglect of this last point will demand our attention presently; but in spite of all such criticisms, his survey of economic history broadly corresponds, so far as it goes, with fact, and must be accepted as forming one of the most important contributions made to economic thought in the course of the nineteenth century. Indeed, its accuracy as a picture is, for practical purposes, sufficient. Its deficiency lies in the fact that it is a picture and little more. It exhibits to us a sequence of phenomena, but it omits the underlying forces to which the sequence is due, and it consequently propounds far more problems than it solves.

. These unsolved problems it leaves for a sounder science to answer, some of them presenting difficulties of so obvious a kind as to press themselves on the common sense of the least instructed thinkers. Of such difficulties the most prominent are as follows. The ordinary man who considers production as it is to-day, and compares it with what he knows it to have been at no very distant period, is aware that, in the making of nearly everything which he buys or uses, a part has been played by scientific knowledge and invention, of which both are far beyond the reach of his own capacities. He is therefore tempted at once to question the primary principle—namely, that bour is the sole producer—by which Marx sought to interpret the whole course of economic history. Again reflecting further, he cannot fail to the fail to see that, if all commodities are wealth in proportion to the labour embodied in them, nothing can fail to be valuable which labour

is employed to make. He knows, however, from observation or perhaps Vol. LXV-No. 385 GG

from unfortunate experience, that labour of the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the care to be a second to the most skilful kind in commodities which nobody cares to be a second to the care to be a second to be a second to the care to be a second to the care to be a second to be a second to the care to be a second to be a s from unfortunate experience, that constantly embodied in commodities which nobody cares to buy, or in elaborate mechanisms which do not answer their purpose, iron. How, then, he asks, can a formula and are sold as scrap iron. How, then, he asks, can a formula be and are sold as scrap from otherwise than incomplete, according to which value is determined

The instinctive objections of common sense will probably end The instinctive objects.

here. They will, however, lead us to others of a yet more formidable.

Marx, in his survey of the three economic stages, though he rightly insists on the differences which distinguish each from the others also insists on the fact that one feature is common to all of them In each we find the labourers, who form the immense majority of mankind, ruled in some way or other by men who form a small minority, and who, according to Marx, do nothing but oppress and rob them. If this paradoxical arrangement had been a transitory and rare phenomenon, it might be accounted for by accidental circumstances such as those which Marx adduces from the history of one particular country. But such is not the case. During the period covered by Marx in his survey of the three stages, societies throughout the civilised world have been dissolved and have reconstructed themselves. They have passed through every kind of vicissitude, but this one feature has in every case reappeared. The minority in many respects has changed its mode of action, but whatever the nature of its rule a minority has ruled still. For so general a fact there must be some general cause. But if we ask what it is, the science of Marx can provide us with no answer.

But a question, more immediately striking if not more important than these, is as follows: It is admitted and insisted on by Marx and by all other Socialists also, that ever since capitalism established itself as the ruling system—that is to say, since the middle of the eighteenth century—the production of wealth has increased as it never increased before. Now the establishment of capitalism means, according to the definition of Marx, the final completion of the divorce between the labourers and the implements of labour. If, then, labour is really the sole productive force, what is the explanation of the fact that the productivity of the labourers has increased in exact proportion as their divorce from their implements has extended itself? Capital, says Marx, is ever growing greater and greater, and capital is the surplus of what the labourers produce, abstracted from them as fast as they produce it. If the capital, therefore, increases, the surplus must increase also. Why does the surplus increase? It total does not increase ! total does not increase because somebody abstracts a part of it.

Maryian doestring the street and Marxian doctrine that capital is the reward of abstraction is even more obviously in all more obviously inadequate than the doctrine that it is the reward of abstraction of abstraction and the state of abstraction of abstraction and the state of abstraction and abstract of abstinence.

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The journey, in short, on which Marx takes us is a journey through The Journey through a territory previously unexplored by economists, but his route is a territory produces asking unanswered questions; and the only haunted by service he has really performed for us is that he has made them audible. To have done this, however, is no small thing. It is the first step To have done them. My object in this article is to give the towards answering them. My object in this article is to give the towards and to give the reader in outline the initial and most general truths which emerge when once these questions come to be systematically considered.

THE MARXIAN THEORY OF LABOUR AS THE SOLE PRODUCTIVE AGENCY, APPLICABLE, WITH CERTAIN QUALIFICATIONS, TO THE EARLIER STAGES OF INDUSTRY.

The first problem to be considered—and it contains the clue to all the rest—is clearly indicated by Marx, though indicated in a negative way. He starts with the system of slavery. How did this system itself come into existence? How did minorities throughout the ancient world come to own slaves, while the vast majorities, on the other hand, were enslaved? Herbert Spencer, as a student of sociology rather than as a formal economist, recognises this as the point at which our inquiries into the origin and nature of civilisation must begin. In order to understand slavery we must consider what went before it.

The origin of society, he points out, was the small family group, which, according to the possibilities open to it of obtaining food for its members, grew into the tribe and nation. This growth taking place from a multitude of family centres, there arose amongst various groups a constant struggle for territory. The issues of this struggle were decided by force of arms, and the groups which had the best fighters, and whose fighters had the best commanders, increased and throve whilst the others dwindled or disappeared. Under such conditions the protection of industry was a more important matter than the simple details of its prosecution; and thus in each group the rulers were those who could fight the best.

But besides the differentiation thus effected within the limits of each group itself, a wider differentiation took place which influenced in time whole races or groups of groups collectively. This, says Spencer, was mainly the result of climate. The races which inhabited certain bracing and rainless regions developed a peculiar energy, whilst others, inhabiting regions which were hot and moist, were These latter regions are those, however, in which Nature is most fertile, and yields to labour the richest and most easily obtained return. It was in such regions that civilisation began, but not through the initiative of the original inhabitants themselves. Whilst the fertility of their habitat enabled them to live with little exertion, its moisture reduced to a minimum their inclination to

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exert themselves, and in process of time they were subjugated by exert themselves, and in process themselves, and in process the descent of the stronger their their climates, retained their their climates, retained their climates, retained their vigour unimpaired. In this natural descent of the stronger races, the richer and more varied believed. on—to use Spencer's words—'the richer and more varied habitats,' on—to use Spencer's works we see the origin of slavery, and all the ancient civilisations that

The meaning of the above facts may be briefly summarised thus: Under those primary conditions in which all human progress has had its starting-point, successful war was the primary condition of industry. The fighters were like a dam erected round the producers, saving them from the inundation of a flood of enemies from without. Superiority in fighting strength was, therefore, the quality most essential to the welfare of all the members of any community that was to survive; and for this reason the military class, and especially its leaders, were the ruling class, the producing class being constrained to support them.

The truth of this generalisation is abundantly illustrated by history. Commercial Carthage was destroyed when military Carthage could no longer defend itself. The slave system of the ancient world was due to the paramount part which military power and success played in the affairs of nations; and the slave-owning minority consisted of those persons in whom, as a class, military strength resided.

And what is true of the slave system is true of the feudal system That, too, arose out of the paramount importance for all classes of a military class, which could secure at all events the rudiments of internal order; and the privileged classes under feudalism, who took toll of the producers, did so because they represented as a class the needed military strength. In other words, under the slave system and the feudal system alike the minority owed their position to the fact that they performed that function on which the welfare, and sometimes the existence, of all primarily depended.

We shall presently see that precisely the same principle applies to the position of the minority under the modern régime of capitalism. But we must first examine—for as yet we have only stated it—that doctrine of Marx, which for him formed the key to history-namely, that labour and the labouring classes alone produce all wealth.

V.—FAILURE OF THE MARXIAN THEORY TO EXPLAIN THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM, AND THE INCREASED PRODUCTION OF WEALTH WHICH HAS COINCIDED WITH ITS DEVELOPMENT.

When the doctrine that labour is the producer of all wealth is applied, as Marx applied it, to production in the modern world, even the ordinary man—to repeat what I have said already—is apt to think that it closely resembles nonsense. But before we endorse such a judgment let us go back, as Marx does, to the earlier stages of society, and we shall reach a stage with regard to which his doctrine

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is completely true. In states of society which are savage, or only is completely civilised, ordinary labour is really, as Marx says, the very slightly civilised, ordinary labour is really, as Marx says, the very slightly of wealth; the implements of production are the sole products of past labour likewise; and commodities exchange in products of passing proportion to the amount of ordinary labour directly or indirectly embodied in them. The amount of labour embodied in different commodities is the measure of their economic value, because all labour is approximately equal; not, indeed, in its application—for divisions of employment develop themselves in the dawn of history but in its quality. The faculties of different men, by being concentrated on special tasks, give rise to special dexterities; but the faculties thus specialised are approximately of the same grade. The men who make the implements of production—in other words, primitive capital—are on a level with the men who use them. In some cases they are the same individuals. Above all, the labour of each is entirely directed by himself. Mind as well as muscle of course plays a part in the process; but the mind as well as the muscle is in each case the labourer's own; or where several men unite in the performance of some common task, the requisite agreement between them is an agreement between the minds of labourers. There is no interference from without. The ruling minority takes, but it does not produce.

When slavery develops itself in the manner just now described, the situation is in one respect modified, but otherwise it remains the same.1 It is modified in this way, that the operations of labour now are subjected to an external influence other than that of the tolls levied by the minority on its products. The self-directed exertions of the primitive labourer or labouring group now experience the pressure of external coercion from above. The work of the individual labourer is at once prolonged and intensified. The voluntarily associated group becomes the organised gang. The production of wealth is hereby greatly increased. It is to be observed, however, that, so far as the ruling class is concerned, and the higher ranks of it more particularly, the influence exercised over labour is mainly one of mere coercion. The efficiency of the labouring unit—namely, that of one mind directing one pair of hands—is left to take care of itself, and is only compelled to exert itself more unremittingly and for a longer time. The efficiency of labour, for the accomplishment of which the association of the many units is essential, is increased only by a simple process of addition, as though each fresh labourer were a weight placed in the same scale of a balance. Wealth, to

It is a necessity, in any broad statement of a case (and Marx is not to be med for any blamed for any omissions on this score) that the prevailing and distinctive features of industrial of industrial stages and systems should alone be emphasised, and that many exceptions exceptions, no matter how important, should be omitted. The proper place for these is in a sphere is in a subsequent and more minute criticism.

speak generally, is in proportion to the number of slaves and the speak generally, is in proportion and the number of hours for which they can be compelled to work. But the number of hours for which they ruling minority, or at all events the higher ranks of it, take no part ruling minority, or at an evolution of labour. This is left to task. masters, who are themselves slaves, or to freemen of inferior position The truth of this statement is evidenced by the absence from classical The truth of this statement of works relating to industry. We have also evidence of a more direct kind in the systematic contempt expressed by ancient thinkers for industrial avocations as a whole—even for the art of money-getting. The word 'mechanical' amongst the Greeks was a synonym for 'low' or 'contemptible.'

And when from the ancient slave systems we pass to the system of feudalism the same broad facts, though in a modified form, con-The problem here is complicated by the part played by the monks; but, this being put aside—for exceptions must be still omitted—the producing class as a whole was so despised by the ruling minority that no one of gentle blood could so much as embark in trade. Still less could such a man sully himself by association with the details of manufacture. This well-known fact may be taken as sufficient warrant for the assertion that the direct agents of production under feudalism, just as under the slave system, were labourers who owned, as such, the implements or the capital used by them, and who, as to the details of their labour, worked under their own direction. The proposition of Marx, then, may still be accepted as true-that labour produces all wealth, and that commodities exchange in proportion to the amount of labour embodied in them.

Let us now ask what, in respect of the wealth produced, have been the results of labour as operating under these three past condi-Described broadly, the several results have been as follows: Under the primitive condition the wealth produced was so meagre that, judged by subsequent standards, it would be hardly called wealth at all. The ruling minority were mainly distinguished from the producers, not by the amount of their wealth, but by the fact that they did not work for it. The refinements and conveniences of life—wealth, as we understand it—did not begin to appear, as Herbert Spencer insists, until the operations of labour were intensified by the institution of slavery. The higher ranks of the minority under the Roman Empire possessed wealth in the form of houses and assort ments of luxuries, many of which can hardly be equalled by the productive agencies of to-day; but if we consider the entire population amongst which such wealth was to be found, the amount of it, taken in relation to the entire populations, was small. Under feudalism it was smaller still. The private citizens of Pompeii had luxuries and comforts undreamed of by mediæval kings. The working classes in England during a portion of the fifteenth century appear to have commanded an unusual quantity of meat, but Aeneas Silvius observes

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To deduc ments impro that they were liable to scurvy from want of vegetables. They lacked conveniences such as windows and artificial light, which are lacked conveniences in even the poorest dwelling. Had the divisible now matters of course in even the poorest dwelling. Had the divisible now matters of course in even the poorest dwelling. Had the divisible now matters of course in even the very little to divide. The according to modern ideas, have been very little to divide. The reason of this decline of wealth during the Middle Ages was in part the prevalence of wars as compared with the 'pax Romana'; but an equally obvious reason is the fact that, whilst the efficiency of the individual labourer was no greater than it had been, the machinery of feudalism was far less efficacious in extorting from the individual labourer his maximum product than the slave system.

As soon, however, as we come to the period when, as Marx insists, the feudal system began to transform itself into modern capitalism, the total product of wealth-producing human effort, relatively to the numbers concerned in it, at once began to grow. This growth for some two hundred years was gradual. But when, as Marx says, capitalism had made itself dominant in England, production began at once to increase there by leaps and bounds; whilst as fast as that system has spread itself throughout other countries the increase has become greater still. The world had never seen the like. To take one rough illustration: the tons of seaborne merchandise of all the intertrading nations rose from 20,000,000 tons in the year 1840 to 240,000,000 tons in the year 1887.

Here we are brought back to two questions which have been already indicated—questions which go to the root of the whole matter, and on which neither Marx nor the orthodox economists throw any light whatever.

VI.—THE INNER MEANING OF THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM, WHICH IT STILL REMAINS FOR ECONOMIC SCIENCE TO FORMULATE.

These questions are as follows:

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The first is, Why, relatively to the number of human beings concerned, has wealth grown at all during the past few hundred years?

The second is, Why has so large a proportion of this wealth been concentrated in the hands of a minority called 'the capitalists'?

A third, which combines the first and second, is, Why, if labour is the sole producer of wealth, has this increased productivity begun with and kept pace with the divorce of labour from its implements, which is, according to Marx, the essence and inner meaning of capitalism?

To the first of these questions Marx, from his own premises, can deduce no answer at all. He can only refer to the fact that the implements of labour have improved; but since, according to him, these improvements have been made by labour, this is merely to restate

the fact, not to explain it. By what internal change in itself has become capable of improving them? labour, as such, become capable of improving them? labour, as such, become capation and the orthodox economists are in not much better case. Production, they orthodox economists are in not capital, in proportion to say, increases because capital increases. Capital, in proportion to say, increases because capital increases. say, increases because capital increases the product of labour; and capital increases its amount, increases the product of labour; and capital increases because abstemious men save it. This is tantamount to saying that steam traction has superseded horse traction because certain men steam traction has superstant of oats which enabled horses to be

To the question of why some men have become capitalists rather than others, the only reply of Marx is an appeal to English history which, even if it answered the question with regard to the pioneen of capitalism in England for one or two generations, would have no application to its development in other countries, especially in such countries as America, where most capitalists have risen from the humblest ranks of labour.

As to the third question, Marx and Ricardo are alike absolutely silent. The answer to all three is to be found in the answer to the second. The capitalists, who are the ruling minority in the third economic stage, owe their position to a cause, not identical with, but precisely analogous to, that which explains the position of the minorities that went before it. Like its predecessors, this minority exercises a control over the majority because it represents the efficiencies which have come to be most essential to the welfare, the power, and even the existence of the community. These efficiencies are, in the modern world, the efficiencies which raise to a maximum the production of economic wealth, and which, having raised, maintain it. However small the share of the new wealth may be which in the shape of comforts and conveniences diffuses itself amongst the poorer classes, they are unwilling to forgo the increment when once they have become accustomed to it, and are so far dependent on those to whose activities the increment is due. Just as under feudalism they were dependent on the men who could protect their labour, so under capitalism they are dependent on the men who can augment its product.

Such is the nature of the case when stated in the most general terms. Let us now go into particulars. Under feudalism and the slave system, just as under the primitive régime preceding them, labour, to speak broadly, may be regarded as the sole producer. And it was so in this very definite sense that the minds as well as the hands engaged in it were the minds of the labourers themselves. The superior classes—the military and the intellectual alike—disdained to take any part in the productive process whatsoever. nevertheless, though thus left to itself, made in the course of history very considerable advances. These advances were due to three main causes. One, as Herbert Spencer insists, was the pressure put upon which reject leb elaves, which raised labour to a higher pitch of intensity, and which 1909

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though less efficiently, was continued under the feudal system. though less the division of employments, which, as Spencer insists Another was opencer insists likewise, began owing to natural causes in very early times. A third likewise, pegan to the accumulation of knowledge gained by common experience; was the accumant the accumant of special artistic skill. And yet labour, despite all these causes of progress, had made as a productive agency no general advance since the days of ancient Rome up to the agency no series agent to develop itself—a system which the orthodox economists accepted without question, and as to whose nature Marx has nothing to tell us except that it originated in certain accidents of English history, and that its inner nature, when analysed, is the divorce of labour from its implements.

Marx, of course, perceived—to repeat what has been said already that one element in the case was the vast improvement which the implements of labour have undergone. But to insist on this fact is not to answer the problem. It is merely to restate it in a more concrete form. Why have the implements improved? The real question lies there; and the answer, when demanded in this way, is further off than ever. If the labourers are the sole producers, not only of marketable commodities, but also of the implements or capital used in producing them-if capital is nothing, as Marx says, but past labour fossilised-how has it come about that these implements have improved in proportion to the success with which they have been stolen, as fast as produced, from the producers? To take the industry -namely, the textile-which is next in importance to agriculture, and in which capitalism achieved its earliest triumphs-have the hand-looms and distaffs and spinning-wheels which capitalism found existing in the days of Henry the Eighth spontaneously hatched themselves like eggs into the mechanisms of the modern factory by the simple process of being stolen from their quondam owners? Certain later Socialists, and indeed Marx himself, dimly perceiving the existence of some such difficulty as this, have sought to meet it by enlarging their definition of labour so as to include, as Marx expresses it, 'all faculties of mind as well as body which are necessary to the production of any value-in-use.' But this formula amounts to nothing more than the truism that every pair of human hands has a human mind connected with it—or, in other words, that a man is a man, and not a dog or a donkey. The broad conception of the 'labourer' as a man whose distinctive activity is the application of his hands to 'implements' susceptible of being taken away from him a conception on which the whole fabric of the Marxian logic rests—remains unchanged and unextended; and the question remains why these implements, having practically remained what they had been in the ancient world, began to be improved as soon as the men who used them ceased as owners to have any direct interest in them. Obviously, in the reasoning of Marx there is a great hiatus somewhere.

A clue to the missing solution may be found in Adam Smith A clue to the missing solution.

A clue to the missing solution.

Though the is instructive through what he definitely omits to say the begins his Wealth of a say. rather than through what he says. He begins his Wealth of Nation that the increase of productivity depend with the proposition that the increase of productivity depends, but on the extent to which labour is divided. on labour, as such, but on the extent to which labour is divided, he on labour, as such, but on the conception of a labourer being substantially that of Marx—namely operations with the assistance of a person performing manual operations with the assistance of material a person performing mandar of intensification of labour due in implements. And apart from the intensification of labour due in intensification due in intensification due in intensification due in in coercion from above, division of labour has been the root of industrie progress from the primitive ages up to the dawn of the modern system But when we come to those subsequent phenomena which were out beginning in Smith's time to exhibit themselves on an extended scale, its efficiency as an explanation ceases. Division of labour may enable a given number of men to multiply carts, but it will not enable them to turn a cart into a steam engine.

But to make Smith's formula adequate one thing only is needed: and that is to substitute for the word 'labour' with its exclusive connotations the comprehensive word 'effort.' If we say that the increase of productivity characteristic of the capitalistic system has its origin in a new division of effort, the true solution of the problem will have come within our reach at last.

Let us return for a moment to what Marx says about mind as involved in labour. The action of a superior mind in the case of certain labourers provides Marx with an explanation of superior individual skill. The same explanation is brought forward also by Ruskin. The use, says Ruskin, which the labourer makes of his hands is determined by the character of the intellect and the will directing them. Some men for this reason excel in the use of the trowel, others in the use of the paint-brush or the sculptor's chisel But in each case the mind which both Marx and Ruskin have in view is the mind of the individual by whose hands the skilled labour is exercised. Productive effort, then, even in its simplest form, comprises two elements—the individual pair of hands and the individual mind directing it; but since both of these inhere in the same indivisible person, they are called when in action by the single name of labour And when labourers unite, like a family of ordinary fishermen, in 8 common work, like that of fishing in a small boat, the efforts of all though needing to be directed and organised, are rightly called labour also; for whatever the organisation may be, it proceeds entirely from the men by whose hands and arms the organised efforts are made. But if from such a case as that of fishing from a small fishing boat we turn to an enterprise such as that of the discovery of America a new feature confronts us. The crews of the vessels of Columbus were able if we include the confronts were able if we include the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able if we include the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able if we include the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able if we include the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able in the crews of the vessels of Columbus were able to the crews of the crew of were able, if we include the officers, to manage their own business as seamen; but the course which the vessels took and the object to which they were directed by which they were directed, these were determined by a separate external 1909 T

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mind—the mind of Columbus himself. This mind was so separate mind—the mind was so separate in its character and functions from the minds of his labourers—that in its character that the object pursued by it lay wholly outside is to say, his crews—that the object pursued by it lay wholly outside is to say, his to only of their initiative, but very often of their belief; the scope, not only owing to the force of a will outside their the scope, now owing to the force of a will outside their own that the and it was only some did not reverse their labours and take labouring groups in question did not reverse their labours and take the ships back to Europe, the enterprise having been rendered futile. If we compare, then, the efforts involved in the discovery of

America with the efforts involved in the industry of a small group of America when we see that, whilst a division of labour is equally necessary in both cases, there is in the larger enterprise a division o effort of which in the smaller no trace is perceptible. It is a division of mental effort, in accordance with which the labour of all the labourers concerned is no longer directed by their own minds only, but also by another mind possessing exceptional qualities, which co-directs or super-directs the manual operations of each; and in this way talents and energies which exist only in the few lend their power simultaneously to the labours of the average many.

It is this division of effort or industrial functions by which the ultimate direction of labour is separated from the mind of the labourer, and not any separation in point of ownership of the labourer from his material implements, that constitutes the real essence and inner meaning of capitalism. The mere separation of the labourer in point of ownership from his tools could itself have done nothing towards improving them or augmenting their products. Indeed, if this stood by itself the result would have been of an opposite character. The tools would have been allowed to deteriorate; the amounts of the products to decline.

This separation in point of ownership has undoubtedly been a necessary condition of the change, but not the vital part of it; and even so far as material conditions are concerned the separation of the labourer from his tools is an incident whose importance is secondary. The primary incident in the case is the separation of the labourer, not from the implements of production, but from such products as are necessary for his subsistence, so that instead of receiving them directly he receives them indirectly as wages from the hands of another person, which person in paying them to him is able to make conditions that the labour paid for shall be performed in a prescribed way; and this Power has its origin primarily in the possession, not of implementwhich the of wage-capital—or, in other words, of those necessaries which the labourer primarily labours to obtain. Wage-capital as thus possessed constitutes the material means by which the mastermind of one man directs the labour of many; and of this direction of the labour. the labour of many ordinary men by the intellect and the energy of exceptional exceptional men all the great modern improvements in the implements of labour are the results.

The dynamic element, in short, which capitalism, as distinct the preceding systems, represents consists in this new division industrial energy and effort so that the highest industrial efficiency whether of will or intellect or imagination, instead of confining the effects to the development of incommunicable skill in individuals, less themselves in the form of direction to the minds and hands of the mass of labourers generally. When once this fact is realised, the mass of labourers generally. When once this fact is realised, the mass of labourers depend by Marx, become intelligible and the results of capitalism, as described by Marx, become intelligible as presented by himself, in his mere superficial description of the they are as unexplained and inexplicable as the action of a stead engine would be if our sole knowledge of it were derived from a description of its external shape and movements, and nothing was said about the properties or even the existence of the steam.

But when orthodox economic science shall have assimilated fundamental fact, a further fact remains which it must recognize and elucidate likewise. The increased and still increasing efficient of wealth-producing effort under capitalism is due, we have seen, by the fact that capitalism is merely the means by which the exception talents of the few are enabled to affect the individual taskwork the many; but why did this process begin—as Marx rightly says did-at a particular period? And why, with results of indefinite increasing magnitude, has this process since then continued to develop and extend itself? In order to answer these questions the economic will have to turn from the details of economic analysis to the wide facts of history; and these facts may be briefly summed up as on fact—or, at all events, as many facts pertaining to a single morment. This movement consists of the gradually increasing deflection of the keenest minds and the most powerful wills from the fells opened to ambition by war, by mere learning, by theology and ecclesiastical politics, and by the service of secular princes, and the concentration of these minds and wills on the processes by which wealth is produced, instead of on those arts which secure it, or it equivalents, ready made as guerdons. This movement, the various causes to which it is due, the partial anticipation of it in northern Italy and elsewhere, and the enormous stimulus given to it by ner countries such as America, form subjects for a chapter of history which still remains to be written. The fact of this movement and its general trend are sufficiently familiar to all who have the rudiment of an historical education; but it still remains for economists to elucidate them in such a way as will place them systematically in the true economic setting. The nature of the division of effort here generally indicated ally indicated, and the various ways in which socialistic logic obsents it, will in the next article be examined more minutely.

W. H. MALLOCK.

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## SOME SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS A SOLUTION OF THE EDUCATION PROBLEM

THE breakdown of the last effort after a settlement of the education difficulty, in spite of the high character and marked ability of those who on both sides approached each other with the earnest desire for peace, has surely brought to the front some important lessons.

Is it not clear that the failure is occasioned by the negotiations having started from a basis which is absolutely unsound? This basis is composed of two most unworkable assumptions, viz. :-

(1) That England requires a single system of national education.

(2) That State schools must have their religious type settled for them by the State.

It is easy to show the fallacy of these two assumptions, which many minds appear to have accepted as axioms.

(1) Whatever may be the case with other countries, the whole genius of the English people is dead against uniformity. In our associations for religious, philanthropic, scientific, artistic, and, if there be any other enterprise, people start on their own lines, employ their own methods, draw up their own rules, choose their own managers. If and when they come to the State for recognition and support, they naturally submit to certain conditions. But not so as to deprive themselves of their own raison d'être or to be forced into some rigid bed of Procrustes.

The late Bill, by its 'contracting out' provisions, in a manner did recognise that the dual system is the only way out of the difficulty. The intention of Government was, no doubt, to make this provision a strictly exceptional one. But it became very clear that 'contractingout' must either starve the schools concerned, or virtually set up a dual system on a large scale by making it tempting for denominationalists to take advantage of it. Would it not be much more in harmony with the nature of things frankly to accept the dual system a much more whole-hearted and logical way?

Nothing can be more certain than that the country is divided between staunch believers in (1) the denominational and (2) the undenomination denominational system. It is quite idle to deny the strength of denominational system. It is quite idle to deny the denominational convictions in the face of the fifty millions that have been given in support of Church schools and the strenuous still being made, in spite of the heavy financial burdens with they are handicapped, to keep the 11,000 which still hold their on two systems.

'Yes,' is the well-known reply, 'that was all very well till denominational schools came upon the rates, but rate-supported schools must come under public control, and come into the one national system.' 'One national system,' as I have tried to point out it is a mere catch-cry which is in the facts. 'Public control' by all means, only let it be clearly understood what it is in the field of national education that the State is entitled to control and what not.

Why does the State take up the education of the people at all Simply because we have come to recognise that thorough secule education is necessary for the nation if it is to hold its own and other nations, and that it has therefore become a national concent too important and too costly to be left to private effort.

But there is another side to education—the religious side—whit it was no doubt the State's duty to regulate as long as the State and the Church were component parts of one homogeneous body.

But this has long ceased to be the case. Religiously we are divided into hundreds of sections. Parliament represents, not only every variety of Christian persuasion, but also Jewish and other not Christian bodies. How, then, can it be fair or reasonable for the State to concern itself with the religious education of our children far less to control it?

In 1870, when for the first time rate-supported schools were established, the State distinctly recognised its limitations by putting an end to religious examination by her Majesty's inspectors and by ceasing to give any grant for religious instruction. Well would it have been had this principle of non-intervention in religious been logically carried out by the State. But from that day to this we have suffered from State interference in the matter, culminating in the recent claim for a universal State-favoured form of religious teaching, and there will be no peace till we are rid of it.

'The secular solution, then?' No, indeed. To all who value the Christian religion as the foundation of character and of good citizenship this would be 'suicide to save one's life.'

Although such a State as ours is no longer fitted to control or children's religion, it would be an evil day for England when it should banish it from our schools. What we do ask of the State is that should entrust the matter to those whom it immediately concern giving them absolute fair play, and neither hindering nor helping.

The State levies retained to save one's life.

The State levies rates and taxes upon us all for the purpose setting up and maintaining thoroughly efficient schools.

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is it not prepared to support out of the rates and taxes every efficient school, whatever its religious colour, which turns out the secular school, and keeps its buildings in thorough sanitary and results required, and keeps its buildings in thorough sanitary and up-to-date condition?

This brings me to the attack of the second fallacy, i.e. that State schools must have their religious type settled for them by the State.

Surely we must have learnt by now that this is an untenable

Surely we must have teacher by how that this is an untenable position. Against it we have to take our stand upon the firm ground of parental versus State responsibility in the matter.

This sound principle has been widely taken up of late, and finds a partial and timid place in the defunct Bill. But I would plead for

a much bolder application of it.

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We all allow that, as regards secular and sanitary efficiency, the State must be master. 'Popular control over national schools,' therefore, we all ought not only to submit to, but to demand. But I would urge that, with regard to the religious character of the school, this control should be exercised, not by political boards or local educational authorities (as at present constituted), but by popular local vote. Such a vote to be taken as soon as possible in every school area; the point to be decided thereby being simply whether the school in each area shall continue as it is, either council or denominational, under its existing management, or whether it shall be handed over to the alternative type. And this decision once made, it should hold good for the next ten years (roughly the entire school life of a child), so as to avoid continual unrest and uncertainty. These elections to be strictly ad hoc. The school buildings, if the school has to be transferred, to be leased by their owners or trustees to the victorious party, under certain conditions to be agreed upon, for the ten years'

It may be objected that every variety of sect might rush into the field, each fighting for itself. But we are dealing with things as they are; and as a matter of fact the 'Free Churches' are satisfied with the council schools. Their own denominational schools have so largely been transferred that those remaining are a 'negligible quantity,' and, if any care to survive, they can come under 'contracting-out' provisions.

No one can deny the objections to elections. These particular ones might doubtless arouse a good deal of hot blood and religious rivalry. Yet, in rural districts, at all events, little is known of religious animosities with regard to the schools. The elections, moreover, would be of very rare occurrence; and they would at any rate be the best, indeed the only, way of securing 'popular control' to the only people who are entitled to it, as regards the religious type of each

As to the size of each school constituency, the voting qualifications, the financial arrangements, the majority that should entitle the victor

to decide the question, and many other details, I would not venture.

The only point I would urge as essential is the to decide the question, and many to decide the question, and many to say anything. The only point I would urge as essential is the due to say anything. representation in each constituency of parents of children of school age—the father voting when both parents are living, the mother is

Whichever type of school was thus decided upon, arrangement Whichever type of sentent which will be with the minority common demands of the minority comm Only let them be the genuine demands of the minority concerned, not a Only let them be the general hard and fast rule enforced from without. The differences between hard and fast rule enforced from without. In one of one locality and another are many and great. In one place, where the head master or mistress was popular, the minority, supposing the Church school had won the election, might merely demand that the children should receive Scripture teaching only, at the hand of the regular staff. (This plan has been asked for, and has worked per fectly smoothly, in a Welsh Church school.) In another, Scripture teaching in a separate classroom by a teacher from outside might be demanded. Often a portion of the schoolroom partitioned or curtained off would meet the need. Some minorities might demand separate Scripture lessons for their children every day. Some would be content with one, two, or three days a week. Some might demand their own catechisms. Some would simply use the conscience clause.

In the case of a council school winning the election, the minority would probably in most cases demand a classroom and find its own teacher every day.1 But here also, if the head or one of the staff were liked and trusted, the Church people might often be willing to let their children attend the regular Scripture lesson two or three days in the week, provided a Prayer-book teacher of their own choice took the lesson on the remaining days.

One thing may fairly be reckoned upon, viz.—that in the vast majority of cases a friendly arrangement would be arrived at Parents do not cease to be parents because they are ratepayers, nor do ratepayers cease to be ratepayers because they are parents They will approach the subject from both sides. The well-known local weakness for 'keeping down the rates' would be effectually checked if the State did its duty and enforced on every school up-todate efficiency on pain of forfeiting its grants.

It is the attempt to bring the details of the matter into an Act of Parliament which seems foredoomed to failure. A free hand granted to localities to make out a workable arrangement for themselves would in all cases be far more likely to end in a peaceable and satisfactory factory compromise. Where people know each other, where all alike are immediately concerned in hitting off a working plan such as each locality needs, and where all realise that a certain type of school, one decided upon, would hold the ground for ten years, the desirability

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As to the cost, in most cases the parish priest would take the lessons himself or provide some lay teacher, in either case free of cost.

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1909 SOLUTION OF THE EDUCATION PROBLEM 457

of devising a façon de vivre for the minority in the interests of peace of devising commend itself to everyone concerned.

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Nothing revolutionary would be likely to happen. With the Nothing 100 Nothin exception of (1) Properties of Nonconformists, might lead to a change, or (2) Churchpeople of the charge of the governplaces which had made themselves unpopular, the first election, at all events, would probably leave all existing efficient schools as they were; and even in exceptional cases the difficulty would often be met, were, altering the type of any existing school, but by opening another.

What would be secured, to the great advantage of all parties, would be a stable state of things everywhere for ten years. In the great growing suburbs, and suburbs of suburbs, of London, the Church would have the chance of occupying new ground, from which her present handicapped position unfairly debars her. As is clear from the annual reports of the Funds of the Bishops of London, Southwark, and St. Albans, mission clergy with a bare maintenance, a roof over their heads, and a 'tin' church, are early in the field of these new populations, and seldom fail to gather together an otherwise unshepherded flock in ever-increasing numbers. Under the present disheartening uncertainties, and with the prospect of heavy future burdens, who can wonder that such clergy are deterred from attempting to raise money for opening Church schools? But with the certainty of support from the people concerned, whom they have themselves drawn together, and of no disabling State-imposed conditions to face, the Church would have fair play in opening her own schools-in many cases, of course, along with council schools wherever the large population gave scope for both.

Whatever arrangements might be demanded by either minority, the whole matter should rest with the governing body of the school, upon which parents of school-age children should be represented, Parliament merely making it obligatory upon each governing body to make such arrangements as should satisfy the minority, and stipulating that all religious lessons should be given in school hours and

subject to a conscience clause.2

It is easy to find objections to this scheme on either side. People who believe in the claims of the Church of England—the Church of a thousand years—older than Parliament, older than the State itself which until recent days did practically all that was done for the education of the poor—must contemplate with great reluctance any scheme which places her hold over her own schools at the mercy every

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Nonconformists have often complained that the conscience clause is a dead letter. It so, the fact would seem significant of the absence of any very burning 'religious difficulty', in the difficulty, in the school areas. It has, however, been well suggested that copies of the conscience. the conscience clause (in simpler and shorter form) should be circulated among parents. Hund the school areas. It has, however, been well suggested that the conscience clause (in simpler and shorter form) should be circulated among parents. parents. Hung up only in the school, it may be doubted if either child or parent is

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ten years of a local election. 'What!' it will moreover be said, 'are But must we not sorrous are we to risk the betrayal of our trusts? 'But must we not sorrowfully we to risk the betrayar or our can admit that in those places where the Church stands to lose her schools admit that in those places where the Church stands to lose her schools. What was shools admit that in those places that there it must largely be through her own fault. What was she doing the past, when the education of the past during all the years of the past, when the education of the people was during all the years of the part of the many and splendid exceptions entirely in her own hands? With many and splendid exceptions did not the parish clergy too often leave the schools to take care of themselves? Had the Church done her duty in the past, we should have had behind us at the present time a far stronger and more enthusiastic support. Where she has lost her hold over a school area, there we must acknowledge that she has for the time forfeited her school trust deeds. But she may in the intervening ten years recover lost ground.

Nonconformists, on the other hand, may naturally part very unwillingly with the hope of seeing that type of religious teaching which meets their views established and enforced as the normal religious instruction in all the schools. They may object that whereas Church schools, wherever they exist, are managed religiously in the interest of one denomination only, it is not so with council schools This we must fully allow; yet in granting the force of the objection may we not point out that we call upon them for no heavy sacrifice, inasmuch as 'simple Bible teaching' is what all the sects demand and is what has as a matter of fact satisfied them, in the shape of the Cowper-Temple clause, for the last thirty-eight years. In proof of this we would remind Nonconformists that there was little, if any, demand on their part, for any fresh educational legislation since 1870. The demand in response to which the Act of 1902 was passed, was simply the 'bitter cry' of the starving Church schools. The Act of 1902, nevertheless, did much to remove any existing Nonconformist

The appeal against the late Bill signed by several Liberal M.P.'s which appeared in the Times soon after it was dropped, painted 8 rosy picture of the coming universal victory of undenominationalism, of the myriads of children pouring into its ample (if indefinite) fold and peace settling down upon this beautiful national system. As to the results on the character of the children these gentlemen wisely forbore to prophesy. But is it either fair or prudent to ignore the other side or to push it out of the way as mere 'ecclesiasticism', when at all events it can point to vast sums of money spent, heavy sacrifices borne, ceaseless exertions made, and great results achieved, on behalf of the children of the Church?

The fact is that any State-favoured educational system is certain why? to capture, sooner or later, the great bulk of the children. Because it is the best system? No, but because there is, alas a great multitude of person to the content of the content o multitude of parents totally indifferent to religion and quite content to send their children to send their children to any school that lies handy.

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There are people who argue from this sad fact that we ought to There are positional system to please these indifferentists. The lay out our never take this view. If parents abjure their respon-Church their children's souls, then the Church must step in, in loco sibility 101 that who has to do it? The State? What—the conglomerate of every variety of religion and of no religion which conglomerate and must inevitably constitute the State? By what authority can it assume responsibility over the souls of the children? The State is about as well adapted for settling any child's religion as the child is for settling the nation's politics.

Let it not be forgotten, however, that large as are the armies of indifferentism, large also, and very much to be reckoned with, are the armies of denominationalism. Does the Parents' League, with its 100,000 signatories, mean nothing? Does the existence, in spite of all losses, of 11,000 Church schools, with all that it implies of strain and struggle, mean nothing? Nay, does the recent defeat of so weighty and earnest an attempt at compromise mean nothing? It surely does not become a Liberal Government to impose disabilities upon any section, let alone so considerable a section of the people; to forbid them, under pain of fines, to settle their own religious affairs their own way for their own children.

If only the principles which I have tried to lay down were accepted, viz.—that the State should be absolute master and controller of every national school in the land, as regards its secular and sanitary efficiency and equipment, paying each and all out of public money for their results, and leaving it to each locality to settle the religious character of its own school by popular local vote, allocating its own rate accordingly, with due regard paid, according to local demand, to the claims of the minority-if this scheme were carried into effect, 'contracting out' would probably only be demanded by Roman Catholic and Jewish schools, which practically have only their own children to cater for, and the State could well afford generous terms to them, as their number would be strictly

The question of 'tests for teachers' would hardly arise under this scheme. Whichever type of school won, it would have its own management in the hands of its own governing body. But it may be said that some real security for Scripture being taught by really Christian teachers and the provision of a good syllabus in council schools would greatly reconcile Church minorities to Cowper-Temple teaching two or three days a week.

It would be well if teachers would all remember that they exist for the children, not the children for them. The 'tests' of old times were arbitrary enactments, by which non-Churchmen were debarred from II.: from University privileges and civil and military posts. What have such tests in common with tests by which, and by which only, we can

ascertain if a man is duly qualified to give the religious instruction

There is a certain section of political dissenters who really seem There is a certain section of really seem to have persuaded themselves that 'sectarianism' (i.e. liberty in the to have persuaded themselves and our own children our own faith is schools common to all, to teach our own children our own faith) is schools common to an, to teach something of the nature of smallpox, to be kept at all hazards from contaminating the national schools. We would fain believe that they represent but few of the great body of religious Nonconformists, and that they will learn in time that if an appreciable number of citizens wish for 'sectarianism' or even for 'the priest in the school,' their wishes must be respected like other people's.

LUCY C. F. CAVENDISH.

P.S.—It is with pleasure that I observe the suggestion of Lord Stanley of Alderley (in the January Number) as to 'recognition of exceptional schools.' It seems as if it might work in with the scheme I have roughly attempted to sketch.—L. C. F. C.

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## EDWARD FITZ-GERALD

A PERSONAL REMINISCENCE BY HIS GREAT-NIECE

EDWARD FITZ-GERALD, the great Translator-Poet of the nineteenth century, was born, as all the world now knows, one hundred years ago —on the 31st of March 1809—at what was then called Bredfield White House, near Woodbridge, in Suffolk. His father and mother were first cousins, and the former added her name and arms to his own of Purcell. When she died in 1855, the Illustrated London News spoke of her as 'Mrs. Mary Frances Fitz-Gerald, a lady well known for her high accomplishments and for her patronage of literature and the fine arts—her house being the favourite resort of writers, dramatists, and painters,' and added: 'Mrs. Fitz-Gerald was a scion of the Ducal House of Leinster, being a Geraldine of that branch which descends from the second son of the first Earl of Kildare.' Then follows an enumeration of her properties, ending with 'the historic manor of Naseby in Northamptonshire, and the lands of Boulge in Suffolk.'

The Purcell-Fitz-Geralds seem to have lived the usual life of the opulent landowners of the day, migrating between 39 Portland Place and one of their own or some hired country house, such as Worstead, near Ipswich, of which the writer's father has baby recollections—a visit to his grandfather and grandmother—a confused vision of some expanse of water supposed to be the sea off Harwich.

He hunted, and amongst the few recorded memories of Fitz-Gerald's childhood's days was that of his father fully equipped and playfully trying the new lash of his hunting whip on his children's shoulders with the wholly well-meant but inelegant 'Have at ye, ye divils!' as greeting

She entertained, was entertained, went to the Opera, the 'Ancient' Concerts, the French play, and all other fashionable functions, dressed magnificently—was a recognised beauty. And thus, amidst much ceremony, show, and glitter, their gifted son grew up. A curious and anomalous preparation, one would think it to have been, for the exaltedly simple and wondrously monotonous life which was Fitz-Gerald's own choice in later years.

These assemblies were nearly as difficult of access as Almack's.

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But it did its destined work—neither the scholar alone nor the But it did its destined the made Omar intelligible to us one man of the world alone, could have made Omar intelligible to us one man of the world alone, could have been too heavy, the other too light of purpose. The two might have been too neavy, the fused in the poet's crucible, gave us that measured declaration of his fused in the poet's crueible, St. rained in the poet's crueible in the poet's crueibl

Most of the people who have written about my great-uncle never saw him, never fell under the charm of his smile, so beautiful, so unforgettable—revelation of a tender, charitable, crystalline spirit incapable of a mean, a selfish, an untruthful thought—never heard his rhythmic voice, nor knew the aloof courtesy of his manner, his own manner, which hedged him about from the impertinences of the would-be over-familiar, as 'divinity' did once, we are told, hedge about the persons of kings; and it is something to their honour, and also much to his, that though their portraits have shown some whimsicalities, some gentle foibles, now one, now the other, all have given us the presentment of an honourable, truthful, upright life, of a humble, brave, and generous soul.

My first recollection of Fitz-Gerald is, as a very little girl, being one of a party on board his yacht-my first concrete recollection, as it were. My father had lately left the Army for what was then a Staff appointment, the adjutancy of the Rifle Volunteers in the neighbourhood of Woodbridge and Ipswich, and we were living in a delightful and rather large house at Grundisburgh, near Boulge and Woodbridge. My mind's eye can see the house now, its somewhat imposing flight of front doorsteps, its cool hall paved in black and white, its cheerful day and night nurseries-you went suddenly down into them by the oddest little four-step staircase. The night nursery had unusual windows that moved lengthways in a groove, and a wide sil, where we grew geraniums; and out of these windows we could watch the strawberries ripening, and could expect them, though with disappointment, on the 1st of June, as did Chryssa in that classic of our youth, Miss Wetherell's Chryssa and Sybil.

The warm, sunny kitchen, too, I can see, with its deeply porched door leading into a vegetable garden—smelling of thyme and pepper mint and apple blossoms, and the indefinable, clean odour of trim little box edgings, and honey in countless beehives; a garden in which, to my childish imagination, lilac and syringa, guelder roses, peonies, clumps of pinks, bachelor's button-daisies, purple violets playing bo-peep under their dusty leaves, golden pippins, and bunches of hard, shining filberts were the gifts of each and every day; a garden on which the sun for ever shone and in whose precincts the swallows stayed all the year round. At the bottom of the orchard ran a singing, babbling brook, whose duty, after it had turned a mill higher up, was to soften the osiers gathered and set ready in clumps for peeling.

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of that brook was 'heart's content,' and the sun on its shallow ripples of that bloom waves, gold, of the very joy of life.

Well, from this land of peace and varied delights, it seems to me Well, from the wery early one summer's morning—a solemn midthat I was sheet that I was sheet a much-goffered white sun-bonnet—and conveyed victorian child, in a much-goffered white sun-bonnet—and conveyed Victorian child, and conveyed to the samphire-fringed shores of the Deben at Woodbridge, and thence to the sample. derald's yacht; and after dropping down the river we on board to sea, with the usual unpleasant consequences to some of us, and landed at Aldeburgh, where I was regaled on rice pudding, and went, I fancy, lulled by my mother's voice talking to others of the went, sound asleep. Perhaps I was five years old, not more, but of that day, of the sighing of the wind in the sails and cordage, of the slippery white deck, the stuffiness of the small cabin, of Fitz-Gerald's presence, of his slow melodious voice, of the strenuous motion of the vessel and the sensation of ceaseless flight, I have a clear though disjointed vision and memory. Fitz-Gerald treated children—of whom he was a great observer and passionately fond—with a dignified courtesy which, while it appalled their elders, had no other effect on those infallible judges of character—young persons of the age to be inordinately addicted to balls, hoops, kites, and hop-scotch—than to make them anxious of attracting his attention and ready to listen to. and sometimes dispute, his words of wisdom. 'No, no; play fair, play fair,' was his frequent adjuration. On a sweetly dignified maiden aged three, in a French hood, who laid the tiniest dimpled brown hand in his long, fine-fingered nervous one-she met his polite inquiry as toher name with a gentle but firm taciturnity—he passed the amused and relevant judgment, 'She is very discreet,' and allowed no unwise urging to a reply. He had come out of his garden gate, tall, looselimbed, in his blue coat, soft black silk cravat, and high hat, a gentleman of the early '40s, on purpose to intercept and greet her; which he did as though his had been the Royal Presence and she the fairest débutante of her year. Her age and sex against his age and learning : they were equals.

A year or two after this episode of the voyage to Aldeburgh we left Grundisburgh, and came, for the convenience of our father's work, to a house of many gables, set in a little stiff garden on the top of the hill over which runs the road from Fitz-Gerald's house-Little Grangeon to Bradfield House, and further yet to Boulge. We were immediately given the freedom of Fitz-Gerald's much larger garden and meadows, and often of the house, in which he did not then live, preferring his lodgings over Berry the gunsmith's shop, where he had a cheerful and varied outlook, especially on that weekly festa, market day, and was able to come and go with little of responsibility, a condition he ever loved. Before me lies directed to him at these very lodgings a grey paper-covered, very Italian music-shop suggestive cahier, the address in the unmistakeable hand of his brother Peter; that Peter who loved to drive his mother's four-in-hand of blacks Sweet March Peter who loved to drive ms mountains?—and who accompanied that 'Barmaid,' what were their names?—and who accompanied that 'Barmaid,' what were then made the 'Grand Tour' in her carriage, majestic personage when she made the 'Grand Tour' in her carriage, majestic personage when she majestic personage when she halls a was presented to the reigning Pope, attended the Court balls at the point of the point she halls at the point she hall she was presented to the reigning to her in Paris, criticised the painting and lodged at Rome immediately have Naples and had Cramer pany in every known gallery, and lodged at Rome immediately beneath the Duchess of Cambridge. 'Sweet little Princess Mary above my head Duchess of Campings.

jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and adds, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she writes, and the passion for my head jumping, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she will be a passion for my head jumping, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she will be a passion for my head jumping, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she will be a passion for my head jumping, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she will be a passion for my head jumping, 'She has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping,' she has conceived a passion for my head jumping, she writes, and and little Rubini, namely, the much-travelled, ill-tempered King Charles

To return to the badly printed, dingy Italian music, the sight of whose limp pages has made me wander into the perilous path of digression, 'Armonica Religiosa' it is called, did Fitz-Gerald play it in his airless lodgings over the gunshop, and play with it, and transpose it, deepen its bass and make its treble to ripple, its chords stepping. stones to fresh modulations, and draw out their melodies until ther died in faintest sighs? Perhaps he did; perhaps he played it all simply as it is written, in the pleasant quiet of his own drawing-room at Little Grange, and on his own mellow grand piano; but, when and where, be sure that it was played by the hand of a musician and with the comprehension of the poet. As to the lodgings, so commonplace in their history and day, I believe that Mr. Loder, Fitz-Gerald's kind admirer and friend-whose bookshop in the Thoroughfare had ever the most tempting new publications and bundles of quill pens such as Fitz-Gerald loved, delightful notebooks, sealing-wax that charmed the childish eye, and stationery fit either to enhance a fervent declaration, or to further the lawyer's progress 'in re Jones'-has placed a stone over the doorway, on which are engraved Fitz-Gerald's initials and the inclusive dates of his habitation of these now much written about rooms.

Fitz-Gerald might often have been seen walking the narrow streets of cheerful Woodbridge—one almost looks now to meet his tall slight figure, always moving leisurely, always with the air of one constrained to be spectator at a show, and with something of melancholy, as though he, too, 'saw through tears the jugglers' leap.' In fact, he saw most things, and that with the air of seeing none. We never spoke to him unless he recognised us by speaking first. He would come up the hill from Little Grange, letting himself out of the gate—such a stiff, hard-to-open, jealous gate—at the end of his 'quarter-deck,' the wide gravel path from which he could see a favourite windmill, and passing our garden, stop to pluck one or two laurustinus leaves and perhaps speak to or watch us children in our swing. I think the motion fascinated him as we went high and higher—afraid but triumphant at length to let ourselves 'die,' as we called it. At the time we thought little of those now dearly remembered appearances, nor ever imagined that our grave quiet and in other that our grave, quiet uncle's thoughts—such was his art—ran in other

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grooves than our own. He spoke to us of simple things: our pet doves he gave them a round wicker cage (do such cages exist any-doves he gave in a memory and in old woodcuts?); the amber he where now, save in a memory and in old woodcuts?); the amber he had lately had the rare good fortune to find on Felixstowe beach, of had lately had the roughly shapen heart, a little heart pierced by a which I have a little roughly shapen heart, a little heart pierced by a which I have a little roughly shapen heart, a little heart pierced by a thread-like gold ring; the probability that his hens would give us a basketful of brown eggs; Mrs. Howe's gingerbread; or a book left open on the Little Grange library table, into which we might look (we might not look into all); or there was a delightful and mysterious-looking parcel awaiting us there—who knew what might not be

Fitz-Gerald walked to Bradfield often, sometimes to Boulge, but seldom further than to the gates of the cowslip-studded park. Never were there such cowslips for the making of cowslip-balls in the spring, nor such burnished warm-hued horse-chestnuts, inviting and ready to the necklace-maker's hand as those that autumn gave us in the park at Boulge, and close to the cottage which had been Fitz-Gerald's dwelling place for a time.

We went often to Boulge, and were made very welcome and happy in that dear house. The talk there was mostly of politics and literature, and a good deal of state and ceremony prevailed, and we were expected to appear at stated times and to listen in silence as was the decorous fashion of those days, having been dressed perhaps an hour beforehand and seated, with strict orders not to 'rumple' ourselves, in the upper drawing-room. We sometimes drove from Boulge in the large waggonette to see Fitz-Gerald, being dropped on the Melton road near Miss Bland's house, and conveyed the few yards to Little Grange by a discreet footman, there to talk to Mrs. Howe and watch old Howe feed the pigeons and the greedy ducks, and listen to his rambling conversation of the sailor Lord Howe, of being whose namesake he was indeed very proud, and a record of whose deeds, a greasy, yellowpaged, well-thumbed, evil-smelling book (a loan only, though: he could not part with it), he pressed on me as being the studious one of the party. Like Huckleberry Finn, 'I read considerable in it,' and was much terrified thereby. Old Howe, who always wore a round, short coat like an Eton boy's, would go marketing into Woodbridge with a capacious basket, whose weight, when full, was always a source of anxiety to Fitz-Gerald; and Mrs. Howe, in her much-gathered and flounced gown with its pointed bodice, deep embroidered collar, and large brooch, would polish the unused farmhouse kitchen range, with its numerous brass-fitted oven doors and appurtenances, till it shone again, or set out dishes of rusks and breadand-butter and cake and her famous thin gingerbreads, to be presently brought in to us in the dining-room with some punctilio, as though we had not seen their preparation, and received with an air of pleasant control of the seen their preparation. pleasant surprise by Fitz-Gerald's 'Enter Mrs. Howe with the tea-tray.'

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By and by would come the Boulge carriage, with partient horses, for By and by would companied to the partial by would by being a partial partial by the partial by t jingling of harness and parting a tattoo of art and strength on the infriendly footman performing are ring knocker-handle of the rustic gate; and we would drive are honevsuckle-perfumed evening air along the land to the income honevsuckle-perfumed evening air along the income honevsuckle-perfumed evening the income honevsuckle-perfumed evening air along the income honevsuckle-perfumed evening the income honevsuck ring knocker-handle of the the through the wild rose, honeysuckle-perfumed evening air along the wild rose in at the gate, and past Fitz-Gerald. empty road to Boulge, in at the gate, and past Fitz-Gerald's cottage with lead to keep them together at and the old oaks, sheeted with lead to keep them together; there has and the lead to keep them together; there has a so ran the lead to keep them together. and the old oaks, sneeded and their end, so ran the legend; into changelings of some fantestic to a curse on him who should set them free Sometime tally the awaiting the prince who should set them free. Sometimes there were meetings in the morning at Little Grange. Nephew and nieces would be world by walks would be world by be staying there, and we, out for our early walks, would be called into sit beside our elders—very still, very patient—while their conversation went on. I can see Fitz-Gerald in the early spring sunshine, on the sheltered side of the house, pigeons fluttering, cooing, getting under his feet, so embarrassingly tame were they; but has not Tennyson to

There would be mention perhaps of Fanny Kemble, his dear old friend; he was going up to town, and would see her and Carlyle too; or Thackeray's name would come up.

Here I cannot forbear quoting from a letter of Fitz-Gerald's, it which mention is made of a meeting between these two; it bears no other address than

My Dear Kerrich,—I received your note (the double one I mean), and thank you for it. I send you by the coach a kennel for your Lion, which I hope will get safe to you. The iron grating necessary to secure the doorway, to prevent danger to the family from so fierce a beast, I must leave to you to provide. I start to-day for Bedford on my way? to Suffolk—I shall be at Boulge on Tuesday, then, I suppose, I shall hear of you. . . . Tell Miss Schutz that I send her Dibden's songs and . . . . an Italian Dictionary by this slor coach. . . . Thackeray is blooming, and remembers you. We have smoked together as usual. W. Browne thinks of going into the Church—what a pity is should be spoiled. Thackeray, coming in, sends his compts. as below, with which we both bid you heartily farewell.

There comes at the foot of the paper a spirited pen-and-ink sketch of a young gentleman, hand on heart, in so-called 'skeleton' trouger and a Toby frill, 'making a leg' as the deferential bow used to be called, to a damsel of haughty aspect who smells a full-blown rose. The simpering idiocy on the boy's face is delightful, and 'Miss' with her grown-up airs no less charming.

After a while came changes—the young people grew up—the happy groups that gathered at Little Grange dissolved never again to med in just the same way as heretofore. We moved into Norfolk, and Fit Gerald came often to stay at Lowestoft; he loved the flat, sandy expanse of beach, the rough North beach for preference, where the fishermed dried and mended their nets and smart folks did not come.

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sit for hours on the sunny Battery Green—children at play all about sit for hours on the strew—or walk the pier, absent-minded, absorbed him, a noisy, unkept crew—or walk the pier, absent-minded, absorbed him, a noisy, under then excellent band. Or he would appear in the in the lodgings of some favourite nieces, with a little in the music of the interest o twilight at the local transfer of grapes; he had a genius for making pretty a few fine pears, a bunch of grapes; he had a genius for making pretty a few fine pears, a few fine pears, a few fine pears, always interested in their interests. When my brother went presents—and protection of his own down to him in his to Cambridge, to the Cambridge, and the color of the colo bade the new undergraduate go and taste the celebrated ale at some little house of call on the banks of the Cam—the one mentioned in Euphranor, I believe it to have been. Fitz-Gerald had a great affection for the old 'Ivy House' in North

Lowestoft; his brother John had several times rented it, latterly one of his nephews. Of its then owner, old Mr. Fisher, a bowed, pathetic, white-haired figure, wrapped in a cloak, he said one day to me, 'How

exactly like dear old Carlyle!'

These visits to Lowestoft continued at intervals until the end came-so peacefully, so absolutely as he would have wished that it should-and were, I think, the chief source of his pleasure during the last few years of his life. Just before his death he revisited Geldeston Hall, the home of his sister Mrs. Kerrich's married life; her presence gone, he had not had till then the heart to see it again and she not there. The house was empty, but he lunched there, waited on by the lodge-keeper's wife, who had been housemaid when 'Mr. Edward' was a constant visitor, and who had not-to-be-defied orders never to disturb the books and papers which heaped his room.

'Amy' was fond of telling how he gave her an eight-day grandfather's clock as a wedding present, and had for him and his untidy ways' a courteous toleration mixed with the affection he could always inspire in servants; he was so very ready to save them all

trouble that he could comprehend.

Fitz-Gerald went on from Geldeston to Gillingham Hall, of which house the Miss Schutz aforementioned had been the talented chatelaine. She was his great friend and his sister's friend. Older than either, she was also the first to go. Many must have been the walks he took along the half-mile of oak-shaded country road which lies between the two houses, with her and to see her, the walk ending at the gates of Gillingham Hall, unusually set between two churches; one, 'the ivory steeple,' as we Norfolkians call its ivy-embraced stones; the other a many-pillared, dark Norman building—of William Rufus' time—so runs the tale. Gillingham Hall garden was known to and loved by Browne, he of Religio Medici fame; here he walked and gathered its herbs and simples.

The world was much poorer when Fitz-Gerald left it. For some time it took no cognisance of its loss, and nothing can be more extra-ordinary in the slow but ordinary in the history of posthumous reputations than the slow but steady and persistent growth of his, which now, in this year of the birth has almost reached the perilous dignit steady and persistent grown content reached the perilous dignity of centenary of his birth, has almost reached the perilous dignity of centenary of his birth, has almost reached the perilous dignity of Quotations from Omar are in the mouth of every culture Quotations from Omar are in Half-crown and penny me cult. Quotations from Ohm. Half-crown and penny magazine No novelist of pretension is happy und 'miss' in real lite and in house alike drag in his name. No novelist of pretension is happy unless alike drag in his name. as headline or some heroine good to alike drag in his name. The state of her existence with the particular of her existen chapter boast a quotation the psychological moment of her existence with the Rubányus table to point out to her the nothing hand on her dressing-table to point out to her the nothingness of hand on her dressing the things. In every conceivable binding and at all variety of price it is

Fitz-Gerald certainly never foresaw this fruit of his leisure labours. I take leave to doubt, ungracious though that may seem to an appreciative public, whether he would have wished for or likely Cheap indiscriminate admiration he gave to neither person nor thing it was his abhorrence. Would he have welcomed it lavished on hings so little understood when living; on his work, possibly so little understood now?

The solemn music of his quatrain is as the ground swell of the occar in some echoing cavern; as the burden of the west wind over a grow of sad cypress; as the perfume of roses in the warm darkness of summer's night before the dawn breaks; as the depths of wine cooledin the snow; as the garnered melancholy of man's heart in all ages; and being these things, it is also much that this century knows not ve its need of, prate as it may of Omar.

A year or two ago it was my happy lot to be staying at Thombs Rectory, near Naseby, part of the Fitz-Gerald country, and where there were yet a few who remembered him. These kind people enter tained me in the sweetest old-fashioned drawing-room. Little mirror, priceless from the collector's point of view, hung high up on the wallslittle oval gilt-framed mirrors, and so high up that they seemed only intended to see the white clouds on the blue sky of that hot afternoon China, too—such as would have caught Fitz-Gerald's eye—stood or tables whose date was of the mirrors; bowls of roses, delphinium geraniums, and wonderful bouquets of worked flowers vied with them in colour. Also there was provided a delightful tea of the comfortable all-round-the-table order which would have cheered Cowper's heart, not Fitz-Gerald's.

The memory of my courteous hostess was not what it had one been; but on hearing his name she said cheerfully, 'Edward Fits Gerald? Of course I recollect Edward Fitz-Gerald: what of him? then, with a spark of roguery and the prettiest pink flush, 'is be married?'

'She was a pretty girl, and always had two strings to be bow,' said the perfect host with an answering smile, and then told me that Fitz-Gerald are the state of the said that the said as a said the said that the said the said that the said t that Fitz-Gerald spent his days at Naseby in the same quiet as at Boulge or Woodbriden Boulge or Woodbridge. His mother hated the house, Naseby Woolley. 1909

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and the neighbourhood, and only visited them twice, and then 'drove and the neighbour haughty and distant.' Such was the verdict on about and was very haughty and distant.' Such was the verdict on about and was the verdict on was the verdict on what was most likely acute boredom at being so far from town and what was most likely acute boredom at being so far from town and what was regarded as a harmal what was most in Fitz-Gerald was regarded as a harmless, solitude-her own coterie. Fitz-Gerald was regarded as a harmless, solitudeloving, taciturn young man.

At another village in these parts—well known to him—I made At another to him—I made inquiry as to remembrances of him of the most likely inhabitant, to be inquiry as to remembrances of him of the most likely inhabitant, to be inquiry as to feel the first of the second s answered, 'Oh, no,' I replied; 'I only wanted to hear about the traveller? His fame had traveller:

Fitz-Gerald who wrote some verses.' His fame had not travelled so far, which I daresay was as he would have had it be.

It was a fiercely hot day when I drove along the straight white road which leads from Thornby to Naseby, and I was glad to get into the cool of the ugly church, whose entrance seemed like that of Mrs. Harris's house 'round the corner,' and over whose threshold Fitz-Gerald walked 'quite the king' in a blue frock-coat, as he tells us. In the front pew, just under the pulpit, dedicated to the occupants of the great house, one may be sure he did not sit.

The 'Fitz-Gerald Arms' still stands, a substantial, imposing memento of their reign. The Woolleys itself I could not see, but it doubtless bears no traces of their ownership. The daughter of Linnet, one of the old servants-old herself now, and with but confused and rambling memories of her girlhood—had been interviewed by 'a gentleman from London,' and had heard 'he meant to print' what she had told him. She received me, therefore, with some suspicion, but on hearing my name said, 'Oh, you must be Eleanor's grandchild: she married John Kerrich, out of Norfolk.' She told me of an attempt to break into the house when her father was left in charge of it, and how he whipt old Oliver's sword out of his hand and made after them down the front staircase and into the scullery, but he never caught no one'; 'Oliver' being the Cromwell of that name, who is still a byword in those parts, and whose armour was moved with other Fitz-Gerald belongings to Ireland when Naseby was sold. Such details were clear in the old woman's mind; the coats of arms—' monkeys there were on them; they unscrewed off the park gates; Mr. Fitz-Gerald he had them sent by water to Little Island—they were heavy.'

The school, the ground for which was a joint gift from Fitz-Gerald and all his brothers and sisters, as the deed shows, was built by and endowed by his father and mother with, so I understand, this stipulation attached, that the Church Catechism should amongst other things be 'taught in it every day.'

The monument erected to perpetuate the memory of the battlefield is now linked with Fitz-Gerald's own, as being the occasion of his friendship with Carlyle. Hideous in itself and the rendezvous of trippers who with Carlyle. pers, whose sandwich-papers and other lunch debris covered its base on the day. on the day when I visited it, it commands, as it was intended to do,

a fine view of the rolling Northamptonshire country oddly like delicate, clear-atmosphered water-colour drawing of a hundred ago; its pastures and hedges, its oaks, its far-stretching roads so world that one might expect to meet Rupert's rallied horse at any to or irresolute Charles Dalzell at his bridle rein urging haste. It magpie, that bird of unerring wisdom and cunning, haunts the local wide fields; dog roses bloom in endless profusion, no man saying the nay. They are lighter in colour than their Persian sisters; but I this Fitz-Gerald loved them, and the space and peacefulness of all to Midland scenery.

Here, where your lyric 'The Meadows in Spring' Rose like the lark's, enraptured, piercing, sweet—Here will I lay this little Word—this Thing, Nosegay of memories only, humbly at your feet.

MARY ELEANOR FITZ-GERALD-KERRIG

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# A LESSON FROM AUSTRALIA

If the truth as to the relative progress of the two principal Australian States, Victoria and New South Wales, under the rival policies of restriction and free trade, be once grasped, it is safe to say that it must be admitted that restriction was hopelessly beaten. The two States lie side by side, separated by the River Murray, and for thirty-five years, that is from 1866 to 1901, Victoria resolutely followed the policy of restriction, whilst New South Wales as resolutely followed the policy of free trade. During all these years, whenever the tariff question came before the electors, Victoria never failed to vote for restriction, and New South Wales never failed to vote for free trade.

Victoria adopted the policy of restriction in 1866. In that year she stood head and shoulders above New South Wales in both population and wealth; and, if restriction were indeed that creative force which its adherents claim it to be, she should not only have remained ahead, but increased her lead. It is true that Victoria is much smaller than New South Wales, but when it is pointed out that Victoria is bigger by some thousands of square miles than Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Greece, all five, put together, it can scarcely be argued that she was short of room for development, especially as her average rainfall is not only equal to, but is superior to that of New South Wales.

Now for the great test, population, the flesh and blood of a country. The following are the totals at the beginning and at the end of the thirty-five years:

#### POPULATION—AGGREGATE

-	1866 1		Increa	ise
Tr	1906 -	1901 2	Numerical	Per Cent.
Victoria New South Wales	633,602 428,167	1,201,070 1,354,846	567,468 926,679	89·56 216·43
Excess, Victoria Excess, N.S. Wales	205,435	153,776	359,211	126.87

December 31, official estimate.

<sup>2</sup> March 31, Census.

'Sermons in stones' are not more telling than are those embedded that the stable contains both males and female This table contains both males and females in these figures. This table contains the series of work to the series alone, as they are more representative of work to the series of the s

## POPULATION-MALES

_	1866	1901	Increase
			Numerical Per Cer
Victoria	354,757 234,740	(03,720 710,005	248,963 475,265 701 2024
Excess, Victoria . Excess, N.S. Wales .	120,017	106,285	226,302

It will be seen that this table shows a greater, and not a smaller relative increase in the free trade State, than did the table of aggregate population. But let us proceed further and compare the number of the males at the 'self-supporting' age:

## Population-Males between 15 and 65.

	1866 1901		Increase		
			Numerical	Per Cent.	
Victoria	237,000 <sup>3</sup> 144,000 <sup>3</sup>	360,107 436,781	123,107 292,781	52·94 203·32	
Excess, Victoria . Excess, N.S. Wales .	93,000	76,674	169,674	150.38	

This table shows the same movement, but in a more marked degree. Now take what is, perhaps, the supreme test, the males at 'the soldier's age':

## POPULATION-MALES BETWEEN 20 AND 40

			Increase		
	1866	1901	Numerical	Per Cent.	
Victoria New South Wales .	146,000 <sup>3</sup> 77,000 <sup>3</sup>	189,380 223,652	43,380 146,652	29·71 189·16	
Excess, Victoria . , N.S. Wales .	69,000	34,272	103,272	159.45	

They establish These four tables give very remarkable results. clearly that the main attractions for population, and for the rest

3 Official estimates.

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cream of the workers, were to be found, not within the borders of cream of the Norders of the borders of free New South Wales.

Mr. Hayter, the late Victoria statistician, in his 'General Report' Mr. Hayou, on the Victorian Census of 1881, said: 'Relatively to the total on the victoria at the soldier's age are fewer in Victoria than in any of the other Australasian Colonies. In fact, it may be stated any of the deficiency of males at this important period of life is the weakest point in the Victorian population.'

Think of this being said of Victoria, by her own statistician, after fifteen years' experience of—save the mark !—protecting the workers

It is worth while comparing the percentages of increase in the foregoing tables:

#### POPULATION—PERCENTAGES OF INCREASE

	22			Victoria	New South Wales	Excess in New South Wales
Population,	Aggreg Male	15-65		89·56 70·18 52·94	216·43 202·46 203·32	126·87 132·28 150·38
"	"	20-40		29.71	189.16	159.45

It is noteworthy that whilst in the aggregate population the Victorian percentage of increase is not one half of the New South Wales increase, the Victorian increase is less than one-sixth of that of New South Wales in the case of the cream of the workers-those between twenty and forty years. The last column is peculiarly instructive, showing, as it does, a continual rise in the excess of the New South Wales percentage over the Victorian percentage.

It is needful to understand the position that existed in 1866. The gold discoveries of the early 'fifties' resulted in a yield of gold in Victoria which, for the six years 1852 to 1857, averaged a value of full eleven millions sterling, from which it gradually dropped to ten, nine, eight, seven, and six millions annually, and remained at the last-named figure for several years. The population had grown from about 100,000 in 1851 to more than 600,000 in 1866; the rapid increase being due mainly to the arrival of immigrants attracted by the gold discoveries. This increase of population, whilst the yield of gold fell by one-half, naturally produced a difficult industrial position. It was at this time, and in connection with this industrial Position, that the cry arose in Victoria to provide work for the workless by restricting the importation of goods.

In New South Wales gold was discovered at about the same time as in Victoria, but during the years 1851 to 1866 the average value of the cold of the gold won was less than one-sixth of that in Victoria. Vol. LXV-No. 385

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population, however, materially increased, growing from 178,000 in 1866. So far as gold was concerned this is population, however, materially as gold was concerned this increase loss justified than that in Victoria. The total of population was less justified than that in Victoria. The total value of population was less justified than that in Victoria. The total value of population was less justified the close of 1865, was 20,000,000l. in New years with 128,000,000l. in Victoria of the gold produced, to the South Wales, as compared with 128,000,000l. in Victoria. It will be South Wales, as compared in the large production in Victoria established readily understood that this large production in Victoria established

It will be obvious that when, in 1866, Victoria embarked on he policy of fighting against imports, she had available those two te quisites of successful enterprise, plenty of labour and a fair amount of capital. Railway construction had begun in both States, the mileage open being 254 miles in Victoria and 143 miles in New South Wales: though only small in both cases Victoria had the advantage. The public revenue was three millions sterling in Victoria, and two mil. lions in New South Wales, and 'per head' was slightly higher in Victoria.

It may be said that a normal population does not contain the large proportion of males shown to exist in Victoria in 1866, and that a fall in this proportion might naturally be expected. This, of course, is so, but the same condition existed in New South Wales to nearly the same extent. Thus:

### Percentage, Males and Females, in 1866

			Males	Females	Total
Victoria	- 100		55.99	44.01	100.00
New South Wales		1	54.82	45.18	100.00

The excess of males over females being only 2.34 in Victoria over the figures for New South Wales. Then again:

### Population, Males 15 to 65, in 1866

		Number	Per Cent.
Winter:		237,000	37.41
Victoria	•		33.63
New South Wales		144,000	30 00

The singular thing is that, as already shown, whilst Victoria began her thirty-five years' fight against imports with a numerically and proportionately stronger army of workers, she was found at the end of that thirty-five years to have an industrial army that was weaker in both respects as compared with that of New South Wales.

Take another comparison:

# POPULATION—EXCESS OF MALES OVER FEMALES

		STORY OF THE PERSON NAMED IN	The second			New South
					Victoria	41.313
1866					75,912	47,596
1871					68,806	76.841
1881			-		41,599	91,876
1891	200				54,418	66,846
1901					8,210	

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There is no mistaking the significance to the workers of such figures. Here is another surprising comparison

#### MALE POPULATION.

			Between Twent	y and Forty Years	Between Fifteen	and Sixty-five Year
	Year		Victoria	New South Wales	Victoria	New South Wale
1861 · 1866 · 1871 · 1881 · 1891 · 1901 ·	•		167,844 146,000 <sup>4</sup> 124,541 114,142 206,260 189,380	67454 77,000 88,027 131,805 210,353 223,652	235,630 237,000 <sup>4</sup> 238,839 272,514 375,933 360,107	128,117 144,000 160,945 247,577 373,346 436,781

In this table the census returns for 1861 are included. Possibly the table now following may be considered to be the most remarkable of the series :

#### POPULATION—GAIN OR LOSS BY MIGRATION 5

	Period		Vie	toria	New Sout	ith Wales	
			Gain	Loss	Gain	Loss	
1866-71 1872-81 1882-91 1892-01			32,192 — 118,270 —	16,004 	28,213 116,640 160,725		
Total		•	18,823	-	302,403		

Taking the whole thirty-five years, it will be seen that the State which professed to 'protect' its labour from competition did not succeed in attracting even one-thirteenth as much new population as did the free trade State. Failure could not be shown in a clearer manner than by these figures.

The singular change of conditions shown in the last table, in both States, during the fourth as compared with the third period requires explanation. The years 1881-1891 covered a great boom; the years 1891-1901 covered a great collapse; and the centre of both the boom and the collapse was in Victoria. The amount of money that toosanguine lenders and investors poured into Australia, and especially into Victoria, almost passes belief. It seems safe to say that neither before nor since have such vast sums of money been poured into such small communities as were poured into Australia in the 'eighties.' Coghlan puts the new capital obtained during 1881-85 at 13,002,000l.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Official estimate.

State-aided immigration between 1866 and 1891: Victoria 20,000, New South Wales 60,000.

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for Victoria, and 30,473,000l. for New South Wales. He—Coghlan—

The next period, 1886-90, was marked by very extraordinary features. The The next period, 1886-90, was made and a space of the short space of the short space of the spac average population of Austrana was space of such space of five years, the various States governing these people raised and expended five years, the various States governing these people raised and expended for incomplete the state of the s 53,374,000l., while an additional state of the country by persons who made it on private account, or was introduced into the country by persons who made it on private account, or was introduced on considering the their abode. But even more astonishment will be evinced on considering the detailed figures for each State. Of the large total received by the various States detailed figures for each States. States considerably more than one-half—54,690,0001.—was obtained by Victoria, and as the population during the five years under revision was 1,070,000, the inflow of capital amounted to over 511. per inhabitant. . . . These figures afford a sufficient clue to the astounding impetus which trade received during these years and the corresponding rise in land values. New South Wales, though not the recipient of so much money as its Southern neighbour, nevertheless contrived to obtain 28,145,0001.—a far larger sum than could be conveniently absorbed in five years.

For the whole ten years, according to Coghlan, the Victorian total was 67,692,000l. and the New South Wales total 58,618,000l. In view of a 'per head' expenditure so unparalleled, it is no wonder that trade boomed and population rapidly increased.

The collapse came in the early 'nineties.' The financial crash will be remembered in Australia for many a long day yet to come. Wealth, or what had been accounted wealth, disappeared by the million; banks closed; rich men became poor; employment decreased till the army of the unemployed grew vast; public revenues fell till retrenchment on cruel lines became necessary. The figures in the last table show that in New South Wales the arrivals of population, which had been large the previous decade, came to a full stop, and that that State did not quite hold its own. In Victoria, where the tariff fence was supposed to guarantee employment to labour and safety to capital, the position is mildly described as having been pitiable. The census of 1901 showed, after allowing for the difference between births and deaths, that there were as many as 115,635 fewer persons in Victoria than at the time of the census of 1891. At the very date when the eastern States were staggering under the burden of disaster and depression, Providence interposed in the form of the Western Australian goldfields. Western Australia relieved the situation; it was to that State that the bulk of the departing Victorians went. The tariff had failed them in Victoria; natural opportunities, out of Victoria, saved them. Of the 115,635 persons lost to Victoria, no less than about 75,000 were males, and, as shown in one of the tables, the excess in the number of males over females, which is generally a marked feature of Australian statistics, had, in 1901, almost wholly disappeared in Victoria, whilst still remaining very substantial in New South Wales.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>e</sup> The Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1901-02, p. 760.

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It was, of course, manufacturing industries that Victoria especially fostered, and in the statistics relating thereto she ought to appear to special advantage; but even here the comparative figures suggest that 'the game was not worth the candle.'

## MANUFACTORIES AND WORKS-HANDS EMPLOYED

	Victoria	New South Wales	Percentage,	Females Included
-	Total	Total	Victoria	New South Wales
1866 · 1881 · 1891 · 1893 · 1901 ·	 10,239 36,015 53,525 39,815 66,529	Not available. 29,849 50,879 42,057 66,135	13·62 19·88 15·54 17·74 29·27	8·05 15·09 10·05 17·65

The year 1893 was the year when the collapse referred to culminated, and it will be seen that the effect on the manufactories was much more severe in Victoria than in New South Wales. It will also be observed that the Victorian figures represent cheaper labour than the New South Wales figures, since, on the average, they contain twice the percentage of females.

#### HORSE-POWER AND VALUE OF MACHINERY AND PLANT

	Hor	se-Power		Value
	Victoria	New South Wales	Victoria	New South Wales
1866	No. 4,242 10,067 30,078 34,701	Not available. ditto. 29,801 44,595	1,165,327 2,624,348 5,035,493 4,864,900	E Not available. ditto. 4,386,475 5,860,725

This table bears further evidence to the fact that the Victorian policy was a distinct failure.

The relative growth of public revenue may be referred to. Each State owns the railways within its borders, and the figures are all the more interesting because they include railway receipts.

#### PUBLIC REVENUES

	- COLIC TULI PRODE						
-	Victoria	New South Wales	Excess				
		South Wales	Victoria	New South Wales			
1866 1881 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	3,079,160 5,186,011 8,343,588 7,712,099	2,012,079 6,707,963 10,036,185 10,805,543	1,067,081	£ 1,521,952 1,692,597 3,093,444			
1866-1901.	4,632,939	8,793,464		4,160,525			

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These figures tell the same story, as do the others already to the collapse in the 'nineties' is visited. The set-back of the collapse in the 'nineties,' is visible in viewed. The set-back of the Victorian revenue the 1901 returns for both States, but whilst the Victorian revenue the 1901 returns for both sold New South Wales revenue shows a big drop on the decade, the New South Wales revenue shows

abstantial advance.

The external trade—the commerce—of the two States compare as follows:

## IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, AGGREGATE

-		Average 1869-71	Average 1899-01	Increase
Victoria New South Wales .	•	$26,399,644 \\ 18,655,457$	£ 36,606,158 54,681,570	10,206,514 36,026,113
Excess, Victoria . ,, N.S. Wales		7,744,187 —	18,075,412	25,819,599

The figures are not available for 1866. The average of the three years 1869-1871, and the average of the three years 1899-1901, give a fair comparison. It will be seen that whilst the commerce of Victoria did not increase anything like one-half, that of New South Wales increased about threefold.

In an inquiry of this nature there is no direction in which results should be more closely scanned than in regard to production:

#### PRODUCTION—ALL INDUSTRIES 7

	1871	1881	1891	1901
Victoria	. 19,260,000	22,750,000	30,320,000	30,807,000
New South Wales	. 15,379,000	25,180,000	36,740,000	38,954,000

### PRODUCTION, PER HEAD

		1871			1881			1891	1901
Victoria New South Wales	. 26		8	26		0	£ 26		£ s. d. 25 12 2 28 7 9

The figures for 1866 are not available. It will be seen that between 1871 and 1891 the value of production increased by 11.4 millions in Victoria, and by 23.3 millions in New South Wales; and that at every period the value 'per head' was distinctly higher in the free trade State. It can, of course, be admitted that the 'per head' advantage is not so great as it looks, since it has been shown that the percentage of adult male workers in the whole population was greater in New South Wales than in Victoria. At the same time, it ought also to be pointed out that the value of production in Victoria was inflated by protective duties. True, the extra value was obtained, but it represented taxation, not production.

It is worth while noting what the different industries in the two States contributed to the totals of production already given.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Coghlan's Australia and New Zealand, 1903, p. 914.

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## THE PRODUCTIVE INDUSTRIES IN 1901

	Manufactories	Agriculture, Pastoral, Dairying	Mining, Forestry, &c.	Total
Victoria	7,472,000	17,867,000	5,468,000	30,807,000
New South Wales	10,082,000	22,285,000	6,587,000	38,954,000

It will be seen that Victoria owes her real prosperity to her natural It will be stated industries, and that in manufacturing, to promote the and unprocess of which every family in the State was specially taxed, her achievement was, to say the least, disappointing.

The failure within the supposed charmed circle, the protected area, could not well have been more complete. What population did, we have seen; as regards capital, it is singular that much Victorian capital found better occupation outside than it could find inside that charmed circle. Gold, and other natural products, made many Victorians wealthy; and probably Victorians have invested more money in other parts of Australia than has been invested outside their own States by all other Australian capitalists. It is not the object of this article to create the impression that Victoria is a poor State, for that would be quite untrue. Natural opportunities have made Victoria a great and prosperous State; but, none the less, in the history here unfolded is undeniable proof of the signal failure of the policy which Victoria followed for thirty-five long years.

It may well be asked: 'If the policy signally failed in the one State of Victoria, why was it adopted by federated Australia in 1901 ? ? It can only be said that the world's history and all political life are full of instances in which the lessons of experience have been disregarded. The State of New South Wales sent a big majority of free traders to the Federal Parliament, but the restrictionists of Australia were able to command a sufficient vote in the House of Representatives and the

Senate to control the tariff.

EDWARD PULSFORD.

The Scnate, Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne.

March

# TRADITION VERSUS ENQUIRY IN IRISH HISTORY

In the Quarterly Review of January last there appeared an article by Mr. Robert Dunlop, dealing in a trenchant manner with a book which I wrote lately, The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing. I regret to take part personally in a controversy where my own credit is brought into question, and I am only moved to do so by consideration of the grave issues which are involved as regards the study of Irish history.

The appearance of my book has raised two questions of a very different order—the important question of whether, with the advance of modern studies, need has arisen for an entire review of the whole materials for Irish history and of the old conclusions, and the less interesting problem of my own inadequacy and untrustworthiness. Mr. Dunlop, in some fifteen pages of discourse, has not so much as mentioned the first. He has treated the second at considerable length. We may here take them in order of importance.

The real difference between Mr. Dunlop and myself lies deeper than the question of my merits or demerits. It is the old conflict between tradition and enquiry. For the last 300 years students of medieval Irish history have peacefully trodden a narrow track, hemmed in by barriers on either hand. On one side they have been for the most part bounded by complete ignorance of the language of the county or its literature. On the other side they have raised the wall of tradition. Along this secluded lane writers have followed one another, in the safety of the orthodox faith. A history recited with complete unanimity takes on in course of time the character of the highest There have been disputes on one or two points perhaps where theologians are concerned, as for example the story of St. Patrick; but on the general current of Irish life there has been no serious discussion nor any development in opinion. The argument from universal assent has been sufficient. There is a similarity even of 'We prefer to think,' writes Mr. Dunlop. 'We prefer to the traditional the traditional tra abide by the traditional view of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the same of the state of Ireland, writes another critic from the state of Ireland, which is the same of Ireland, writes another critic from the state of Ireland, writes and the same of Ireland, which is the Ir critic from the same school. Agreement has been general, individual 1909 specul

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speculation has not disturbed the peace, and all have joined their speculation has not disturbed the peace, and all have joined their voices to swell the general creed. Under these favouring conditions voices to swell the general speak with a rare confidence and unanimity. historians of Ireland speak with a rare confidence and unanimity. What are novelties after all? cries the sagacious historian of What are novelties after impertinences.

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Anatole Flance.

It has happened to me to question the received doctrine. Universal It has happened all time is a very useful thing, and for some positive assent of all men of all time is a very useful thing, and for some positive assent of an income positive But in Irish history it is used to enforce a facts it may be decisive. But in Irish history it is used to enforce a facts it may series of negations—no human progress, no spiritual life, no patriotism, series of negativity save murder, no manufacture and activity save murder. series of negatives, no patriotism, no development, no activity save murder, no movement but a constant falling to decay, and a doomed lapse into barbarism of every race that entered the charmed circle of the island. However universal the consent, the statements of the tradition are of so extraordinary a character, that one may fairly desire an inspection of the evidence. I have ventured to suggest that the time had come to study the sources anew; to see if any had been omitted, or if in modern research any new testimony concerning Ireland had been brought to light; to give less weight to negative assertions than to positive facts; and to enquire what the whole cumulative argument might imply. Thus the fundamental problem has been raised. If Mr. Dunlop has not a word to say about it, it will nevertheless not disappear. The enquiry will need many scholars and a long time, but I am sure it will be completed, and that Irish history will then need to be rewritten. Meanwhile, as I claim no infallible authority, to fulminate against me does not get rid of the essential problem. The discrediting of a doubter of the orthodox faith is the simplest form of argument and The trouble is that when it is done the real the least laborious. question is no further advanced.

A heretic must take his risks. We have an example of their gravity in this article, in which Mr. Dunlop restores an old custom to controversy. We had almost come to suppose that it was the privilege of theologians to settle the respective platforms from which disputations should be carried on. The higher plane is reserved for the orthodox. The 'querulous' dissentient, on the other hand, is pronounced to be making mere incursions into what is for him a comparatively unknown region, his incapacity is obvious and his want of candour deplorable, and he has forfeited all claim to respect. This is all in the appropriate manner of those who hold an Irish history handed down by tradition.

The permitted belief about Ireland has been summed up dogmatically by Mr. Dunlop in the Dictionary of National Biography, the Cambridge Modern History, and elsewhere. Of the inhabitants of Ireland 'two-thirds at least led a wild and half nomadic existence. Possessing no sense of national unity beyond the narrow limits of the several clans to which they belonged, acknowledging no law outside the customs of their tribe, subsisting almost entirely on the produce of

their herds and the spoils of the chase, and finding in their large has their herds and the spons of the control of the inclemency of the weather them from the necessity of building houses for Matel mantles a sufficient protection against and one relieving them from the necessity of building houses for the weather and one relieving them from their general mode of life to distinguish and one relieving them from the little in their general mode of life to distinguish the selves, they had little in their general mode of life to distinguish the selves, they had little in their general mode of life to distinguish the selves, they had little in their solled a Church. To say that the Irish had all from their Celtic ancestors.

was nothing was nothing the street was nothing worthy of being called a Church. To say that the Irish had related to the street was nothing was nothing to the street was nothing was nothing to the street was nothing was nothing was nothing was nothing to the street was nothing was not in the street worthy of being called a Charles going too far. The tradition of into a state of heathenism is perhaps going too far. The tradition of the control of the co a Christian belief still survived; but it was a lifeless, useless thing a Christian belief still survivos,
The country was cut off by its position, but even more by the related in the position into a state of semi but the related to the relate of the greater part of its inhabitants into a state of semi-barbariants of European development, Rose of the greater part of the wolf made internal control of the wolf made int the lairs of the wild-boar and the wolf, made internal communications the lairs of the wild-boar and the wolf, made internal communications to the lairs of the wild-boar and the wolf, made internal communications to the wolf. dangerous and difficult, and prevented trade and intercourse with other nations. Few words, therefore, are needed to sum up the commerce. 'French wines found their way into the country through Cork and Waterford; the long-established commercial relations between Dublin and Bristol still subsisted; Spanish traders lands their wares on Galway quay; the fame of St. Patrick's purgator attracted an occasional pilgrim from foreign lands; and of one Iril chieftain it was placed on record that he had accomplished the hazar dous journey to Rome and back.' Shane O'Neill, 'champion of Cells civilisation,' could speak no language but Irish, and could not sp his name. In the Quarterly Review we have a few more details-that the main part of the Irishmen's dress was skins; that this people who lived without houses when they went on their 'marauding er peditions' (excursions of the full summer time) made to themselva tents of untanned skins to cover them (here I could almost imagine Mr. Dunlop, in spite of his aversion to bards, indulging on the sly in a cloudy reminiscence of an Irish poet); that among the whole of them they had just a few hundred coracles made of osiers and skins for crossing swollen rivers, for the O'Malleys and O'Driscolls who had long-boats represented 'perhaps the Iberian element in the nation, suggests Mr. Dunlop, not to give the Gaels any credit, while he slips by the way into the objectionable word apparently so hard to avoid; that they made no practical use even of their inland fisheries, and had no industries, so that even the cloth was made by Englishmen.

We would desire to ask Mr. Dunlop for the exact proof he relies on for any one of these statements, beginning perhaps with in law outside the customs of the tribe.' Writers who hold Ireland to be, as he says, 'a sort of scrap-heap for Europe,' and who cannot conceive of medieval Irishmen as ordinary men sharing the faults and virtues of other white Europeans, are addicted to the word native '- a word not in 'native'—a word not in common use among historians for Englishmenton England in the Tribust in England in the Middle Ages, but affected by them to indicate the state of the st Irishmen in Ireland, with the derogatory sense which their 'tradition'

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The barbarian legend has got a long start. A first attempt to review its evidence was made in my book. In a series of social studies I have endeavoured to discuss, not the whole of Irish history, but definite matters of trade, social life, and education. I have gathered a body of facts which indicate that Ireland had considerable manufactures; that her foreign commerce can be traced throughout Europe; that there was an ordered society, even a wealthy one; that Irish travellers were known at Rome and in the Levant; that there was an Anglo-Irish culture by no means contemptible, in touch with Continental learning; and that increasing intercourse of the races did not tend to barbarism but to civilisation.

In this sketch I have not proposed to myself to draw nice distinctions between what the Normans precisely did, and what the Irish, (or even, following Mr. Dunlop), what Iberians were doing in the sixteenth century in the joint work of commerce and culture, because there is as yet no sufficient material for that discussion; I share this lack of knowledge with many who have pronounced themselves with no uncertain voice. Further, I should have been glad to confine these studies to the cheerful progress of trade and culture; but I was confronted with two possible objections. The suggestion that if there had been any considerable trade it would not have vanished by a freak, could only be answered by indicating how and why the destruction had been wrought. And to meet the argument that historians would not have let a genuine story perish, I gave my opinion on how it was that the truth dropped out of sight.

My conclusions conflict with the venerable traditions over which Mr. Dunlop mounts guard. I clearly offend also against the canon of one poly of one volume. It is obvious that he must feel for me the sharpest disapproval; and this censure is conveyed with no mitigation of phrase or manner.

The charge he elaborates against me is briefly that I have no

judgment, and less candour, in the use of documents, and have

duced a mass of mischieved.

I may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing that Mr. Dunlop's severity with regard of the may say in passing the may say in passi I may say in passing once authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes somewhat oddly from one who has shown him authorities comes are considered from the company of th authorities comes somewhat out authorities comes somewhat out fairly easy in such matters. In his own writings he gives no reference authority he quotes independent and in this same arricle the state of the same arricle that is Mr. O'Connor's Elizabethan Ireland. When I have to be silent is Mr. O'Connor has been same arricle that is Mr. O'Connor has been same is Mr. O'Connor's Eugeneered? Now Mr. O'Connor has written Turn we to Mr. O continued and social life in some 280 pages. I gives no dates, no indications of place, and no references. But a scholarly have Mr. Dunlop's word for it that it is a 'scholarly' work, 'h O'Connor' quoted by Mr. Dunlop ends controversy. The tradition is secure. I might envy Mr. Dunlop this freedom from trammels to references, of date, or of place. In such wide and impartial sure any statement about Ireland may appear as true of every place at of all time. Barbarism would seem to be a fixed and unchanger state, a passive monotony, from the time of 'Lacustrine habitation' and of 'Hesiod and the old poets,' till its characteristic representative in Shane O'Neill. The principle once assumed, any evidence suffice to show that the Irish had none of the attributes of ordinar white Europeans; while evidence that they made money, traded built houses, talked Latin, studied medicine and law, or otherwise behaved like other people of the Middle Ages, is probably rhodomortade, moonshine, or historical profligacy.

Mr. Dunlop's summary method with unfamiliar sources appears in his asperity towards what he calls my 'trivial references' to Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady's Catalogue of Manuscripts.

We wonder (he says on p. 267) how many of Mrs. Green's readers are awar that of this book, from which she has gleaned so much information-of a sortonly one copy, so far as we know, is accessible to the public, and that is in the MSS. Department of the British Museum. The book, we understand, vis never published. It is still incomplete. The official copy consists merely the the bound sheets as they were printed off for proof.

I suppose Mr. Dunlop does not mean to suggest that the value of a book is in proportion to the number of copies, or that an authority of which a single copy exists should not be quoted. In any case I can reassure him. The sheets of this Catalogue have been these many years past for sale to the public at the Museum, where I got my copy, and I hope many others did the same. The book can be bought in a London shop to-day. Mr. Dunlop might consult it in the London Library. The copy placed in the National Library in Dublin 1895 has been placed in the National Library in Dublin 1895 has been in frequent use since then. Possibly Mr. Dully knows the inside a frequent use since then. knows the inside of the book better than the outside, but it seems to be a now account to be a new acquaintance, suddenly introduced and viewed will distaste. In this harm distaste. In this brilliant Catalogue we have the work of a very great authority unsurrous in the catalogue we have the work of a very great authority. authority, unsurpassed in his special learning, far beyond what

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O'Donovan could lay claim to; with its 'information—of a sort—' O'Donovan could be of a sort—' it is the most important book that has appeared for many years it is the most irish history. Another critic of Mr. Duple-' it is the most like it is with regard to the gives no definite sign of any knowledge of Mr. work has reproached me for referring to it 'with who in his remained by knowledge of Mr. O'Grady's work, has reproached me for referring to it without further of these writers. O'Grady's work, But it is certain that neither of these writers who reprove siting. themselves do much 'further sifting' where that admirable will themselves do much 'further sifting' where that admirable scholar has gone before them.

May I add that Mr. Dunlop does not appear to follow too closely May I and the Ma Mr. Justice Madden's Classical Learning in Ireland, published last Mr. Justice last last summer—a little book which he should certainly have been willing to

include in any review of recent Irish writings?

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To return, however, to my own lamentable want of candour and accuracy, I now give a few of the instances of my deficiencies, and of the admirable example which Mr. Dunlop sets me in these respects.

Mr. Dunlop states, 'to speak accurately,' that my reference to Shane O'Neill as 'done to death' (so he expresses it) by the English is 'absolutely without foundation.' His own account of Shane's death in the Dictionary of National Biography tells us that 'possibly if he could have kept a civil tongue in his head the MacDonnells might have consented to a reconciliation.' 'It is doubtful whether his assassination was premeditated . . . it is probable that when heated with wine he may have irritated them by his insolent behaviour beyond endurance.' In the Cambridge Modern History (iii. 592), however, Mr. Dunlop has attained conviction. 'In his wine-cups,' he tells us, 'he began to brawl, and was literally hacked in pieces by his enemies.' These and some other of his suppositions do not appear to agree with the story in Holinshed, Campion, the Calendar of State Papers, or the Four Masters. But why does Mr. Dunlop disagree with Lord Deputy Sidney, the main mover in the matter? Many efforts, it is well known, had been made to murder Shane. In 1566 Sidney sent to Scotland his 'man,' the English-Scot Douglas, who had come to him from Leicester himself. Sidney gives us the clue to his mission. I pray you,' he wrote to Leicester, 'let this bringer (Douglas) receive comfortable words of you. I have found him faithful; it was he that brought the Scots that killed O'Neill.' Douglas repeated the boast and prayed a reward from Cecil. Years later Sidney being maligned by powerful enemies at Court, reminded the Queen of his old services. And whereas he [O'Neill] looked for service at their [the Scots] hands against me, for service of me, they killed him. . . . But when Came to the Court, he added with indignation, it was told me it was no war that I had made, nor worthy to be called a war, for that Shane O'Neill was but a beggar, an outlaw, and one of no force, and that the S. that the Scots stumbled on him by chance.' Would Mr. Dunlop as a means of the stumbled on him by chance.' means of overthrowing me join with Sidney's enemies to rob him of

the deed he boasted of? (Vide Sid. Let. 12, 34-5; C.S.P.; C.S.P.; Ma

I have pained Mr. Dunlop by referring to the hoard of Con Oxidence that Ulster was not penniless. I have pained Mr. Dumor Stand O'Neill 'robbed his father' of this of Earl of Tyrone, as evidence that I obbed his father, of this store, discovers that I adduce this 'robbery' to prove the can scarcely believe that I adduce this 'robbery' to prove the real that I use it in connection with a passage about of Ulster, and that I use it in connection with a passage about plant of Ulster, and that I use it in connection with a passage about plant in a line in a l of Ulster, and that I use It I for the first of Ireland by English invaders. This hoard occurs in a list of the first of the second of Ireland (pp. 67-69). pages containing signs of riches in Ireland (pp. 67-69), a mere glassian the absurdity of any contention to at which would show the absurdity of any contention that all into English hands. As to detail moneys I mention fell into English hands. As to Con O'No savings, I see no objection to an allusion to them as one proof and allusion to them as one proof and the same it is others of money and plate in Ulster. I do not know if Mr. Dul means not only to suggest my want of candour, but also to that if Shane 'robbed' his father's treasure, therefore no Entered to the state of soldiers or officials robbed any Irish chief of his plate

But though in this connection I have really nothing to do the ultimate fate of Con's hoard, I may in passing compare the la Chancellor Cusack's report at the time with Mr. Dunlop's robben Con O'Neill was thrown into prison in Dublin in 1552, and said to threatened with death. The English were prepared with an ilen mate successor in Tyrone. Shane claimed to be his father's latter heir, and fought the English nominee. A garrison of English solder was thrown into Armagh. Beyond the Blackwater Ford, within a rich and the rich and of Armagh, lay the chief fort of Tyrone, on the great hill of Dunganton Shane, evidently with the support of his people, 'came to Dunganne and took with him 'of the chief's treasure 800l. in gold and size besides plate and other stuff '[apparently then not the whole of it to so much as was needed for the war at the moment] 'and retained the same as yet, whereby it appeareth that he and she [the Barl and Countess] was content with the same; for,' said Cusack, 'it could not be perceived that they were greatly offended for the same.' It was how Shane O'Neill 'robbed his father.'

Mr. Dunlop quotes a sentence that 'Galway ships sailed to Orkney and to Lübeck, and gives one only of my references in note, which states that a Scottish ship of Orkney was freighted Galway for Lisbon. It is evident that by one of the accidental end of transcription, which every writer that ever lived has sometimes deplore, I transferred the words, and Orkney was used where I meanly write Lisbon. Lübeck is a different matter. Why did Mr. Dubeck carefully omit the reference in the same note to the page wher mention goods shipped from Galway to Lübeck in 1416? Was if generous effort to make the error take on a more serious character. Or was it a common inaccuracy? I may inform him that in the dotter of the state of Hansisches Urkundenbuch further references occur to Irish cloth 1909

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Mr. where them.' with th the rel should better Sidney (175) is (n.b.), proof? had be on the cumsta the fair superio absolut yet kn its exi evidence

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Lübeck, as well as to Irish cloth and provisions along the Elbe, and Lübeck, as well the Libe, and that the name he throws doubt on appears with good reason in my text. Mr. Dunlop also discovers a 'most apparent and painful' instance Mr. Dunnop and instance of my 'distorting of evidence' in my reference (which I did not give of my distorting to Limerick merchants appeached of treason for as a quotation) to Limerick merchants appeached of treason for as a quotation, when the deputy's words were victualling trading with Irish rebels, when the deputy's words were victualling trading with 11.00. Mr. Dunlop might perhaps himself suspect and maintaining (p. 170). Mr. Dunlop might perhaps himself suspect and maintaining (P. some barter in the business when it attracted eight merchants to traffic in so dangerous an enterprise. But he conveniently omits the rest of my story, that within a year of the arrest of the eight merchants the Limerick corporation prayed to have the city charter confirmed with a special clause that they might buy and sell with Irishmen at all times. They seem to have had no objection to trade with the Irish, which was the only point I had there to prove. I willingly alter the word that seems to Mr. Dunlop so painful a distortion of the truth, and my argument remains unchanged.

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Mr. Dunlop twice condemns me in 'the case of Enniscorthy fair, where the documents referred to refute the deduction drawn from them.' 'We strongly resent her concealing the fact' that Sidney, with the Four Masters deplored the 'destruction (n.b.)' of the fair by the rebellious Butlers at the instigation of James Fitzmaurice. Why should I not 'conceal facts' I do not know to be true? I fancy it is better than publishing them. The word used by the Four Masters, Sidney, and a contemporary letter given in Hore's Town of Wexford (175) is 'spoiling.' Will Mr. Dunlop give his references to 'destruction (n.b.),' and to 'the instigation of James Fitzmaurice'? What is the proof? This day's raid was not the first attack on the fair after it had been granted to English officers charged to execute martial law on the Wexford Irish. I have not space to tell the significant circumstances. Mr. Dunlop blames me for not giving the founder of the fair. 'We will overlook the omission,' he says in his lofty way of superior erudition and fidelity to facts. This cheap taunt is surely absolutely unworthy of a writer who should be aware that no one as yet knows the origin of the fair. I see no reason against mentioning its existence, among many others which Mr. Dunlop neglects, as evidence of trading activity in a region where Irish law and speech prevailed.

I do not propose to weary the reader by multiplying instances of this kind. The details of historical controversy interest few readers. Its personal aspect should interest none. The instances I have given are true samples of all the rest. I have gone carefully through the long indictment, and I note half a dozen minor points in which I am glad to correct an obvious misprint or to amend an error (not one of which, I would say, affects the drift of my argument). But the great statements of what I say, or dogmatic assertions which need for their

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discussion evidences which there is no attempt to offer—can give to little help. For an example of historical investigation of medical Irish history, of serious use of references and evidences, or of customer fairness in discussion, I must go elsewhere than to Mr. Dunlop.

With regard to evidence, I am charged with reports

With regard to evidence, I am charged with repudiating the test With regard to evidence, I mony of Spenser, Davies, Fynes Moryson, Cuellar, Derrick, and that tell against me. I have drawn very last mony of Spenser, Davies, 1 against me. I have drawn very largely official documents that tell against me all kinds, sources of the spenser of official documents that ten agent and official records of all kinds, sources of information of invaluable for my purpose. In the from State Papers and once time to my purpose. In the shaking is to be t bog of medieval testimony, some firm standing is to be found in statutes, ordinances, town records, cartularies, and the like. From them we rapidly come to more perilous regions—State Papers and letters—where every document needs to be considered as a separate 'source' to be separately discussed. Some were written by strangen newly come to the country—soldiers, secretaries, adventurers, spins others by higher officials struggling in an intricate tangle of intrigue or by a lower sort trying to make their way upwards; some by governors zealous to keep their credit amid the scandal of the Court; others by governors desperate to recapture a lost reputation. In the medley of partiality, prejudice, ignorance, despair, and triumph every one must judge to the best of his ability as to the value of the testimony; there can be no scientific accuracy in the measurement There is the same difficulty with the reports of a few Continental travellers, Italian or Spanish. Historians of Ireland have freely used the evidence of men, English or European, who came not knowing a word of the language, who traversed the country more or less rapidly under official guidance, or in the midst of armies occupied in a pettliarly ferocious warfare, or who attempted an uneasy living on the confiscated lands of the 'native' people-men, in fact, who knew practically nothing but destruction. From the study of other evidence I have come to think that the view which has generally been accepted from these gentlemen is imperfect and often erroneous. They could know nothing of an earlier time and had but a partial vision of their own.

Some well-thumbed later authorities have been found to give no trustworthy guidance for medieval Ireland, and they do not appear in that customary place of authority which had become their recognised privilege; on the other hand, some entirely new authorities have been called in and some which have lain unused.

Among the writers I am accused of neglecting is Captain Cuellar a Spaniard from the Armada, knowing no Irish, flying for his life, sometimes among people who had no good reputation with the Irish themselves, hiding himself in the wildest and most secret haunts districts swept and wasted from end to end by English soldiers I do not know why such an experience should be quoted as a fair record of ordinary Irish life in the plains, in times of peace, and among

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the richer and more settled clans. Mr. Orpen, in the English Historical the richer and historical from this little record every damaging phrase Review, has extracted from this little record every damaging phrase Review, has taken to be found in it and omitted every favourable one. Does to the Irish to be found in it and omitted every favourable one. Does to the Irish to be to the like? I have not done it because he wonder why I have not done it because he wonder why
I do not think it fair dealing or honest history to state as evidence I do not that Cuellar was 'robbed of all he possessed, stripped against the robbing and forced by a blacksmith to work'; and not to mention that the robbing and beating was the work of English troops mention the solitory unkindness have a spent at the blacksmith's forge was the solitary unkindness he suffered from any native Irishman in his seven months' wandering; that the moment an Irish chief heard of his misfortune he sent to take him to his own house; that in that seven months of journeyings in the wilds, from the day when cast on a Connacht beach he was hidden in pity by gallowglasses till the day when men of Ulster secured his escape across the sea, he was continually succoured by young and old, men and women. clerics and laymen, who pitied him, wept at his sufferings, showed him every hospitality and kindness, and guided him from shelter to shelter to hide him from the English. By what strange tradition, by what long prejudice is this perversion of evidence fabricated and admitted?

Besides English and Spanish testimony we have also some from the Irish themselves. Among Irish witnesses the great Galway scholar Dr. Lynch, writer of Cambrensis Eversus, stands high; no student can afford to neglect editions and translations made by Mr. Whitley Stokes and Professor Kuno Meyer in this country, and by Continental scholars; the translations of Dr. Douglas Hyde; the work of Dr. Norman Moore in the Dictionary of National Biography and elsewhere; or the collection of criticisms, translations, and summaries that make up the invaluable Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum by Mr. S. H. O'Grady.

Mr. Dunlop does not like poets. 'Surely she must know that the very stock-in-trade of a poet is pure moonshine,' he avers. However that may be, I may say that Mr. O'Grady's Catalogue contains a great deal that is not poetry. 'Must we remind her,' says Mr. Dunlop with the loftiest severity, 'that bard and annalist were often the same individual? The Catalogue would explain to him how impossible would be such a conception to the Irish world, where a bard was a mere natural poet who had not studied in the schools. Mr. Dunlop give one single instance of this frequent fact? A quotation from a blind poet peculiarly awakens his contempt, as he refers to it twice, repeating here the criticism of another writer of his school. Teigue Dall O'Higgin was a man of great eminence in his day; and I see no reason to believe that a blind man necessarily takes leave of all his senses. I have no doubt that Teigue was at home in all the gossip of Enniskillen, and that he could distinguish between the sounds

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of a smith's shop, or of women talking over their embroidery, and of men bringing boats to the shore. Other references to Fermanagh which I have given in my book, and indications in the English wars of the importance of water carriage on the lake, bear out the story of Teigue the Blind. He was right about the 'blue hills.'

If Mr. Dunlop accuses me of a 'partiality for native records' with all their 'rhetorical rhodomontade,' I frankly confess to a regard for the opinion of people who belong to a country and speak its tongue. I suppose that contemporary Irish witnesses, even the Four Masters, may be used with the same authority and the same limitations as English; nor do I know why the opinion of any stray traveller or minor official from over-sea, intent only on furthering his interests, is to be accepted without question, while the word of a deeply learned Anglo-Irish scholar of Galway, or of an eminent Irish poet who had visited every province of Ireland, is to be wholly suspect. I will give an illustration by recalling the case of Sir John Davies and of Dr. Lynch. To Mr. Dunlop the brief writings of Davies represent a very high authority, while the Cambrensis Eversus of Lynch is dismissed in one word as a 'political pamphlet.' He does not apparently think Davies had any political leanings. We usually think people impartial

who hold our own opinions.

In my book I have given definite reasons for thinking that Davies' acquaintance with Irish affairs was inadequate-in a short residence in the country of which he did not know the language, the law, or the history. My own judgment is that considering his imperfect means of knowledge, and his very strong bias of prejudice, his statements about Ireland before his coming there have no particular sanctity, and need to be tested and corroborated like those of any other writer. That he is sometimes at fault even a believer such as Mr. Dunlop seems in a hidden way to admit. Suggesting that my references to the cloth trade are not so novel as unwary readers might think, 'the excellent quality of Irish wool,' says Mr. Dunlop, 'is one of the best attested facts in Irish commercial history.' Then why has Mr. Dunlop until this moment excluded any slightest mention of wool in his summary of Irish trade? Was it too well known? Or was it because of the saying of Sir John Davies- for wool and wool-felts were ever of little value in this kingdom'? We are here shut into a denial of the well-attested commerce in wool, or to a doubt of the sufficiency of Sir John Davies as a witness; and we are left without guidance by Mr. Dunlop. On the whole, it seems judicious to depend on Davies evidence only for the things that lay within his immediate and direct observation. His opinion on all that he himself saw is worthy of respect, and we may admit the sound legal maxim that a man's evidence can always be accepted when it is given against himself.

The same distinction may surely be drawn in the case of Dr. Lynch. Davies was a man of English and Latin learning; Lynch a man of

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Irish and Latin learning. The historical criticism of their day was Irish and Little country, and as Davies leant to the English side of prejudice, Lynch leant to the Irish. But Lynch, like Davies, was, I of prejudice, a just reporter of what he had himself seen or had heard from believe, a just had heard from first-hand witnesses. And I have therefore quoted him, as I have bavies, for what had come within the range of his personal knowledge, Davies, not for matters of historical research. His testimony is of extraordinary and pathetic interest. Born in Galway in the last years of Elizabeth, when the city still preserved its old culture and the remnants of its old wealth, Lynch was one of the last scholars who ever saw and knew the Anglo-Irish civilisation. It is not any single picture that he gives that is important; it is the host of scattered and chance allusions, as to things well known to every Irishman in his day, which reveal to us the society in which he had been brought up. It is touching to remember that he was the last to say a good word for the medieval civilisation. After his death a darkness and silence of hundreds of years fell over that story, and it is across nearly three centuries that Irishmen will now have to take hands with Lynch and carry on his justification of the Ireland which was being gradually built up by the work of Gaels, Danes, Normans, and English in their common country.

This, however, is just what Mr. Dunlop denies. He 'begs leave to doubt' that the 'native Irish' in the fifteenth century developed the resources of the country. By omitting all contemporary references to timber, to leather, and to salmon, of course it can be said there was no medieval trade in these. The plan seems unsatisfactory, and I have not followed it. Mr. Dunlop, for example, blames me for not quoting an English poem (no pure moonshine here—perhaps a farthing dip) which does not mention leather, as proof that there was no leather trade. I have quoted the Libel elsewhere, but on this point I preferred the direct evidence of the records of the Bruges Staple; and I have since added notices in the Hansisches Urkundenbuch for leather sent in 1304, 1327, 1453 to Bruges, Dinant, and Portugal. I would ask which is the historical method: to close the question once for all with the negative silence of an anonymous English writer whom we think,' says Mr. Dunlop, in one of his easy moods about evidence, 'had a pretty accurate notion of what constituted Irish commerce'; or to pursue enquiry in business records of the ports and seek to ascertain the exact facts?

The art of making linen was known, according to Mr. Dunlop, to the 'native Irish, as it is to most primitive races.' But what they made in Ireland was 'of a very coarse kind, and its use was practically restricted. restricted to the wealthier class, viz. the merchants of the towns.' What is his proof for all this? Was it the town merchants that Campion 1 Campion describes in their linen shirts for wantonness and bravery, thirty want about the thirty yards are little enough for one of them'? What about the

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great linen rolls on the Irishwomen's heads, and (is the inference too great linen rolls on the Historian also? What about the fine linen romantic?) perhaps on their bodies also? What about the fine linen romantic ?) perhaps on their bottom the Spanish hanged after the in which the Galway women wrapped the Spanish hanged after the in which the Galway women was I have a line of line of the Armada? When I read of 6000 bales of line of cloth sent from Galway Armada! When I read of order to Genoa in 1492, or of 4000 linen cloths mentioned in 1499 in another Galway merchant's will, or of the 'sardok' of mixed woollen and linen in the Netherland markets in 1353, or of Henry the Eighth forbidding Galway any more to export linen, the records of the time seem to conflict with the opinions which Mr. Dunlop 'begs leave' to hold.

Mr. Dunlop now admits for the first time some trade in cloth, but with a stipulation of his own that it was all made by Englishmen, He does not trouble to consider such a clue as we find in the State Papers of Galway merchants carrying their wine into the country to exchange among other things for cloth. He has his own theory; 'it is pretty clear from such expressions as Limerick cloak, Galway mantle, Waterford rug, that the centres of the cloth industry lay within the sphere of English influence'; the participation of the Irish was excluded by severe guild regulations, and 'it may not be unfair to infer that the reputation acquired abroad by Ireland in regard to its serges was not due to the industry of its native population.' This insinuating hypothesis is a flaming fact on the next page, where it appears the 'native Irish' (no inferring here to dull the conclusion) took no part in the commercial development of their country, leaving it to the stranger within their gate, and thereby earning from the latter the reproach of idleness.' If there were, as Mr. Dunlop 'prefers to think, some loyal Irishmen who preferred English civilisation and the chances it offered them of pushing their way in life to their native customs, he states that the presence even of such loyal Irishmen 'was not always welcome to citizens of English blood.' Thus the English of the towns must have toiled day and night to supply the mantles which the English Government forbade to loyal people, and to provide cloaks and cloth for the foreign trade, since in their incessant struggle to preserve themselves intact from Celtic influence they refused the aid of Irish hands to work for them. It is an idyllic picture of high purpose and endeavour, of the way to develop a country, and to make an empire.

We are not, however, shut up to this series of hypotheses. town records themselves and English State Papers, as I have shown, give sufficient proof that the 'native population' were not, in fact, rejected from the town industries. Mr. Dunlop denies this; he thinks the towns remained pure English. He is sure that all the Galway people shaved their upper lip weekly. Henry the Eighth was not so sure of it when, in 1536, he sent orders from Westminster to Galway men to shave themselves aright. When Mr. Dunlop, to prove that the Galway citizens consistently desired to keep themselves free from Irish customs, quotes laws against Irish games and keening, free from 171511 without date. My contention is that, if it was he quotes late as 1527 and 1625 to enact these laws if it was he quotes that as 1527 and 1625 to enact these laws, this, with necessary as late as 1527 and 1625 to enact these laws, this, with necessary as the indications that I have mentioned, shows that a number of other indications that I have mentioned, shows that a number of desire 'was not very effective, and that there was the citizens that there was an Irish population ready to push its way in trade, but not anxious their native customs.' No doubt the an Irish popular native customs.' No doubt the extent to which to drop the extent to which trish names were changed must be conjectural; but there is evidence Irish names and change did take place. My grant Irish names that such change did take place. My suggestion that 'White' that such that Such that White's may indicate an Irish house gives Mr. Dunlop an opportunity may indicate his knowledge of Gaelic. He informs me, on the authority of O'Donovan, that there is no such Gaelic name as Geal and imagines that settles the matter. He has never, then, heard of the name Fionn, which has been anglicised by 'White' for centuries, just as a well-known Scotch writer of our day calls himself Henry

White or Fionn indifferently.

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As for intellectual culture, Mr. Dunlop is brevity itself. He has scarce a page for that chimera. The Irish were barbarous; the Anglo-Normans contaminated. His method is summary. The evidence of Mr. Whitley Stokes, of Dr. Norman Moore, of Mr. S. H. O'Grady, of Dr. Kuno Meyer has too little importance with him to be mentioned, and he can thus more easily avoid all proof of Irish scientific skill in medicine, or of the admirable quality of their translations from the Latin. He necessarily omits all mention of the many Irish scholars on the Continent, for has he not himself told us only one Irish chieftain made the perilous journey to Rome and back? He has no reference to buildings or arts which indicate the intercourse of Irish chiefs with the Continent. He is silent on the schools from which Irishmen were able to pass to foreign universities. He seems not to have heard of evidence of Latin culture collected by Mr. Justice Madden. And most wonderful to say, he seems entirely unaware of the importance of the list I have published, for the first time (by the generous kindness of a great scholar), of Irish translations of Continental works. Perhaps he felt himself anticipated by the conclusive comment I saw from a dashing newspaper critic, that 'the Irish evidently satisfied themselves with translations'! In any case, he never hints at this list or its value as evidence. So astonishing a neglect of the greater matters of evidence, while every detail that could by any means discredit me is searched out, is surely a grave abuse of the historical method. In the matter of culture Mr. Dunlop confines himself with a singular restraint to a single topic—the list of Irishmen at Oxford. In this he counts many Anglo-Norman and only seventeen Gaelic names, and this solitary fact is enough to make him astonished that I 'did not recognise how utterly untenable is her theory of the absorption of Anglo-Irish culture by the native Irish.' Those readers who will turn to the turn to the chapters on Irish learning in my book will perhaps be

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astonished, not at the theory that there was culture in Ireland, but astonished, not at the theory and the suppression of evidence which

Mr. Dunlop meets with a direct negative my statement that Mr. Dunlop meets with a Sussex and Sidney carried off in their train every notable chief's son Sussex and Sidney carried on the gives no more than his own authority but I rity. My statement is perhaps too comprehensive, but I have given numerous instances (pp. 425-437) to show that the method certainly used by Sussex and Sidney, so far as they could, was steadily increased and extended in proportion as the English power gradually spread over one Irish region after another. The English took over the Irish system of hostages, but they developed it in a new way. The Catholic chief's son was brought up in London as a Protestant, in English law and language and tradition, with the avowed purpose of spiritually severing him from his people, and leaving the clan without a natural leader or defender in the national conflict; their chiefs, in fact, were to be made the very instruments for dividing and subjugating their own people. In the words I quoted, it was a method which 'not only rent asunder the bonds of national loyalty and of natural affection, but which forced parent and child alike to believe that in this world and in the world to come they were divided by an impassable abyss.' Surely there is no likeness in this deliberate plan to the Irish chief's use of his hostage; it was, indeed, practised with consummate art by Turkey.

In this article Mr. Dunlop proposed to prove two facts: first, that Celtic civilisation is largely a figment of my imagination; and, secondly, that far from composing one nation, the English element in Ireland was proud of its origin, and struggled incessantly to preserve itself intact from Celtic influence. One part of his plan is destructive, and the second constructive. Unfortunately the work of destruction has proved so alluring that the constructive scheme is abandoned. As to the value of the destructive work, I contend that Mr. Dunlop's criticisms are not so historically accurate, so reasonable, or so candid, that they can serve for correction or instruction. I contend further that even on the generous assumption that the whole of Mr. Dunlop's criticisms might happen to be valid, there would still remain untouched the main body of my evidence and the whole current of my argument. And I confidently believe that the history of Ireland will be rewritten on truer lines and surer foundations than those sketched out in the Cambridge Modern History and the Quarterly Review. But perhaps Mr. Dunlop will go farther. It would be pleasant to hear, in more detail, his views on 'the Iberian element in the nation.'

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN.

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# CALIGULA'S GALLEYS IN THE LAKE OF NEMI

THERE are even in Italy few such beautiful spots as the Lake of Nemi. Situated in a deep crater dating from one of the more ancient of five periods of eruption attributed by geologists to the Alban Mountain, periods been likened to a cup with wine glimmering in its depth; and the woods of ilex around it, to a sacred wreath around the cup. It is a still sheet of water framed in by magnificent grey crags rimmed with dark evergreens; and so completely does silence reign, that during many hours lately spent there, except for the occasional stir of the trees, were heard only two sounds—the deep-tongued bells of Genzano and the croaking of a pair of ravens. Ridge upon ridge above it the forests (formerly the hiding-place of Gasperone) rise up to Monte Cavo, like steps placed there for the gods leading down to this enchanted pool-for ages consecrate to Diana, and still called by the simple country folk 'Lo Specchio di Diana,' or, the mirror of Diana. It measures but a mile and a quarter across, and four miles in circumference. It is drained off into the western Campagna, and to the sea beyond that, by an ancient 'emissarium,' or tunnel, 1640 yards in length, the precise age of which is not yet ascertained.

Ovid, Virgil, Propertius, all refer to it as Lacus Nemorensis, a lake (like that at Sicyon and Hoiran Göl), consecrated to the worship of Diana Aricina, and it is obvious that its present title of Nemi derives from its former sacred 'nemus' or grove. Strabo says 'the temple of the goddess is in the grove, and the deep lake lies opposite to it. People say that the cult here derives from the Tauric cult of Diana'; i.e. the Ephesian. Nevertheless, at whatsoever period it became Hellenised, the name of the Latian goddess survived.

This at once gives the position both of grove and temple. He further declares that the lake-water is supplied from a source, at once visible and close to the Temple of Diana. This is borne out by the presence thereby of a copious cascade, to-day known as La Tempesta, which gushes out of the steep wooded rocks beneath the castled town of Nemi, not far from the site under consideration.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, v.

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In 1885 the late Lord Savile at his own expense opened up a In 1885 the late Lord Survey spacious area cumbered with ancient remains corresponding to the spacious area cumbered with the position described by Strabo, near the northern margin of the lake; position described by Strabo, head he was immediately rewarded by finding abundant votive offer, and he was immediately rewarded by finding abundant votive offer. and he was immediately leweller, beyond question, identified the ings in terra-cotta and bronze, which, beyond question, identified the ings in terra-cotta and bronze, and to the situation of the 'Artemisium,' or Temple of Diana. Most of these situation of the Artemisian, terra-cotta objects related to women and to this goddess. It has been the site until control of the site until control possible to find many of these lying about the site until quite lately.

In some other openings, however, but little removed from this first excavation, were found remains of several male terra-cotta These were more or less fragmentary, and all of them in attitudes indicative of active motion.

One thing was evident, these could have had nothing to do with the essentially feminine cult of Diana Taurica. One of these figures wears around his chest a thong, or fascia, such as were worn by charioteers. With these was found a fine votive vase, upon the body, or bowl, of which is represented, in full action, a horse-race, with the 'meta' (or goal), and the 'ova' (eggs) representing the customary seven rounds of the circus-course. Further (and that is an interesting point), four of the 'ova' are displayed fallen; showing that three more rounds of the race have yet to be run. The riders are nude, and two griffons (for Nemesis) are seen seizing a stumbling horse, and tearing it. But what should such a vase be doing in precincts of Diana? How can we explain the presence of these distinctly masculine offerings within a precinct peculiarly sacred to a feminine cult?

Possibly the explanation of this may throw light on the significance of the sunken galleys still lying in the adjacent lake. Some writers have attempted to account for the presence there of the famous barges, as having pertained to Diana and her sanctuary, and having been connected perhaps with her picturesque processions on the 15th of August; but it must be confessed that, although ingenious, this hypothesis taken alone is scarcely sufficient to explain all the evidences.2

Let us rather begin by stating that besides Diana there was another divinity worshipped at this place, from pre-historic times; and by name, Virbius. Indeed, tradition recognised this Virbius as the primeval King of the Wood, that is to say, the tree-spirit of the In the belief of the Aryan races that tree was the divine accumulator of solar energy, represented by the mistletoe, or golden bough, which grew upon it. When our trees in Europe become leafless and 'bare ruined choirs—where late the sweet birds sang, the real life of them is held to have passed into the mistletoe which grows upon them; and, accordingly, in later days, it was regarded as very sacred, and came to be suspended for felicitous usages at the Winter Solstice, or our later Christmas.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mon. Antichi dei Lincei, xiii. p. 58.

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Now, the Latin god Virbius, worshipped at Nemi, was believed Now, the Ball of the sun's fire and light, and he was represented each year to rekindle the Empire by a base-born man who each year to remine the Empire by a base-born man who, strangely there was regarded as his own re-incarnation. Ovid do there until the transfer the was regarded as his own re-incarnation. Ovid describes this enough, was regarded as 'Strong of hand and swift of foot's enough, was regard as 'Strong of hand and swift of foot.' Besides King of the Wood as 'Strong of Flamen Virbialis. This King of the wood a Besides King of the wood of his priest, or Flamen Virbialis. This priestly post, him, we hear of his Imperial days by one who conjoined in Imperial days by one who c him, we near the large in Imperial days by one who conjoined with it free however, was held in Imperial days by one who conjoined with it free however, was held in Imperial days by one who conjoined with it free however, was in the knightly rank, and also magisterial functions—such as birth, the knightly rank, and also magisterial functions—such as birth, the Angelia Games.' It will therefore be of no little interest Editorship of the Games be found to throw for the contractions he found to throw for the contractions have been determined by the contractions and the contractions have been determined by the contractions and the contractions are contracted by the contraction of the Editorship of this well-horn priest to the horn light upon the if, in the little relationship of this well-born priest to the base-born 'Rex.' For it relationship fact that the Flamen of Virbius who superintended his is a summing cult and sacrifices (about which unfortunately we know but little) should socially be so superior to his master. So far, it is perhaps to be explained only by the notion that the incarnated God, like the man-eating tiger, was bound to lead a degraded life.

The curious conditions pertaining to the Rex Nemorensis are now well known, largely owing to Mr. Frazer's noble volumes entitled The Golden Bough, in which (as a text for his theory) he recapitulates the various passages in ancient authors relating to the subject.

Pausanias relates that the people at Aricia (i.e. Nemi) told him the old Greek story of Hippolytus having been brought back to life by Aesculapius, and having come from Greece to Aricia and there founded an area sacred to Diana Artemis, 'where,' he says, 'down to my time the priesthood of the goddess is the prize of a victory in single combat. The competition is not open to free men, but only to slaves who have run away from their masters.' 5

Another peculiarity needs be recalled-namely, that no horses were permitted to approach the sacred grove here. This, as Professor E. Pais has pointed out, was placed in relation with the very name of Hippolytus and with the Hippoi, or unlucky horses, which dragged that hero to his death. That is to say, the Aricians identified Virbius (to whom was dedicate a portion of the neighbouring Via Appia, as Clivus Virbius) with the son of Theseus, just as they identified Diana with Artemis. Syncretism had done its work there; and this may have been an attempt on the part of the local authorities to account for the combined cults of Diana and Virbius at Nemi, and their correlation. The latter consisted in the fact that the 'Rex,' or incarnation of Virbius (doubtless the Sun God), was likewise the hereditary priest of Diana. He was the slayer who must himself be slain, and the Keeper of the Golden Bough, or mistletoe, in the sacred

Now, this base-born Rex, or 'Servus Rex,' is without difficulty to be identified with the traditional sixth king of Rome, Servius, who

<sup>3</sup> Fasti, iii. 271. 4 C.I.L. x. 1493. 5 ii. 27, Pausanias (J. G. Frazer).

established the Federal temple of Diana upon the Aventine Hill, and a sanctuary for fugitive slaves established the Federal temple of religious for fugitive slaves. For, of rallying-point for the Plebs, and a sanctuary for fugitive slaves. For, of rallying-point for the Pieus, and the was born of a slave-mother, and so him, too, we not only hear that he met his death like Him and so him, too, we not only near that he met his death like Hippolytus, called Servius (Tullius), but that he met his death like Hippolytus, called Servius (Tulius), but the called Servius (Tulius), but the called Clivus being trampled upon by chariot-horses in a street there called Clivus being trampled upon by chartes Professor Pais has demonstrated Urbius (i.e. Virbius). This, as Professor Pais has demonstrated that Servius Tullius may have been been provided in the Professor Pais has demonstrated that Servius Tullius may have been provided in the Professor Pais has demonstrated the Professor Pais h Urbius (i.e. Virbius). Tillo, Tullius may have been the points to the conjecture that a priest of Arician Diana transferred to Rome. There is evidence in priest of Arician Diana dianastrative of the Aventine cult upon Tacitus (Annales, xii. 8) of the dependence of the Aventine cult upon that of Aricia.

We are further informed by Strabo that the Rex Nemorensis went about at times armed with a long knife in view of encountering his would-be assassin and successor. This candidate for sanguinary honours, however, had, before doing murder, to cut the mistletoe from the sacred grove and then engage in the mortal combat. If the Rex won (as sometimes no doubt he did), it would be interesting to know that he offered up his fallen antagonist to Virbius or Diana.

But we have not here to enquire further into the causes of this extraordinary procedure. We have, instead, to keep attention upon the fact that the King of the Wood forms the connecting link between Diana and Virbius, and then to adduce a circumstance and one or two facts related of Caius Caesar (Caligula) by Suetonius in his Life of that Emperor.

It is therein stated that this interesting tyrant, being of a mind that the reigning Rex Nemorensis had enjoyed his sinecure too long, gave permission to one of his stalwart slaves to go and wrest the priesthood from him, if he could. We do not hear the result of the struggle.

The question arises, Why should Caligula have been interested in such a matter, or in the special priesthood of Virbius and Diana?

If we recall the most salient features of the Emperor's daily life we shall find that the two passions, par excellence, of this maniac great-nephew of Augustus were (1) for horses and (2) for the water. The latter taste he may have acquired through having been brought up at Capri under the Emperor Tiberius, who once prophetically said of him, I fear I am rearing a watersnake (natricem) for the people of Rome.' At a later day, as if in imitation of Xerxes building his bridge across the Hellespont, Caligula set about constructing one three and a half miles long, from Baiae, in the sea, even to Puteoli (Pozzuoli).

As to his obsession for the circus, the same writer tells us

that he was so extravagantly fond of the charioteers of the Green faction that he supped and lodged constantly in the stables where the horses were kept. He made a present of two millions of sesterces to one Cythicus, a driver of chariots. The day before the circus games he used to send soldiers to enjoin silence in the neighbourhood, so that his favourite horse 'Incitatus' (Go-ahead) might not be disturbe

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<sup>6</sup> Dion. Halic. iv. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Suetonius, Vita Calig. xi.

To honour this favourite animal, besides a marble stable, an ivory disturbed. To honour this favourite animal, besides a marble stable, an ivory disturbed. To honour this favourite animal, besides a marble stable, an ivory disturbed and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a mansion, fine manger, purple housings and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a mansion, fine manger, purple housings and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a marble stable, an ivory disturbed housings and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a marble stable, an ivory disturbed housings and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a mansion, fine manger, purple housings and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a mansion, fine manger, purple housings and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a mansion, fine manger, purple housings and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a mansion, fine manger, purple housings and a jewelled frontlet, he appointed a mansion, fine manger, purple housings and a retinue of slaves, to serve for the reception of such as were intended in the horse's name to sup with him. It was even said that he proposed vited in the horse's name to sup with him. Consul.<sup>8</sup>

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One especial circumstance (as we have already noted), which has One especial of Virbius at Nemi, is that no come down to us respecting the cult of Virbius at Nemi, is that no to explain this by averring that it was been less that no horse was permitted to explain this by averring that it was because the horses attempted to explain thad killed Hippolytus son of The attempted to depart the horses which drew his chariot had killed Hippolytus, son of Theseus, a favourite which drew have already noted) they had because the horses which drew had learned to identify of Diana, whom (we have already noted) they had learned to identify of Diana, whom to identify with Virbius. Pausanias says that at Epidaurus the Temple of with viroles. The Lemple of Assembaping that Hippolytus on returning Assembaping to Assembaping the Assembaping to Assembaping Aesculapius dedicated there to Aesculapius twenty chariot horses. It to life hat to say whether his name, signifying the 'horse-freer,' derives from the story, or the story from it. He was possibly a god of hunting or chariot-racing; and in all probability was a male counterpart of Diana. At any rate, the connexion of Virbius with Diana and Virbius with unlucky chariot-horses was quite sufficiently made out to the Roman mind in Imperial times. Mr. Frazer and others infer, with much probability, that an annual horse-sacrifice, like that to Mars at Rome, was made to him at Nemi. Here, then, it is of interest to remember that the Aventine temple of Diana overlooked the Circus Maximus.

I venture to suggest, therefore, that this chariot-racing may in some way have been the very reason for Caligula's attention having been drawn to the Lake of Nemi and its priest-king. Moreover, that the presence on the spot of a votive vase representing a circus race, and the fragments of male statuettes of charioteers, may be accounted for here by the cult of Virbius, that had been overlaid by the Greek legend of Hippolytus, the favoured of Diana. It is manifest that so delirious a devotee of the circus as this Emperor, had natural reason for holding intimate relations with all divinities connected with the steed, and especially as against evil-fortune with it. It was for such a reason, perhaps, that we find him insolently proclaiming his intimacy with Castor and Pollux, the horse-taming sons of Leda and Jove, and exposing himself nude, between their statues in the Forum, in order (it was averred) to obtain a share of their worship. It is manifest the terra-cotta statuettes were 'votive.'

But let us return to Caligula's other passion: that for water, and the things of the water. It was probably on the occasion of his visit to Syracuse, where he exhibited Grecian games, that he first learned about a celebrated galley once made there, by Archimedes, for Hiero to present to Ptolemy, king of Egypt. This amazing vessel

Suetonius, Vita Calig. lv.

obviously amounted to a magnificent floating villa; for besides con-March obviously amounted to a mag. taining a banqueting hall, a library, a temple, and baths, it was a piscina. It was taining a banqueting nan, a mountains, and a piscina, it was adorned with trees, flowers, and fountains, and a piscina. It thus adorned with trees, nowers, and adorned with trees, nowers, the Atlantic triumphs of our own day, surpassed in its enchantments the Atlantic triumphs of our own day.

passed in its enchantments the passed in its enchantments the care of this extraordinary and the contract of this extraordinary care of the care of th Emperor:

He built two galleys having ten banks of oars; the poops of which blazed He built two galleys having ten sails were parti-coloured. These were fitted up with jewels, while the sails were parti-coloured with a great variety of which blazed with a great variety of which which with the which which will be a great variety of which which will be a great variety of which which will be a great which which will be a great whit will be a great which will be a great which will be a great whi with jewels, while the sais were party and supplied with a great variety of vines ample baths, galleries, and saloons, and supplied with a great variety of vines ample baths, galleries, and salouis, the daytime along and growing fruit trees. In one of these he would sail in the daytime along and concerts of much faceting amidst dancing amidst dam and growing fruit trees. In one of the coast of Campania, feasting amidst dancing and concerts of music, In the coast of Campania, feasting amidst dancing and concerts of music, In the coast of Campania, reasonable to effect building his palaces and villas there was nothing he so much desired to effect as what was considered impossible.9

Now, if he built such amazing galleys, like that of Hiero, for the coast of Campania, mad as such a feat undoubtedly was—to do the like on a little deeply-shut-in lake, like this of Nemi, was surely even more crazy. But here, precisely at this northern end of the lake, there are lying at this moment, at right angles to one another, two galleys such as Suetonius has described, and although they have been locally known for many centuries as belonging to Tiberius, recent research beneath the water has succeeded in appropriating them to their real constructor. For on several lengths of leaden piping laid for the purpose of supplying water in and about these huge galleys, and which have been brought up by the divers, the inscriptions read : 'Gaii Caesaris Augusti Germanici'; therefore, unquestionably, they pertain to the son of Germanicus, otherwise to Caligula, and so they must be dated between the years A.D. 37 and A.D. 41. These pipes measure nine inches in diameter (fifteen centimetres). This date has been further corroborated by the discovery of tiles bearing the name of Marcus Fulvius Zosimus, which occurs in other imperial structures of that period. Further, the exquisitely realistic sculptures in bronze 10 found among the fittings of the sunken ships only serve to amplify the assurance as to the period to which they belong. Among these occurs an arm and hand slightly archaic, having very square finger-nails.

This brings us to the story of archaeological research relating to the subject, and this (it is well known) commences with the fifteenth century. About the year 1435 Cardinal Prospero Colonna, the then owner of the castles of Genzano and Nemi, the two villages overlooking the lake from the lofty ridge of its crater, having learned that the fishermen not infrequently drew ashore in their nets objects of wood and bronze which evidently belonged to sunken structures, began to inquire how it could be that such should have been constructed there, in a small inland lake surrounded by really high moun-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> All now placed on view in the Museo Nazionale, at Rome. 10 Suetonius, Caligula, xxxvii.

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tains. His curiosity led him to desire closer acquaintance with the but undoubted facts. To this end he communication tains. His curround facts. To this end he communicated with the but undoubted facts. To this end he communicated with strange pattista Alberti, the celebrated architect of Rimini Co. strange but uncoast, the celebrated architect of Rimini Cathedral.

Leon Battista Alberti, the celebrated into the subject and Leon Battista The entered enthusiastically into the subject, and presently The latter entered rafts laid upon quantities of harrels The latter entered rafts laid upon quantities of barrels, capable of devised some large rafts windlasses with which he presently devised some large and great windlasses with which he presently prosustaining cranes and great vessel. He then procured for sustaining crained to raise the imagined vessel. He then procured from Genoa posed to raise who should descend for him into the laborate posed to raise who should descend for him into the lake to ascertain expert divers who should descend four-pronged anchors and expert divers and to attach four-pronged anchors and ropes, so as

One result of this bold experiment was to break off, in the effort, to draw it to land. on, in the effort, a portion of the stem of the vessel. The operation caused so great a portion in Rome that crowds of eager folk, including grand a sensation and to come out of the city in order to inspect the objects discovered, and to carry off mementoes. Among these of course were beautiful marbles, plates of lead, and portions of the pipes before-mentioned, together with magnificent bronze nails some even a cubit in length! Flavio Biondo, a contemporary, in his Italia Illustrata, relates that the wood of which the vessel was constructed was recognised by Alberti to be larch, or 'larice.' We to-day are enabled to corroborate a curious detail—that externally the vessels were coated with lead, covering a stiff lining of woollen-cloth padding fastened in with bronze studs. The wonderment, however, lasted but a little time. The expense prevented further work.

The operations were, in fact, suspended until 1535, or a century later, when another architect and military engineer, Francesco de' Marchi, of Bologna, was called in to try new experiments for raising the obdurate vessel. He tells us:

I have seen and touched it with my hands, so I will speak something of that which I know. The ship lies sloping in the lake and near to the shore which looks eastward. Master Guglielmo da Lorena made a contrivance by which he entered the water and made himself descend to the bottom of the lake; and there he remained an hour, more or less, just as he wished, until the cold drove him up again. With this contrivance of his, one can work, sawing, cutting, corking-up, tying ropes; one can also operate with hammers, chisels, pincers and other such tools, though one can use but little force because of the hindrance of the water. When the sun is shining one can see not a little, as when I was there on July 15th, 1535. One views (the object) through a crystal window of about the size of one's palm; and everything seen through it, however small, appears large; much larger than it really is. I say that the fishes called Laterini' in this lake, which are no bigger than the smallest finger of one's hand, look as fat as a man's arm and as long as three palms. And had I not known about these fishes I should have been much alarmed, owing to their multitudes. For I carried with me four ounces of bread and one ounce of cheese to eat; and the bread being dry it crumbled; wherefore the fishes came around me in around me in vast numbers, and being without my garments they began to prick me I vast numbers, and being without my garments they began to Prick me. I drove them away with my hands; but they didn't mind that, feeling that the feeling that they were in their own house, as it were. I caught one, which seemed quite let were in their own house, as it were. seemed quite large; but it proved to be no fatter than my second finger.

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I carried it above with me, thinking it might weigh thirty ounces, but it proved I carried it above with me, thinking it might be a superior of the cause to weigh no more than twelve. The reason I had no garments on was because to weigh no more than twelve. Duke Alessandro de' Medici, one of the cause to weigh no more than twelve. The reason to weight no more than the reason to weight no more in the days of my former master, Duke II. I the fisher. There men in the Arno went to fish with his hands and dived beneath the river. There he got caught in the branches of a camera with cotton, musk my reason. Master Guglielmo wished me to stop up my ears with cotton, musk, &c. reason. Master Guglielmo wisned into coop if called. And, although I was But this I forbore to do, lest I should not hear if called. And, although I was But this I forbore to do, lest I should he Romane,' and was called at many not deeper below the water than six 'Canne Romane,' and was called at many not deeper below the water than one times at the top of the voice, I failed to hear and yet I heard well enough the times at the top of the voice, I failed to hear and yet I heard well enough the times at the top of the voice, I take sound of two stones when struck together below the water at half-arm's length, and further. I staid half an hour down there the first time.

He goes on to describe how his nose began to bleed and also his mouth and ears, and he had to give a sign to his comrades to draw him up, He presently plunged in, he says, for a swim, and the bleeding ceased When next he went down he attached ropes to the wreck and enough of it to load two stout mules was drawn up by the windlass working on the raft above. The wood now proved to be of three species, larch, pine, and cypress; while the pegs were of oak. He found many bronze nails as fresh as if made yesterday. These, he says, fastened the plates of lead on the exterior. There was also a lining of linen between the lead and the timber. Within the ship were pavements of tiles two feet square (bipedales), also segments of red marble and enamel,

Here were the rooms of the palace which I did not dare to enter, both for fear of losing myself and also on account of the machine within which I was, which if a man did not keep it upright, he would suddenly be drowned by the water coming in; though one who knew how to swim might save himself by quitting the machine. Master Guglielmo said that there were beams of bronze down there; but I did not see them. We found anchors which had been used in operations in the time of Flavio Biondo. Measuring the ship we found it in length seventy canne,11 and in width thirty canne, the height from keel to deck eight canne. All my measurements and relics, however, were robbed from me by certain ones who hoped to discover in the material something about the make of this ingenious instrument of Master Guglielmo. But they found nothing; and I have sworn on the Sacrament not to divulge the secret while the Master lives. All I know is that this ship is in this lake, and only one particle is wanting to its completeness, and that is wanting because Master Guglielmo took it away.

Various attempts were made once more, in 1827, by one Annesio Fusconi, an engineer, who used Halley's diving-bell; but the results were unsatisfactory. Nibby, the Roman archaeologist, was present, and came to the erroneous conclusion, with those who were employed in diving to see the remains, that they must have pertained to a villa which Julius Caesar is known to have built at Nemi, but which, displeasing him, he destroyed. 'He pulled down a villa which he had built from the foundations at Nemi, because it did not exactly suit his taste, although his means were, at the time, but slender.' 12

The real secret of the waters of Nemi, so long and jealously preserved, remained with them until September 1895, when Signor

<sup>11</sup> A canna = 6 feet 5 inches.

<sup>12</sup> Suetonius, Julius Caesar, xlvi.

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Borghi obtained permission from Prince Orsini to employ Borghi of the first research. Guided by the fisherman, Cav. divers Malfatti and two divers soon located the first of the f divers and make and two divers soon located the first of two mag-Vittorio Malfatti and the therein, at a distance sixty-five factor Vittorio Manacot that lie therein, at a distance sixty-five feet from the nificent galleys that a depth of thirty feet. At right angles to the nificent state of two magnificent galleys that a depth of thirty feet. nificent gameys at a depth of thirty feet. At right angles to it, some shore, and feet distant, they found a second ship. shore. It has the stant, they found a second ship; and besides two hundred found a structure resembling a pier of the stant was found a structure resembling a pier of the stant was found a structure resembling a pier of the stant was found a structure resembling a pier of the stant was found as the stant was found a structure resembling a pier of the stant was found as the stant was foun two hunared there was found a structure resembling a pier or mole.

By attaching long cords with corks to the galleys, the divers By avoid ganeys, the divers gadually sketched out in outlines on the surface the shape of the gradually shows the snape of the vessels. The writer can recollect the feeling of awe which thrilled vessels. The which thrilled those looking on at the design developing slowly upon the face of the those looking us of the peculiar, if not unique, historic wonders waters, morning the first vessel was found to be ninety feet, by below. The deeler was found to be ninety feet, by twenty-six in the beam. The decks were found to be paven with elaborate mosaic work in porphyry, green serpentine, and 'rosso antico,' intermingled with richly-coloured enamel. The bulwarks are cast in solid bronze once gilded, as traces showed.

From other parts of this vessel nearest the shore, which lies in shallower water than its fellow, the divers brought up the various beautiful sculptures besides quantities of fragments confirmatory to the letter of De' Marchi's description as to the structure and ingenious means employed to keep out leaks. The outer edge of the vessel is covered with cloth smeared with pitch, and over this occur folds of thin sheet-lead doubled over and fastened down upon it with It may be verified, when a yet more determined attempt shall be carried out to make the lake yield up bodily its treasure, that these great galleys may have been designed by their megalomaniac builder, Caligula, in imitation of those described in Suetonius as having been used by him along the neighbouring Campanian coast, for floating villas; but as to their purpose, it is at least as probable they were connected with the cult and festival of Virbius, representative of Hippolytus, the charioteer, as with those of Diana; were it not that the Ancients, as well as some moderns, have held that there is immediate relationship between It may thus have been that the Moon-Goddess and the lunatic. the Flamen Virbialis had advised the Emperor upon the spot that the 'Rex Nemorensis' had enjoyed too long a reign, or had in some way proved tyrannical. This would account for the flippant order of the Emperor that one of his slaves should challenge him, in order to assassinate him and appropriate his office.

The day when these galleys of Caligula shall be brought to land will be veritably a red-letter day in the archaeological calendar; but, owing both to their condition and the depth at which they lie, we may well doubt if that can ever take place.

ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

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## HOW WE CAME TO BE CENSORED BY THE STATE

II.-THE WEDGE

Perhaps because the player is obliged to appear in propria persona, and cannot be judged apart from his quasi-physical achievement, by proxy as it were, as can other artists, since it is unfortunately part and parcel of his accomplishment, the public have from the first displayed an intense curiosity to approach the Player as intimately as it can in his profession, as will be seen from the custom that prevailed up to far into the eighteenth century, of allowing spectators to sit on the stage to witness a play, and this in spite of repeated Royal commands to the contrary.

This hindrance was not finally abandoned until Garrick's time. It was the fashion amongst the modish to indulge their wit at the expense of any unoffending personage in the audience, and exchange compliments with any woman that took their fancy. Presumably, even gentlewomen were quite ready to enter into the spirit of it, for under their vizard masks they felt all the courage of incognito. But I cannot help feeling a mask was rather a protection against the free language of the courtiers than of the playwright or players. When Samuel Pepys saw Cromwell's daughter Mary, then Lady Falconbridge, in the theatre with her husband, he noticed with much pleasure that she became so embarrassed at the amount of attention and curiosity she was attracting that she put on her vizard mask, and so kept it on all the play, 'which of late has become a great fashion among the ladies which hides their whole face.' all events, we find a lady masking herself against the impertinence of the public. Performances that had at one time commenced at three o'clock or even earlier, at the end of the seventeenth century had reached a much later hour. On some occasions, by reason of the heat of the weather, the play did not begin till nine, nor was the house to be opened till eight. To all appearances the fop went to the playhouse to be observed or to show off his new periwig, or to pose as a man of fashion, and had as little critical faculty in judging a play rch

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as any modern youth of fashion who is to be found in the front as any modern who is to be found in the front as any modern of a musical comedy at the Gaiety. I cannot believe that human stalls of a musical deteriorated much more than in the stalls of a musical deteriorated much more than in the fashion of nature can have deteriorated much more than in the fashion of nature can have back from the forehead, instead of surmounting it combing the hair back from the fatuous young man in white wait combing the hard and the fatuous young man in white waistcoat and with a peruke; and the great deal of silk sock short with a peruke, with a great deal of silk sock showing, who lolls white kid gloves with a great deal of silk sock showing, who lolls white kid giova our playhouses to-day is in nothing different from in the stalls of our playhouses to-day is in nothing different from in the Stand Foppington of 1697, who remarked 'that a man must the Lord Foppington of look wholesome, lest he make so name the Lora ropped wholesome, lest he make so nauseous a figure in endeavour to the ladies should be compelled to turn their eyes upon

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the upper gallery was opened gratis to footmen waiting for their employers, and it is conceivable that, with the nobility and gentry so voluble in the pits and boxes, the lacqueys were not much more reticent amid the gods. This custom of admitting the footmen was not abandoned until the reign of George the Second, when, for their rudeness, they were not permitted the use of the gallery, until then reserved for or rather appropriated by them. Three hundred of them then armed themselves and broke into Drury Lane in the presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales. An endeavour was made to read the Riot Act, and some thirty of the ringleaders were seized and sent to Newgate. A threatening letter was sent to Fleetwood, the then patentee, that the footmen would raze the theatre to the ground unless their prerogative of a free pass was restored to them, but an efficient guard of soldiers on several subsequent nights terminated the affair, and this custom died out after being in existence a hundred years.

How and in what manner the players were able to make themselves heard on the stage it is difficult to understand, for there, too, a constant discussion was kept up on the current topics on both sides of the curtain. 'You speak so low,' cried an exasperated critic from the pit to an actor who could not be heard above the buzz of general conversation. 'And you too high,' returned the humiliated actor.

Steele, of one of his comedies, says: 'It had a clear stage and no favour.' This of a play in which he had endeavoured to clear the stage of any but the player during the performance, in accordance with a decree of Queen Anne's, in which she endeavoured to abolish both the custom of the spectators mixing with the players, and that of ladies wearing vizard masks at the play—a habit that, according to Colley Cibber, 'had so many ill-consequences attending it.' That was, however, two hundred years ago. There was a play last Spring in London at which I had been glad had it been the fashion to wear masks. In my defence I may say that I was there on the second night of the performance, ignorantly one of a few scattered spectators who had strayed in to hear a drama in a foreign tongue. Later I

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heard it was crowded, and I observed that by special request that particular play was repeated again and again.

We get some terrible pictures of private squabbles expanding We get some terrible products into a dangerous tumult when the Hanoverians were on the throng into a dangerous tumult when the Hanoverians were on the throng. In 1720, under Rich's management, a certain Earl, whose name I In 1720, under Kiell's history sober habit, seeing a friend of his on do not gather, but of no very sober habit, seeing a friend of his on do not gather, but of no very the play was in progress amid the other side, crossed the stage while the play was in progress amid a general uproar from the house. The manager then went to him and said: 'I hope your Lordship will not take it ill if I give orders to the stage-door keeper not to admit you any more; upon which the Earl, as he is called in the history, gives Rich a slap in the face, which is cordially returned by the manager. A grave scuffle ensues of patrons versus players, and Quin, Ryan, Walker, Rich, and others drive their patrons out by the stage door. The gentlemen re-enter by the boxes, cut the hangings of gilt leather finely painted, and do not desist until a constable and the watchmen take the rioters in charge, for which, as usual, the theatre is closed down—this time, indeed, not by command of the King, who henceforth ordered a guard to attend this theatre, but in order to repair the damage done during the riot.

We must, however, make allowances for an uncourteous period of manners, for, if the general public was not too gentle to the player. it is at any rate interesting to find that even the King was treated with the scantiest ceremony where an audience was kept waiting for him after the time advertised for the commencement of the play. George the Second, having arrived rather late on one occasion, was received with marked resentment by the public, and with violent expressions of disapproval. At this the King seems to have been embarrassed rather than angry, and with some readiness of resource advanced to the front of the box, pulled out his watch, pointed out the difference of time to his lord-in-waiting, and beat his misleading timekeeper against the box, which little pantomime highly delighted the audience and restored them to good humour. That evening was destined to be an amusing one. A centaur was introduced into the play, who had to pierce an adversary with an arrow; the weapon by an accident glanced into the King's box and grazed past him. At the sight of this the public rose in a great ferment, suspecting treason, and prepared to revenge the outrage, when all of a sudden the whole front of the centaur came off, and the carpenter who played the 'posterior' advanced and fell on his knees to the King, assuring him it was an accident. This was just the kind of performance that would tickle an audience to death, and George the Second voted the centaur's head and tail the most amusing thing of the evening. sovereign was often wont to be heard talking aloud in his box when he had any comments to make on anything that was said on the stage that attracted his attention; therefore it is not to be wondered

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at that where he set the example his subjects followed, and frankly at that white right to assert themselves, even to Royalty, as we insisted on the amusing affair of the four kings—four American see typhical see t Indian benefit of an Irish actor called Bowen who was playing Mac-The dense crowd assembled was in honour of the four Indian beth. rather than of the Scottish thane, and made a fine pother chiefs rather and noise when it found the chiefs could not be seen from the gallery. Nothing would serve their purpose than that four chairs should be placed on the stage, and the Indians solemnly escorted from their box to take their seats in full view of the house.

One is glad to think that when any very serious upheaval was contemplated by the gentlemen of the audience the ball opened with a preliminary ceremony of conducting all the women out of the pit, as, for example, in 1740, when a riot was organised on account of the non-appearance of a French dancer.

Colley Cibber, indeed, gives us a remarkable picture of these idlers who organised these revolutions. He says that they were more desirous to come in for their share of the attention of the audience than for any pleasure they could derive from the play, that they daily placed themselves where they could best inconvenience the actors and interrupt them by their conversation. The only expedient of the managers at last, as no Royal decree could stop this state of things, was to refuse to take money at the stage door from all persons and without distinction; and then they preserved to themselves the right and liberty of choosing their own company, but this does not show that they did not still admit their own friends to the stage. Indeed, at the benefits of those various players who were great favourites with the public, and for whose rich patrons there was otherwise insufficient room in the house, it was advertised that 'part of the pit will be railed into the boxes, and for the better accommodation of the ladies the stage will be formed into an amphitheatre where servants will be allowed to keep places.' If a big house was not secured there would be a notice to this effect: 'Not any building on the stage.' As far as I can gather this building rose on both sides of the stage up into what we call the flies or clouds, and on crowded nights the actors' entrances and exits must have been completely blocked by spectators, besides which there were canvassedin boxes so that the actors and actresses were continually disturbing people seated by the stage doors. The main entrance to this amphitheatre of stage seats was up steps from the middle of the back scene, and when that was filled there were groups of persons squatting on the stage three or four rows deep. Mr. Quin at the age of sixtyfive, dressed as Falstaff at his own benefit, was detained several minutes before he could pass through the numbers that wedged and hemmed him in. As to the actresses in the hoop of the period we

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can well picture the commotion and movement their entrance must have created as they tried to press through the ranks of the onlookers. Indeed, manners seem to have been left behind in the chairs and coaches that brought the great world to the playhouse. We read of one little illustration of this in 1717, when a pretty young actress of one little illustration of the opera, and is accosted by a is sitting in an upper box watching the opera, and is accosted by a military man who wishes to make her acquaintance, a desire by no military man who wishes to means reciprocated on the part of the lady, whose attention was engrossed by the play. The gentleman beside her taking umbrage, the soldier dropped compliments and began to talk offensively, which the actress resented, and in a very proper manner proceeded to what is colloquially called 'put him in his place.' On the next occasion of her public appearance in one of her best parts there was our friend the military gentleman ready with several others to interrupt her performance by calling out and shouting various forms of mockery, and even flinging things that he had brought for the purpose at the actress. At last one Englishman actually did wake up to the fact that this was unwarranted, and declared that no one but a fool or a bully would be capable of insulting an audience or a woman in such a monstrous way. This resulted in a duel in Hyde Park, in which, if history is correct, it is good to know that the officer got the worst of it, and in the end begged for his life.

At Covent Garden, where Quin and Mrs. Woffington held the stage, the exciting incident of Miss Bellamy's abduction has an original note in it. She was playing Lady Fanciful to Quin's Sir John Brute, when a gentleman called Metham begged to be allowed to speak with her in the hall of the theatre, and without more ado bore her away in his carriage. Quin appeared on the stage and explained this abduction to the audience, who were so thoroughly pleased with the episode that they seem to have made no comment about the

absence of the actress during the rest of the play !

The remarkable thing that strikes me most in the history of the theatre is that at all times the public took it upon themselves to interfere directly with the player's business on the stage. It never seemed to occur to any of the many brawlers and agitators to whom I have only made occasional references that the theatre is a financial venture, that it is as much the manager's affair as a bank or a brewery is the concern of the banker and the brewer and of no one else. In a lesser degree the same spirit survives to-day. The privacy of the actor or actress is never respected; the player's time is never to be considered his own. If a charity is in need of funds he must act for the cause; if a philanthropic institution needs subscriptions the player must speak on behalf of it; if the school boy or girl wants an autograph the player must sign it; if a man or woman be incapable of a concentrated attempt to earn his or her living by any other calling, the player must give an opinion as to his or her genius for acting.

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At no time is the player allowed the privacy of the politician, or the At no time is other public personage. There is no moment, during the poet, or any other I speak, at which the private individual stung two epochs of affront has not deliberately incited affront has not deliberately incited. two epochs of the city days of the sudjence by some real or fancied affront has not deliberately incited the audience by some real of the audience to riot, and has not unmolestedly damaged the theatre. With to riot, and Drury Lane, and Beard manager of Covent Garden, Garrick at Covent Garden, the patentees determined to suspend half prices—that is, no longer the patenties that is, no longer to allow the spectator to enjoy half the evening's performance to allow the street of the str that his expenses had risen from 30l. to 90l. per night, there seems every reason why he should have also increased the prices in the auditorium. Led by an Irishman called Fitzpatrick, who harangued the audience from the boxes, the public at Drury Lane received Garrick's explanation with an uproar of abuse and proceeded to tear up the benches and break the lustres and girandoles, and commit every act of violence which an infuriated mob can perpetrate. An actor, Moody, who had stopped some maniac from setting fire to the place, was called upon to apologise. He very wittily said he was very sorry he had displeased them in putting out the fire and saving their lives. The following evening the same scene was repeated at Covent Garden.

The damage done to Covent Garden took four or five days to repair, and the manager, tired out by the hissing and hooting that interrupted the performance, finally accorded the rioters what they fought for. Where was the Lord Chamberlain during all this scrimmage? We have seen how, from very early times, the stage is under the closest scrutiny on the part of authority—on what ground except for the protection of both stage and public from the dangers of each to each? Since when is justice in England administered for

the exclusive benefit of one side and none to the other?

To understand it we must go back—or, rather, not to understand it, to be more puzzled, perplexed than before-we must go back over the whole evolution of facts that culminated in the supreme act of control by the law introduced by Sir Robert Walpole, when that statesman was suffering from irritation at some fancied caricature of himself on the stage. The agitation started some time ago by a number of playwrights and players to limit the powers of the dramatic censorship has resulted in a Bill framed by Mr. Robert Harcourt, himself a writer of plays as well as a member of parliament. The Act proposes to transfer all licensing powers from the Lord Chamberlain's office to the London County Council, and in view of the question being shortly brought before us, it may be of some interest to the reader to trace the origin and growth of that officer's duties, and it will presently be seen that far from the office being the outcome of any delivers. of any deliberate scheme for the protection of public morality, it is merely the survival of certain temporary measures in the perpetual conflict between authority, with its wilful distrust of the stage, and the actor and manager who depend on it for a living.

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In the December number of this Review I went fully into the In the December number of the Celebrated Rogues and Vagabonds Act of 1597, which, I think, provided for the protection of both public and player against the nuisance of strolling and irregular theatrical companies. After James the First came to the throne it may be remembered

the Crown adopted all licensing powers.

When the Globe was burned down, Sir George Buck, the Master of the Revels, received 20l. as his fee for licensing a new theatre in Whitefriars. In 1620 there is a patent to King James's well-beloved servant—mark how the actor is addressed up to this time !—to play at the Globe, the Bankside, and Blackfriars Theatres.

Up to the time of Charles the First we find the aid of the Master of the Revels, Sir Henry Herbert, continually invoked for the protection of the players and the rectification of their wrongs; and when Prynne publishes the 'Histriomastix,' or 'Players' Scourge,' he, as we have seen, is heavily punished. But in 1642 the cant begins in good earnest on the part of Lords and Commons. 'Public stage plays do not agree with seasons of humiliation,' it is said. Then this cant and humbur crystallises into an Act forbidding playhouses and putting them down by order of a magistrate, when Prynne is released and the actor loses his liberty. Later Prynne recants and withdraws every word of his 'Histriomastix,' but liberty to actors is subject to the rights of the Master of the Revels, i.e. the Chamberlain-

to warn, command and support in all places with this our seal all and every play and play-writer, either belonging to any nobleman or otherwise, who must appear before him with all such plays or shows and thereto present or recite before our said servant whom we authorise to order and refer, authorise and put down such as shall be thought fit or unmeet. Should any disobey, he may attach them and commit them to ward. We command you to assist him.

And they do assist one another. When one gives permission and the other has not license, it is always an appeal to the Privy Council or a request to the Lord Mayor to use his authority. What was in truth nobody's business became everybody's business. All this while, until the Restoration, the Master of the Revels, who had actually purchased his place and had received it from Charles the First as a grant for two lives, had been making a very good thing of it. He had a fee of two guineas on every new play (it is less nowadays than then because the value of money has risen), a benefit worth 100l. per year, Christmas-box and Easter-egg of 6l. from each company. When Killigrew and Davenant are the King's patentees his revenue falls off, and he brings an action against Killigrew for playing without a license. He gets a verdict in his favour, but before a Westminster jury he is told he has no jurisdiction over Davenant's company, and no right to fees. In a second action against Davenant in the City, the Master of the Revels is allowed the fees for reading

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the plays, but is held to have no authority to license the players the plays, but is only by immediate authority from the Crown. Was to act: that is only by immediate authority from the Crown. Was to act: that is only by immediate authority from the Crown. Was to act: that is only by immediate authority from the Crown. Was to act: that is only by immediate authority from the Crown. Was to act is paid his fee for licensing a play, but the Master of the Revels, open a theatre by patent from the King, but the Master of the Revels, who is paid his fee for licensing a play, has no power to license. Who is paid his fee for licensing a play, has no power to license. The actions appear, however, to have been brought against the The actions appear, and not against the patentees, in almost every

e. Sir Henry Herbert, irrespective of the verdicts, sends an order case. Sir Helly Sir Helly Sir Hell S to Davendard he has no jurisdiction over them; finally the Master of the Revels enters into a compact with Killigrew (who, it may be observed, always comes off well, because he is a persona grata with the King), by which he and Sir Henry Herbert arrange that the Master of the Revels shall keep his fees, and neither of them shall directly or indirectly aid or assist Sir William Davenant or those of his pretended company. Later, the players appear to have got out of hand, and the Master of the Revels is ordered not to license any play containing immoral or irreligious expressions, and to give notice to the Lord Chamberlain if the players presume to act anything which he has struck out. The office of Master of the Revels was literally instituted as the 'great director of the sports of the Court by night as well as the sports of the field by day '-virtually the King's Chamberlain, which office is now represented by the Lord Chamberlain. Gifford, in a note to the Alchemist, says: 'The Masters of the Revels were tasteless and officious tyrants who acted with little discrimination, and were always more ready to prove their authority than their judgment; the most hateful of them was Sir Henry Herbert.'

Sir Henry Herbert after the Restoration was a restless person, for ever appealing to the King and the Courts of Justice to establish his authority, which he endeavoured to make as offensive as he could, Thomas Killigrew, his successor, with or without jurisdiction. curiously enough, was in the position of being the patentee of the King's company on the one hand, and on the other he was also Master of the Revels, which puts me in mind of the anomalous situation of a regimental officer, who, left in sole authority at the depot, is obliged to ask his own permission when he wants leave of absence. Presently there was to be a final definition of the Master of the Revels' right to fees for licensing of plays. A new patent of George the First grants to Sir Richard Steele full power to establish a company of comedians under the sole government of Steele, and it commands and enjoins that no new play nor any old or revived play be acted under the authority hereby granted until the same be corrected by the said governor from any offensive and scandalous passage or expression. Steele, therefore, considered himself sole judge of the plays to be

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acted in the theatre. But when a new play is produced which has not acted in the theatre. But when the Revels' judgment, the Master been submitted to the Master of forty shillings because he should be the shoul been submitted to the master of nevertheless, demands his fee of forty shillings because he should have read it. Hereafter comes a tug of war. Colley Cibber is sent by Steele read it. Hereafter comes a tag to discuss with great urbanity whether the more recent patent granted to the latter by George the First has superseded an old patent or warrant without his knowledge of it, in which case Steele suavely says he will most certainly continue his habit of fees. Challenged, however, to prove his claim, the Master of the Revels has no warrant to fall back upon and from that time the theatre spares him the trouble of reading plays; the next Master of the Revels' authority is neither opposed nor recog. nised, and he receives fees when he can; and in the next Licensing Act the Master of the Revels is no longer mentioned, and what power he possessed passes back to the Lord Chamberlain.

But though Steele may have had a moderate little victory on that occasion, a little later a man less amenable to the theatrical cause holds the office of Lord Chamberlain in the person of the Duke of Newcastle. He is presumably one of those who have a physical loathing of playhouses and more particularly of Sir Richard Steele, The latter had violently opposed certain Government measures in the house, Lord Sunderland's Peerage Bill for example, which he regarded as too exclusive and aristocratic. Some authorities on the stage have it that the Non-juror, a satire adapted from Molière's Tartuffe by Colley Cibber, in which the Duke pretended to see offence to his party, was made the pretext for his forbidding Mr. Cibber to appear. Steele remonstrating, he was forbidden ever more to write or speak to the Duke. After further correspondence comes a letter from the Lord Chamberlain to the gentleman managing the company of comedians at the theatre in Drury Lane, and to all the comedians and actors there, in which the license is revoked—for the further prevention of any future misbehaviour and disobedience to his Majesty's commands, 'I do by virtue of my office hereby discharge you the said managers and comedians from further acting.' Steele's argument in the matter is at any rate full of common-sense. He says the theatre is but a workshop and receives nothing from the Crown. 'If I had been a laceman, saddler, or shoemaker to the Crown by patent, I could not have been dispossessed but by course of law.'

The Attorney-General and the Lord Chief Justice, Northey and Parker, are of opinion that the patent is unassailable. But in spite of all argument forensic and otherwise, the King thinks proper 'to revoke the said license for the purpose of reforming the comedians and for establishing the just and ancient authority of the officers of our household and more especially of Chamberlains.' All licenses, powers, and authorities are thereupon revoked. There is not here any plausible reason for an act of such gross oppression—a company is disbanded, and I doubt if any unacquainted with the life in a theatre fully realises

what this shutting down of a playhouse means in the way of distress what this snurshing than the actors, to the many who are employed as dressers, to others than the actors, machinists, dressmakers, to the many who are employed as dressers, to other than the way of distress than the way of d to others than carpenters, machinists, dressmakers, to the whole little world of small wage-earners within. Steele urged all this, but without world of small ... So there had been no question of the plant !! for there had been no question of the plant! avail, and will, are had been no question of the plays they performed, certainly, for there had been well conducted enough for certainly, for the had been well conducted enough for some years, i.e. and the uncount of the public had made no disturbances there when this license was the public had made no disturbances there when this license was the public has license was the public which then, should the Lord Chamberlain close down the rescinded. rescinced. The small wage-earning community? Because if the Lord theatre on this small wage-earning community? theatre of the Lord Chamberlain's office were no longer able to control the licenses of the Chambertain public, it would cut down that officer's fees, and his remuneration would be reduced to a small salary and official apartments.

It matters not here that the suspension was one only of a few weeks. It might have been months if distress had not forced the comedians to make their submission and accept the license. The principle is the same. As Steele says: 'Had it been a shop to make saddles in, the distresses of the wage-earners had been considered. Because it is a shop for comedians to produce their work, the players must starve that the officer of the Crown shall have his privileges and

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The humorous part of the whole transaction is that it is set right through the medium of Walpole who had now become Chancellor of the Exchequer, Walpole, who presently, in a fit of personal vanity, hurries through an unconsidered Bill that is a final gagging of actors. It is Walpole who in this case reinstates the much injured Sir Richard Steele as controller of Drury Lane, little more than a year after his ejection from that theatre.

Now there was one person at Court at this time who had the humour to observe the comedy of ministers and placemen and the talent to convey it to an audience in a captivating form. I refer to Gay, the author of the Beggar's Opera, which was produced towards the end of poor 'Dick' Steele's life. Gay is supposed to have composed the Beggar's Opera smarting 'under a disappointment at Court' where he had only been offered the appointment of Gentleman Usher to the Royal children—but Pope declares that it was Dr. Swift who first suggested to Mr. Gay what an odd, pretty sort of thing a Newgate pastoral might make—Swift and Pope were both interested in its progress, and Congreve advised its production. Eventually, as we know, in the words of the well-known mot of the period, it made Gay rich and Rich gay.' Rich had become very despondent about it at rehearsal until the Duchess of Queensberry, Gay's staunchest friend and patron, attended a rehearsal in person and encouraged its production. On the first night its success hung in the balance until the public the public suddenly awoke to the political allusions in it, when it

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ended in a clamour of applause. Pope is said to have altered the ended in a clamour of application of the celebrated lines that gave such offence in high quarters, sung by

The priest calls the lawyer a cheat. The lawyer beknaves the divine. And the statesman because he's so great Thinks his trade's as honest as mine.

The King waxed angry.

The Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, for encouraging the performance, were forbidden the Court, upon which the Duke resigned his appointment, and the Duchess wrote her well-known letter in reply

The Beggar's Opera was played sixty-three days without intermission and was revived the following season; the ladies carried about with them the favourite songs of it on fans, and houses were furnished with it on screens and paravents. In a recent exhibition of Old Masters at Burlington House there was a picture of the Beggar's Opera by Hogarth. It gives us some idea of the way the public were accommodated on the stage during a performance. of the picture we see Gay, the author, following his own play in the prompt copy of the book before him. Rich (this was Christopher's son), the manager, next to him, looks, I must say, much like the character his associates gave him-bland, tricky, suave, but cunning. There is the Duke of Bolton who afterwards married Miss Fenton, the lady on her knees in the scene as 'Polly Peachum'—the Duke must have been a familiar figure, who probably assisted at every performance of the opera-and there is Walker in the middle of the stage, who, without a voice and with only a fair ear for music, made such a furore in the part of Captain MacHeath. On the O.P. or left side of the stage are several men and women of the world, who, no doubt, had some interest in or admiration for some members of the company. everyone and everything connected with it became famous, and lastly it drove out of England for that season the Italian opera that had been a serious rival to the English actors in London for the previous ten years, a competition that had much to do with the vagaries and vicissitudes of theatrical fortunes. When the Beggar's Opera was printed, and the charm of the performance with music was removed, moralists objected on the ground that it gave encouragement to all kinds of vice, and pretended that after its exhibition the gangs of robbers were multiplied. This objection to it continued to 1772, when Sir John Fielding, the magistrate at Bow Street, requested the managers of Drury Lane and Covent Garden not to revive it. Genest, the theatrical commentator, says wistfully: 'It is much to be wished that it had never been written, as its success entailed on us from that time to this (1832) those bastard comedies styled operas.'

Quoted by Mr. Norman Pearson in his article in this Review, An Eccentric Beauty' of the Eighteenth Century, May 1908.

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In speaking about the Beggar's Opera, I have not wandered 1909 In speaking as original departure from the Lord Chamberlain's far afield from my original back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again there with our first in 1728 I find myself back again the properties of t far afield from 1728 I find myself back again there with our friend Gay, office, for in 1728 I sequel to his first success called Polls, which is written a sequel to his first success called Polls, which is written as equel to his first success called Polls, which is written as equel to his first success called Polls, which is the polls of t office, for in 1120 a sequel to his first success called *Polly*, which is now who has written a sequel to his first success called *Polly*, which is now to rehearsal. The license is refused. In Gay's who has written and the license is refused. In Gay's own words: ready for remeable Grace this answer: "that it was not allowed to be 'Ireceived from his Grace this answer: "that it was not allowed to be 'Ireceived non-acted but commanded to be suppressed," this was told me in general acted but comme assigned or any charge against me of my having without any reasons assigned or any charge against me of my having without any particular offence." Genest says there is, however, little given any Part official was taking his revenge for the honest and doubt that that official was taking his revenge for the honest and doubt that of the Beggar's Opera, and we are glad to note that when open sault of note that when it was published by subscription it made more money than it would have done by the representation. To understand the situation we must remember there were at this time in London six playhouses, the Opera House, the French Theatre in the Haymarket (this house stood on the site of the present Haymarket Theatre and was occupied by a French company of actors who were announced in December, 1720, as His Grace the Duke of Montague's French servants), a theatre of small holding capacity opened about 1725 in Goodman's Fields near the Minories in the City, and three more classic theatres that I have dealt with in the Stuart period, Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and Lincoln's Inn Fields. The theatre in the City was actually run up out of an old workshop by Odell, who was after Walpole's Act, as I shall show, engaged as deputy-licenser to the Lord Chamberlain; but about 1730 a clever young man called Gifford, of good Buckinghamshire descent, and his wife took it over and rebuilt it. The new management, persons of taste, were responsible for the early efforts of Fielding, who had not yet immortalised himself as a novelist, but who with his keen satire and trenchant wit spared neither King nor minister in his plays. The play that began to irritate authority appears to have been Pasquin, a dramatic satire that Fielding produced at the Haymarket, with his own company called The Great Mogul's Company of Comedians. It is said, this hard-hitting, mirth-moving satire made London scream for nearly two months, a colossally long run for those days. One of the parts called 'Quidnam,' was supposed to caricature Walpole. There are some amusing lines in it. Miss says to her mother 'But I have heard that's a naughty thing'; to which her mother replies 'That can't be if your betters do it. People are punished for doing naughty things, but people of quality are never punished,

therefore they never do naughty things.' Lines such as that were beginning to irritate the Great Mogul in St. James's. 'La moutarde lui montait au nez,' as the French say. Again Tumbledown Work or Phaeton in the Suds, with its political allusions, pleased the Town, but not Authority. Authority preferred

politics left out of the stage play.

Nevertheless, it is curious that it was not Pasquin that perturbed

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the politicians at Westminster, for already two years previously to its the politicians at Westminster, Tohn Barnard by name, had been appearance some busybody, Sir John Barnard by name, had been appearance some busybouy, on stirring up an agitation for leave to introduce a Bill for restraining the stirring up an agitation for regulating common players; his motion number of playhouses, and for regarded Bill raised a great comwas carried unanimously, but this remainded that if the number of theatres motion amongst actors, who recognised that if the number of theatres were limited to the three patents, it threatened to make what is financially called a corner in theatres, so that the patentees could dictate what terms they chose to the players—without dealing with the question of existing leases of theatres that would become void with the Act. For the moment the danger was averted because the Government was desirous of increasing the Lord Chamberlain's power to which Sir John Barnard, the prime mover in this measure, objected and as the King would not pass it without this, the Bill was dropped

But the discussion had put heart into the principal inhabitants and justices of the peace and deputy lieutenants of the Tower division to present petitions for the abolition of the playhouse in Goodman's Fields as a great nuisance. The magnates of the City of London, always the bitter opponents of the theatre, are at their old game; on the other hand, the shopkeepers, weavers, and dyers in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields are emphatic in their approbation of the management, and evidently rather prefer the theatre than not as a means of attracting business to that quarter; and a further petition from actors is presented, couched in pathetic terms, setting forth that to render any man incapable of getting his bread in the business or occupation which he had been trained up to from his youth, deprives him of life in the most terrible manner. As a result, petitions pour in from every source—one from a Mrs. Lee, who had annually erected two dramatic booths at Southwark Fair, another from Charles Lee (not a relative, but comptroller of his Majesty's revels) who complained that the measure interfered with his privileges and fees, and again a petition from Anthony Aston, the oldest actor on the stage, who was actually called to give evidence personally in the House of Commons (the rarest and most singular of proceedings), and, having from his own experience shown how easy it was to evade the provisions, caused the Bill to be rejected in its first shape. Thus we see that when, for almost the first time in the history of the stage, the player's own version of the story is heard from his lips it carries forcible conviction with it at once.

The irrepressible Fielding is at his desk again with the Historical Register for 1736, which was in effect a review of topical allusions, and was a source of annoyance to Authority; apart from its travesty of things of public interest there is an amusing allusion to the celebrated quarrel between Mrs. Clive and Mrs. Cibber, as to who should play Polly Peachum's part in the Beggar's Opera when it came to be revived.

The quarrel seems to have been the talk of the town, for Wood-

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ward writes a kind of hybrid opera pantomime comedy of it. Merry Wives with Beggar's Pantomime, or The Contending Columbines, Merry Wille. Eventually the public plumped for Mrs. Clive.

Sir Robert Walpole, stung by the travesty of himself in the His-Sir Robert for 1736, was only biding his time, and when Gifford, torical news of the theatre in Goodman's Fields, in the following the manus, in the following year, in what was perhaps an attack of officious conscientiousness, year, in comedy to him called The Golden Rump, Walpole seized upon the plausible pretext that the play was scurrilous, and introduced into the plantate a Bill which was in effect a muzzling order for actors. Lord Chesterfield protested against the power of prohibition being lodged in one single man. One consequence, he said, would be that all vices prevalent at Court would come to be represented as virtues. He told the Lords they had no right to put excise on wit. my lords, is the property of those who have it, and too often the only property they have to depend on. It is, indeed, but a precarious dependence,' and then added, cynically, 'Thank God, we, my lords, have dependence of another kind.

There is no doubt that this Bill was hurried through both Houses by Sir Robert Walpole, in spite of Lord Chesterfield's remonstrance, with unconsidered and undue haste, for the irritation set up in Court circles by Gay's Beggar's Opera and Fielding's subsequent Pasquin was not to be soothed or quieted except at the expense of the unfortunate player who was condemned to pay it to the last farthing, and is still

paying it.

The Act provides that no person shall, for gain, hire, or reward, perform or cause to be performed, any new interlude, tragedy, comedy, opera, play, farce, or other entertainment on the stage, or any addition to an old play, unless licensed by the Lord Chamberlain; every person offending against this provision is to be fined 50l. and every manager or company offending is to lose the grant, license, or authority under which the playhouse or company is carried on. Moreover, no letters patent or license of the Lord Chamberlain is to be granted for any performance except in the City of Westminster and the liberties thereof and in such places where the Sovereign shall in person reside, and then during his residence only.

Though this Bill contained the clause that gives the Lord Chamberlain power of licensing other theatres if he so thought proper within the City and liberties of Westminster, the patentees, being under the impression that the actors would be effectively tied up under the general tenour of it, helped it along without awaking to the peril it involved to their own interests. A new office was invented of licenser of the stage at 400l. per annum (the first licenser was one Chetwynd), but, in order to take the work that he was paid to do off his shoulders, a deputy licenser and inspector of plays was found to help him at a salary of 2001., in the person of no other than Odell,

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the builder of Goodman's Fields Theatre, complaints of which had the builder of Goodman's Floral of theatrical legislation. The little originated this whole upheaves the area in the Haymarket was shut up and the new one in Goodman's Fields was closed, to reopen again a little later, and to be the scene of Fields was closed, to reopen again vet another upheaval in English histrionic annals. On the 19th of yet another upheaval in English Garrick trod for the first time, October, 1738, it was this stage in all area time, to solicit the suffrage of a London audience, who went mad over him, Not very many years after this new Licensing Act came in, the public Not very many years after the public sense of fair play was for once on the side of the players, for when after 1777, a company of French players was brought over to perform at the Haymarket, and Authority wrote its name in large letters on the programme, the public would not suffer foreign players to appear on a stage from which English actors had been ousted, and felt it its proud duty to manifest its displeasure that our people had been deprived of their livelihood and thrust into gaol for debt. A song in praise of English beef was started in the gallery and taken up by the whole house, although the French Ambassador occupied the box of honour. When the curtain went up the French company were discovered standing between two files of Grenadiers with fixed bayonets, resting on their firelocks with the order to maintain the King's authority if the play were interrupted. This was more than British flesh and blood could stand. With one voice the audience turned to certain justices who were present ready to read the Riot Act, and demanded the withdrawal of the troops. Pending their withdrawal the usual interruptions of cat-calls and whistling were resorted to, and when the wretched players commenced a dance the spectators flung peas on the stage to trip them up. Finally, just as one of the justices got up to read the proclamation and ordered the Guards to be in readiness, wiser counsels prevailed with him, and a friend urged him to save bloodshed, as the people were in earnest. Upon which the French Ambassador left the house amid loud cheering and the curtain was dropped upon a painful scene.

The first plays prohibited by the licenser after the Bill had passed were Gustavus Vasa, by Brooke, condemned as being dangerous to public order, and Thomson's Edward and Eleanora, alluding too freely to Royal family dissensions. These were published by large subscriptions on the part of the public who were, some say, incensed at the powers of a licenser, but what is much more likely is that they bought them out of curiosity because they were forbidden fruit!

The curious anomaly of the early licensing of stage plays is that originally all plays were licensed by the printing of them-indeed, a considerable part of the profit to actors and authors was on the sale of printed plays, of which copies were to be bought usually hard by the theatre itself—does not that point to the greater interest or literary taste of the Elizabethan playgoer? Subsequently to the Restoration, no book might be printed until it was registered at

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Stationers' Hall. After 1692 this provision was not re-enacted, owing Stationers of books having licensed a book which the House of to the censor to the burnt. Inconsistency upon inco Commons have facilities of circulating pernicious or tenoy! Newspapers have facilities of circulating pernicious or tency! Newspar tency! Newspar matter with far greater facility and less expense than revolutionary matter with far greater facility and less expense than revolutionary have never at any time been subjected by statute books, year they although there were at one time stringent provisions to a censorship, although there were at one time stringent provisions to a censors of printers, publishers, stamp duties, &c., which were as to registrations of printers, publishers, stamp duties, &c., which were abolished in 1869 and 1870.

It is not any part of my object here to discuss what purpose may be served by restraining the stage and yet allowing the Press absolute be served and it may appear on the face of things to exercise no sort of control over the publication of literature open to any man, woman, or child, who can expend a few pence, and yet to supervise very stringently the performance of plays in a theatre that is too costly for the greatest number to visit habitually. There must be, numerically, many hundred thousand readers in excess of playgoers in the United Kingdom, when we consider the dwellers in remote country districts or the religious sects with conscientious scruples to whom a box of books from the library is their only excitement, and who never visit the playhouses at all. True, it is optional to read a book or to leave it, but then the same may be said of seeing a play or of not seeing it. In the first case an objectionable book or paper may be taken up by an unsuspecting and unsuspicious reader, while a visit to the theatre entails a deliberate and rather elaborate preparation, and in the matter too of the drama the plot and substance of it is rendered in detail in every newspaper, a process that is impossible in criticising a thick volume.

Admitting that the present output of fiction is on a far higher level than the output of drama, it cannot be said that the writers of novels and history of the present day are more squeamish in their choice of subjects than the playwrights, but the superiority of their achievement and the quality of their work are due perhaps only to the greater latitude allowed them and to the want of supervision by The literary man need not be afraid to speak out. If he have a truth to tell he may tell it seriously, frankly, and he is not required to cloak it and conceal the shape of the figure beneath as must the dramatic author.

Nothing is more terrifying to the imagination than the outline of a corpse that is covered with a pall; turn the cloth down, and the dignity and solemnity of death have no more horror in them.

To the prurient mind, there is nothing so hideous as the naked figure of truth, but to the artist there is nothing shameful in the nude. Honestly, I would sooner take a young girl or boy to the Doll's House by Hendrik Ibsen than give them a volume of Hume's history to peruse.

It may be questioned whether an unrestrained stage would not

make for a greater expansion of thought, for it certainly is against make for a greater expansion of the canons of Free Trade—that British fetish of past years—to pay the canons of th the canons of Free Trade—that to pay custom to the State for an exchange of ideas, in the form of two guineas per act.

Every dramatic author who wants to preach the bigger truths and Every dramatic author who will be the greater issues must feel baulked, more or less, by the ghost of a blue pencil hovering like a will-o'-the-wisp over his script; and when he has hoped to speak to an audience as an apostle to his congregation or as a professor to his students, he is oppressed by a narrow tyranny of time-honoured prejudices and finds himself merely in the position of a nursery-governess amusing a kindergarten pupil. Not Shakespeare nor Goethe nor Cervantes could have tuned their lays or sung their songs under such conditions as these.

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### OXFORD AND THE WORKING CLASSES

OF recent years a determined effort has been made by a certain section of educational reformers to render the University and colleges of Oxford more easily accessible to the working classes. The celebrated Dr. Jowett wished that 'outposts of the University should be established in the industrial towns,' and the establishment of Toynbee Hall in the East-end of London was a practical realisation of the idea that Oxford should keep in close touch with the new forces to which political power had been granted. The compliment paid by Oxford to the working classes has been returned.

The leaders of the Labour Party towards the end of the last century decided that it would be good policy to send some clever workmen to reside in Oxford for the purpose of studying political economy, history,

sociology, local government, and public administration.

A working-class settlement was accordingly founded in 1899. It was called Ruskin Hall, and is now called Ruskin College. At Ruskin College there are no servants, except a cook; examinations and creed-tests, religious or political, are dispensed with; and the cost of each student's residence is 52l. per annum. Engineers, miners, spinners, weavers, blacksmiths, painters, and representatives of other trades are taught at Ruskin College 'to acquire the knowledge essential to intelligent citizenship.'

As was only to be expected, the presence of the new-comers was speedily felt in Oxford. Philanthropic Dons lectured to them; they in turn began to proselytise the undergraduates. Speakers from Ruskin Hall were invited to the debates of college societies. Eloquent workmen, who from personal experience understood several factors of the economic problems which perplex the modern world, were pitted at the Union against undergraduates carefully protected from direct contact with the harsher aspects of human life. So far as the Ruskin College experiment tends to familiarise the richer with the standpoints of the poorer members of society; so far as it convinces the poor that the too frequent callousness of the leisured capitalist must be attributed to the fact that, under the existing system of education, the imaginations of the well-to-do are benumbed or stimu-

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lated in wrong directions; so far as these results are produced by lated in wrong directions; so late to persons who are Ruskin College, the experiment commends itself to persons who are neither sentimental nor hard-hearted.

There is, however, a less satisfactory side to the experiment. The There is, however, a less satisfied by the students at Ruskin College are, generally speaking, matured, able, students at Ruskin Conege are, generally students at Ruskin Conege are in open markets. The Dons, on the other hand, who train under. graduates, have, as a rule, since their adolescence been in positions analogous to the positions of irresponsible Civil servants. analogous to the positions and out of touch with the bulk of their pupils, and their views tend to become antiquated, stereotyped, and provincial Is it, then, to be wondered that many undergraduates are taking their ideas on politics and sociology from the virile students at Ruskin College? The advent of workmen at Ruskin College has, without doubt, hastened the growth of Socialism among the junior members of the University. Consequently the public must not be surprised if the University in the next decade becomes, like a Russian university, one of the most important centres for the spread of doctrines which hitherto have not received the support of experienced statesmen. persistent efforts of Christian and other Socialists to capture Oxford deserve the earnest attention of those who believe that the world is not yet ripe for Socialism, and that the British Empire will be dissolved and the comparative prosperity of the people in these islands disappear if the electorate embraces the tenets of Karl Marx, Mr. Keir Hardie. Mr. Victor Grayson, and Mr. Robert Blatchford.

Synchronising or connected with the appearance of the students at Ruskin College, attacks from every quarter have been commenced or renewed on the curriculum at Oxford. The chief objective of these attacks has been Responsions, which is the entrance examination to the University. By a tacit arrangement between the college authorities no one under ordinary circumstances resides at a college who has not acquired the rudiments of ancient Greek and Latin. If in Responsions French and German were substituted for those difficult languages, two formidable barriers separating the working classes from Oxford would be removed. A workman has neither the opportunity nor the inclination to learn even the modest quantity of Greek and Latin possessed by the average Freshman. Their failure to remove the abatis of Greek and Latin from the path of the poor has driven the Democratic and Socialist organisations to originate new tactics.

The college authorities may, if they choose, let their rooms to working men. They may also dispense the latter from the obligation of taking Responsions or any other university examination. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent the Head and the Fellows of a college from granting considerable sums of money to workmen. In 1907, 52,890l. 15s. 10½d. was allocated by the colleges to scholars and exhibitioners. Part of the sum dispensed in scholarships and exhibi[arch 1909

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tions could be easily diverted to the uses suggested by the authors tions could by the pamphlet, Oxford and Working-class Education, of the remainder of the Clarendon Press on the 28th of November last, which, is a frank exposition of the democratic programme. But before is a frame before describing the proposals set out in Oxford and Working-class Educadescribing the as well to pause for a moment to consider the justice and expediency of converting Oxford into an institution similar to the and expected similar to the universities supplying a higher education to the democracy of the United States of America. The problems—and even democratic America has its problems—of the United States of America may be, and indeed are, very different from those of the British Empire: the coloured races who form an overwhelming majority of his Majesty's subjects may not, as yet, have embraced the ideals of democratic government; they may still prefer to be ruled by members of the upper castes of English society. It is, nevertheless, certain that the arguments for throwing wide the portals of Oxford to the working classes are of a peculiarly cogent and insistent nature.

'Changes in the structure of English society,' explained Mr. Sidney Ball, Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, to the members of the Conference of the Workers' Educational Association, held in 1907 at Oxford, 'are throwing more and more responsibility on the shoulders of men who have had no opportunity of obtaining the synoptic mind which, as Plato says, is desirable in governors.' Oxford, unlike the newer universities of London, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, boasts that it possesses a specific for producing 'the synoptic mind.' Even at Cambridge University the curriculum is too banausic. It may be objected that Lords Cromer and Kitchener, who possess 'synoptic minds,' were educated at Woolwich Academy, and that Mr. Haldane graduated at Edinburgh and Göttingen Univer-There must be exceptions to almost every rule. 'The man who reads Literæ Humaniores, as most of our best men do,' say the reforming and anonymous Fellows and Tutors who contributed to the Times the series of letters entitled Oxford and the Nation, ' has acquired at the end of his fourth year the best general education which any university can give.' That a claim so sweeping can be solemnly advanced in the columns of the Times is evidence of a widely spread impression of Oxford's essential superiority, not only to Cambridge but to the other Anglo-Saxon universities, to the universities on the Continent, and also to the universities of Tokyo and Kyoto. Why, it may be pertinently asked, should the future Labour Leader be debarred by mere poverty from spending a few years in the semi-monastic city on the banks of the Isis, where, though he is to be excused from obtaining 'the best general education which any university can give,' he may possibly acquire 'the synoptic mind which, as Plato says, is desirable. is desirable in governors '?

'If ye bring it to pass,' said Latimer—the passage is quoted

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approvingly by the authors of Oxford and Working-class Education approvingly by the authors of our their sons to school (as indeed that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school (as indeed that the yeomanry be not able to Fundered universities do wondrously decay already), I say ye pluck salvation universities do wondrously destroy the realm. Is this universities do wondrously destroy the realm. Is this realm from the people, and determined the chronicles. By taught by rich men's sons? No, no; read the chronicles. By yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been maintained chiefly, Disciples of Mr. Robert Blatchford are not likely to maintain the faith of Christ, and the realm of England was not 'utterly destroyed' as Latimer had prophesied. But the attitude of Latimer towards the universities is to-day very popular.

Not many months ago a question was put to the West London Council of the Independent Labour Party as to their views on the organisation of higher education for the working classes. Council replied that 'the funds requisite for carrying out this idea should be met by grants from the Imperial Exchequer, and by the restoration of educational endowments which, primarily intended for the education of the poor, have in the course of time become appropriated by the richer members of the community.' Since every boy and girl in England is compulsorily sent to an elementary school, and since the poorest among them receive a gratuitous educa. tion, the wisest of our statesmen should earnestly consider how a large proportion of those boys and girls may be enabled to complete their education at the University which supplies 'the best general education which any university can give.' Several of the teachers at Oxford desire to impart their stores of knowledge to a wider audience. They do not admit that, in the words of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, they 'live secluded from the world, and so are like children as to commercial matters.'

'The supreme social requirement for England,' thinks the Bishop of Birmingham-himself an Harrovian, an ex-scholar of Balliol, and an honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, 'is mixture of the classes, and learning is one of the most levelling instruments among persons of equal capacity.' To hasten the mixture of classes is the aim of the Dons who are anxious to remove from Oxford the reproach that it is a 'home of lost causes.'

With such an excellent aim most of us will be inclined to sympathise. Though equality, except before the law, may be an ideal impossible of realisation, to promote fraternity should be the constant endeavour of Englishmen who believe that 'Homo homini lupus' is a bad, a mischievous maxim. It does not follow that the measures for fusing the various classes of English society which have met with the approval of the gentlemen responsible for Oxford and Working-class Education are beyond the pale of criticism. Because their objects are so great, just, wise, and popular, it is necessary that statesmen who have proved that they possess 'the synoptic mind' should be consulted before the meditated changes are made by the University and college

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been refined in the crucibles of the Cabinet, the Houses of Parliament,

been residue Council must needs be regarded with been refined in the Privy Council must needs be regarded with grave suspicion. or the Pilvy of Oxford and Working-class Education admit Oxford, the trustee of its endowments. The power admit Oxford, the trustee of its endowments. The powers of the authori-(p. 74), is the University and colleges are mainly derived from Acts of the On more than one occasion the intention ties of the On more than one occasion the intentions of the donors Parliament.

of the funds which they administer have, in accordance with the of the lunco of Royal Commissions, been set aside by the King in Parliament. It would be a most serious usurpation of the rights of the Sovereign for the University and colleges to endeavour to anticipate either the findings of a Royal Commission or the Act of Parliament that would be passed to carry those findings into effect. That any lesser body or bodies, corporate or incorporate, that a group of private individuals, eminent though they may be in the worlds of art and science, should virtually constitute themselves a Royal Commission would be a still more extraordinary departure from constitutional With these preliminary observations I approach nearer to the scheme contained in Oxford and Working-class Education, which is the report of a joint committee of university and working-class representatives on the relation of the University to the higher education of workpeople. The history of the origin and of the acts of this joint committee is so very striking that it deserves a more than cursory notice.

In August 1907 Mr. Walter Nield, President of the North-Western Co-operative Educational Committees' Association and Mr. Sidney Ball, Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. John's College, Oxford, read papers on Oxford and working-class education at a conference of workingclass and educational organisations held in the Oxford examination schools under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association, which, the report tells us, 'was founded in 1903 and consists of a federation of over 1000 working-class and educational bodies.'

On the 10th of August the following resolution, moved by Mr. Nield and seconded by Mr. Ball, was passed:

That this National Conference, consisting of working-class and educational organisations, affirming the growing desire on the part of workpeople for Higher Education, and anxious for the further co-operation of Oxford in the systematic teaching of historical, economic, and other liberal subjects, approves the formation of a committee of seven persons nominated by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and seven persons nominated by the Executive of the Workers' Day Workers' Educational Association, with instructions to report before Easter next to the organisations here represented, as to the best means of carrying into effect the into effect the suggestions made in the two papers read before the Conference.

A conference of 'working-class and educational organisations held working-class and educational Association 'had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The italics are mine.

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become a 'national conference,' which it emphatically was not, since become a 'national conference, man partial man not, since neither the nation nor its representatives in Parliament nor the King neither the nation nor its representation the King in Council had summoned it, and the majority of the nation were unaware of its existence.

The next incident in the genesis of the report was even more The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. T. H. Warren, without previously consulting Congregation or Convocation (Oxford's equivalents to the Houses of Parliament), appointed Mr. Sidney Ball, the Dean of Christ Church, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, Mr. A. L. Smith, Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, Mr. A. E. Zimmern, and Mr. H. B. Lees Smith (the Chairman of the Executive Committee of Ruskin College) to confer—I had almost written, negotiate—with Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress; Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., also representing the same committee; Mr. W. H. Berry, representing the Educational Committee of the Co-operative Union; Mr. Richardson Campbell representing the National Conference of Friendly Societies; Mr. J. M. Mactavish, Labour member of the Portsmouth Town Council; Mr. Albert Mansbridge, General Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association; and Mr. Alfred Wilkinson, Labour member of the Rochdale Town Council.

Whether Congregation and Convocation; whether the Heads and Fellows of the different colleges, the incomes of which are recommended by the report to be diverted into new channels, would have approved of the conduct of the Vice-Chancellor is a question which, of course, cannot be answered with absolute certainty. But it is probable that if the above bodies had been willing to negotiate with the working-men organisations they would have chosen Sir William Anson, Professor Case, Professor Osler, Professor Dicey, K.C., or, at any rate, gentlemen less prejudiced in favour of Socialism than Mr. Sidney Ball and Mr. A. E. Zimmern, and of more experience than the latter, to represent them. The Chairman of the Executive Committee of Ruskin College, too, would scarcely have been appointed.

The committee, half of whose members had been appointed, not by the Chancellor, Lord Curzon, but by Dr. T. H. Warren, held five sittings of one or more days, and it appointed two sub-committeesone to deal with financial and administrative questions, and the other with courses of study. An interim report, which has never been published, was presented for the consideration of the Vice-Chancellor and 'the various university bodies whom its recommendations concerned.' The final report, as previously mentioned, was issued to the public on the 28th of November last.

A month before it was offered for sale in Oxford, a statute embody. ing a recommendation in the report that the Extension Delegacy of the University should form a committee consisting of working-class representatives in equal numbers with members of the Delegacy had been

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passed nemine contradicente by Convocation. If, by the 27th of passed nemula 1908, the date of the statute, the report had been in the October 1900, the public, it is very unlikely that the statute would have hands of the parameters. More extraordinary still, on the 21st of November 1908, a week before the issue of the report to the public, November 1 100, November 1 100 Mr. A. E. delegates of trade unions and other working-class organisations assembled at To compare small with great things, the tactics of Toynbee Hall. Toyluber and his friends might have been borrowed from the demagogues of the French Revolution.

A casual and nondescript assembly constituted itself a national conference; it requested an official of the University to appoint seven of the fourteen members of a sort of committee of public safety; this official appointed them; the committee drew up a secret report; it was published by one of its members at a gathering held near the worst slums of the metropolis; and afterwards it was brought to the notice of the bulk of the persons whose actions it was intended to modify.

The whole procedure was most un-English.

I pass now to the recommendations of the Committee, the chief of which is that married or unmarried workmen shall reside with the undergraduates in college. It is significant that there is no minority report.

#### THE CONTROL OF THE TEACHING OF WORKPEOPLE BY THE UNIVERSITY

The direction of university teaching, in as far as it relates to the working classes [we are informed], should be in the hands of a committee consisting of an equal number of workpeople and university representatives. But we attach great importance to the principle of direct representation, and we desire to see it extended for the following reasons: (a) The presence of leading members of working-class organisations is invaluable on account of the personal contributions of knowledge and suggestion which they can offer. This report is a striking example of our statement. (b) It secures the confidence and co-operation of large bodies of men who might otherwise be inclined to distrust Oxford. (c) It gives workmen a very valuable insight into the working of university institutions—a knowledge which, through them, may be widely diffused throughout the nation (p. 54).

The idea has taken practical shape. As related, on the 27th of October 1908, a statute was slipped through Convocation empowering the Extension Delegacy to form a committee consisting of workingclass representatives in equal numbers with members of the Delegacy; such a Committee is in existence.

#### EXTRA-MURAL CLASSES

The following extracts from the report sufficiently indicate the nature of the classes which are to be established in industrial centres:

Our first proposal [the committee say] is that in certain selected industrial towns classes should be established, of not more than thirty students; that

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these classes should pursue a plan of study drawn up by workpeople and reme. these classes should pursue a pun of states; that Oxford should appoint and sentatives of the University in consultation; that Oxford should appoint and sentatives of the University in containing and the pay half the salary of the teachers by whom such classes are taught; and that pay half the salary of the teachers as a lecturer in Oxford, appointed either such teachers should receive a status as a lecturer in Oxford, appointed either by a college or by the University (p. 56).

we have no fear at all that were the classes placed, as we recommend, under We have no fear at all that were in co-operation with university men, they the direct control of workpeople, in co-operation with university men, they

would be used for any but the highest educational ends (p. 58).

While the management and organisation of the class should be mainly in the While the management and organical and guidance in reading must hands of workpeople, the selection of curricula and guidance in reading must be the duty of the University acting in co-operation with workpeople (p. 59).

As a rule, teachers should be selected from among those who have had previous As a rule, teachers should be constructed at Ruskin College, or at Social Settle. ments, or in connection with the Workers' Educational Association, or in some other way, and should satisfy the standing committee that they possess the desired qualifications (p. 65).

If University Extension work is accompanied by a recognised status in Oxford itself, the teachers employed will have far better prospects of obtaining Professorial Chairs and other posts of dignity and emolument, with the result

that the ablest men will tend to offer themselves for the work.

The presence in Oxford of the teachers of the tutorial classes will give under. graduates an opportunity of obtaining a knowledge of industrial conditions which it is much to be desired they should possess (p. 67).

Comment is quite superfluous. It is obvious that the extra-mural classes will be mainly superintended by workpeople, and not by the

University.

Tutorial classes of the kind, a prefatory note tells us, 'will be held this winter at Chesterfield, Glossop, Littleborough, Longton, Oldham, Rochdale, Swindon, and Wrexham.' These classes are being held; two of them are, or have been, subsidised by Merton and Exeter Colleges.

#### THE 'CURRICULUM' FOR THE EXTRA-MURAL CLASSES

From Appendices VII. and VIII. of the report one can gather the nature of the teaching which will be provided for members of the extramural classes. Space forbids my dealing with it at any length. The students are to take courses of economics, recent English literature, recent English history, modern world history, general English history, and political science. Only a year, so far as one can see, is to be given to each course. Some of the topics to be studied are distinctly dangerous. For instance, 'The Carbonari' and 'Bakounin and the Anarchist Parties ' are scarcely edifying subjects to be taught to work men. Suggestions for preliminary study will be found in Appendix VIII., which, signed by Mr. A. E. Zimmern and Mr. J. M. Mactavish, meets, I presume, with the approval of the other members of the committee. A few quotations will enlighten the reader as to the theories which a Fellow and Tutor of New College and a Labour member of the Portsmouth Town Council consider to be the appropriate food for the reflections of workmen. 'What,' they ask, 'are political

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iate ical students trying to bring about? What is the goal of political study? It is best expressed [they opine] in the watchword of the early revolutionists

\_Liberty. By liberty is meant— (i.) Economic liberty:

(i.) Economic (ii.) Economic (iii.) Economic ( A man is not when he pro-shelter, and clothing only by an unhealthy or degrading occupation.

Under modern conditions economic liberty for the many can only be secured Under mouth social organisation, curtailing some men's licence for other men's liberty.

(ii.) Spiritual liberty: (ii.) Sphrouse A man is not free when he cannot think, speak, and write as he will, and act

upon his opinions if he so desires. Spiritual liberty for the many means freedom from authority; but it can only be secured by curtailing some men's licence to act (e.g. criminals or lunatics), ony or even, in rare cases, to speak and write, for other men's liberty.

The goal of the political student, then, is to remove obstacles to economic and spiritual liberty, and to provide opportunities for men and women and

children to develop the good that is in them.

Where liberty begins, politics end. The goal of political study is not: (i.) to change human nature ;

(ii.) to introduce any definite political or social or ethical system;

(iii.) to secure liberty to any particular class or

(iv.) any particular nation; though any or all of these may turn out, through study, to be necessary steps or consequences.

Certain questions, Mr. A. E. Zimmern and Mr. J. M. Mactavish tell us, arise for discussion out of the above ideas, e.g. Does not an ignorant fanatic achieve more in politics than a skilled political thinker? Is not the use of the intellect in politics enervating? What right has the State to inflict punishment, or otherwise to limit a man's freedom? Can a wage-earner be considered economically free? How can spiritual liberty be reconciled with any fixed system of religion or morality?'

Again, at page 159 we learn that—

An impartial visitor from another planet, reflecting on our problems of government, would make three observations:

(i.) That our world is, and has always been, very badly governed. We are only just beginning to recognise how much a wise government can achieve.

(ii.) That governing is not a very difficult art; it requires much less technical skill and training than engineering or medicine. This can be observed by watching the government of any small community or group of men, e.g. a club, a cricket eleven out fielding, a district or parish council. Most men submit readily to authority wisely exercised.

(iii.) That the natural way of managing government is to put the best man

or group of men in command.

The Warden and Fellows of New College have and exercise the right of 'sending down' any undergraduate member of their college. Does Mr. Zimmern's experience, in his capacity of one of the governors

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of New College, bear out his confident assertion that 'governing is not

THE INTRODUCTION OF WORKPEOPLE INTO THE COLLEGES

The extra-mural classes are to prepare students (who will be The extra-mural classes at Oxford, either within a college excused Responsions) for residence at Oxford, either within a college or in lodgings. I will once more let the authors of the scheme speak for themselves:

(1) We recommend that, on the conclusion of the period of two years' (1) We recommend that, on years' study undertaken by any extra-mural class, a special committee of selection be appointed, consisting of the class teacher, two University representatives, a representative of the Workers' Educational Association, of the local organisation, and of the class, to select those students whom they consider ought to be enabled

to come into residence at the University (p. 71).

(2) It is hardly necessary to point out that no workman can, out of his own earnings, provide anything approaching 52l. a year, and that such money as he has laid by must be used not to pay for his residence in Oxford, but to support him during the period after leaving Oxford in which he is likely to be looking for employment. Moreover, if he is married, his family has to be considered. In abandoning his trade for two years, and consequently losing his wages and breaking his service, he will make, in any case, a very considerable financial sacrifice. It will be necessary, therefore, if the freedom of access to Oxford which is generally thought desirable is to be a real and not merely a nominal freedom, to find the means of maintaining him at the University (pp. 72-3).

(3) It appears to us, in view of the urgent importance of bringing the working classes into touch with Oxford, that it would not be unreasonable to ask the colleges to devote part of the funds which they spend on scholarships and exhibitions to the maintenance of the students from the tutorial classes, when the latter have

been established (p. 73).

(4) The scholars may come up either as members of an ordinary college, or as non-collegiate students, or as members of Ruskin College, according to the tastes of each individual and the advice given to him. But we think it important to point out that the fullest facilities should be offered for the admission into ordinary colleges of any approved person who desires it. The life of the noncollegiate student, in spite of the great educational advantages which it offers at a very small cost, would not be that most adapted to the education of workpeople, because it would tend to cut them off from the opportunity of mixing with many different types of character and social tradition, which is generally admitted to be one of the most valuable elements in an Oxford education (p. 76).

(5) We have seen no reason at all for agreeing with the suggestion occasionally made that workmen students would not mix well with men drawn from the 'public' schools, or that they would introduce a discordant element into college life. Though it is hard for a poor man to enter a college, he finds in it, once he has entered, a spirit of fellowship and equality; and, if we may be permitted to express our opinion on a matter on which certainty is impossible, it seems to us that they would make very valuable contributions to the social life of Oxford, and that from them. For the from them. For this reason, if for no other, we would wish that a large number of them could reside regularly in Oxford colleges (p. 77).

(6) Finally, we think it desirable that the working-class students in residence in different colleges should as far as possible reside together during the vacation, and we recommend that facilities be offered them by one of the colleges for obtaining

rooms in it at any rate during July, August, and September (p. 81).

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(7) Some of the students educated at Oxford will naturally become teachers (7) Some of the classes organised under the new Standing Committee of the tutorial classes organised. This would, in our opinion by of the tutorial classes. This would, in our opinion, be a most im-University and desirable development (p. 84).

result and desirable representation of the result of the r (8) A career must be that free movement from one class to another that alone can ensure that the manual and intellectual from one class to all the form of the nation is performed by those best fitted to perform it, and that work of ability are continually drawn from every great and that work of the handless are continually drawn from every quarter of society. fresh streams to the secondary schools to the university. A larger number of society. There must be calcondary schools to the university. A larger number of Oxford and from public secondary schools and from public secondary schools and from public secondary schools to the university. A larger number of Oxford and from public and from publi as history and modern languages, in order that the youth educated at schools as history and classics predominate may not have an unfair advantage over the boy where classics over the boy from schools where the future of most of the students causes classics to be from schools by other subjects. The expenses of a university education must be reduced to a minimum by action on the part of the University, and if necessary by grants from public sources, and a far larger number of those who are destined to teach the rising generation must receive the broad mental culture which miversities can give. By these and similar steps the movement of the sons of poor parents into the intellectual professions would be facilitated, and Oxford would be enriched by men from every school and every social class (p. 85).

(9) The tutorial classes are, of course, open to women upon the same terms as to men; there are several women students in the classes now at work. It is intended that the whole scheme shall benefit the education of working women as much as the education of working men. It would be within the province of the proposed Standing Committee to consider any further steps with regard to the education of working women which may from time to time appear

desirable (prefatory note).

I would humbly point out that the scheme, for the present at all events, is impracticable.

Appendix VI. to the report is an account of the Longton University Tutorial Class, which, it is said (p. 105) 'was an ideal university class, being representative of all sections of what are known as the middle and working classes. In the class were a gardener, a plumber, a potter's thrower, a potter's decorator, a basket-maker, a miner, a mechanic, a baker, several clerks, a librarian, a grocer, a miller's agent, a railway agent, a clothier, insurance collectors, and elementary school-teachers.' To withdraw most of the above from their trades and families and to place them in a college, say, Christ Church or Magdalen, is wholly Utopian. The academic authors of the project might have remembered that parents of the upper and middle classes who pay for the education of their sons at the University may raise objections; that there are even now distinct 'sets' in each college, and that the members of these sets usually do not fraternise. The newcomers might have an opportunity of observing, they would have little or no opportunity of mixing with, the 'different types of character and social condition, which is generally admitted to be one of the most valuable elements in an Oxford education.

To wish, also, that 'the working-class students should as far as possible reside together during the vacation,' and that 'facilities should

to

be offered them by one of the colleges for ordinary rooms in it. be offered them by one of the coarse, is to forget that, in most cases, botographs, books, manuscripts during July, August, and September, books, manuscripts, plate, the furniture, pictures, photographs, books, manuscripts, plate, crockery, and linen in those rooms belong to the undergraduates, who might not unreasonably object to their property being placed at the disposal of these strangers. The plan of billeting workmen on the colleges might have been specially designed to drive the rich and well. to-do away from Oxford; a contingency boldly faced by the Bishop of Birmingham. After Mr. A. E. Zimmern at Toynbee Hall had explained the report to the delegates of the trade unions and other working-class organisations, his Lordship spoke as follows:

He desired [he said] a system in which it would be clearly understood and effectively brought about that persons who did not at once show that they came to the university because they wanted to be students would have to go elsewhere. He was sure that was a reasonable request. If carried out, it would produce a tremendous change. There would be a great displacement of rich or well-to-do young men, who wanted to have a good time, by serious students, who would come equally from all classes, but in large measure from among the workers.

#### THE FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF THE SCHEME

'In 1907,' we are assured (p. 30), 'the expenditure of the University and colleges exceeded the receipts from endowments by 177,217l. 10s. 92d.' This deficit 'was covered by the sums collected from graduate and undergraduate members of the University and colleges.' If the rich and well-to-do graduates and undergraduates were expelled, who would be expected to supply the bulk of this deficit? The workmen who replaced the rich and well-to-do undergraduates would be unable to do so. Moreover, the deficit would be very largely increased. Several of the colleges own house property in Oxford. If the rich and well-to-do undergraduates departed, the tradespeople and lodging-house keepers could not possibly pay the high rents which they are at this moment paying, and the private residents, especially in North Oxford—a large part of which is college property-would speedily vanish if Oxford ceased to be a fashionable university. It is unnecessary to press the point, but one may be permitted to urge that the City of Oxford would have a reasonable ground for complaint if it were materially affected by a scheme which had not been sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament. Was it, too, Mr. Rhodes's intention that his scholars should graduate at the Bishop of Birmingham's university of students? He directed that, in choosing a Rhodes scholar, the candidates' athletic attainments and qualities of leadership should be taken into account.

I submit, therefore, that the proposals of the informal committee who have produced Oxford and Working-class Education are very visionary. The reforms which are urgently needed in Oxford are reforms in the 'curriculum' and the examination system. My ses, ite,

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own opinion—and I have had considerable experience—is that the own opinion of the undergraduates, while anxious to learn things which have mass of the unitary after-life, refuse to treat seriously the subjects a bearing on their after-life, refuse to treat seriously the subjects which they are at present taught and in which they are at present which they are at present which they are at present examined. Is it not extraordinary that to-day in the chief university examined. In the cities university of the British Empire the degree of Bachelor of Arts can be obtained of the British has not been obliged to study on the content university of the Bridsh who has not been obliged to study any of the following subjects:

(a) English composition and literature,

(b) The history of the British Empire,

(c) Geography,

(d) The scientific discoveries and inventions which have altered the conditions of modern life,

(e) Any of the laws of England, or the rules which guide the Law Courts in estimating the value of human testimony,

(f) The art of government,

(g) Economics,

(h) Business methods,

(i) The art of war, and (j) French, German, or any modern language?

The methods of examining students are also unsatisfactory. Too much value is attached to a powerful memory.

The Nation and the Empire have a right to demand that Oxford should be reformed. The University has been one of the two chief finishing schools for those who are going into politics, for the sons of the rich, for the landed gentry, for the Indian, Egyptian, and Home Civil servants, for barristers, for the clergy of the Church of England, and for public schoolmasters. It has trained, and is training, Eastern princes, rich Colonials, and the Rhodes scholars. If, then, it provided members of the above classes with a liberal education, fitting them to perform their duties, it is difficult to see what more ought to be expected from it. The chief grievance which the poor have against the University is that it has not in the past educated sufficiently the de facto rulers of the Empire. Economics, statecraft, and geography have been either neglected or till recently taught by academic theorists. Appendix VIII. to Oxford and Working-class Education shows how divorced from realities is a typical Don. The text-books for political science in the Modern History school are Aristotle's Politics, Hobbes's Leviathan, and Maine's Ancient Law. It would be more advantageous to the nation if the Oxford authorities set their house in

order before inviting workmen to reside in it. If, however, that is not an aim ambitious enough for them, they might at least be more cautious in their experiments on the University. They might first ascertain whether workmen removed from their trades and families will in fact fraternise at Oxford with bachelors of the upper and upper middle classes considerably younger and less matured than those workmen. Would it not be better that a few Fellowships should be awarded to workmen who have won distinction in practical economics and politics? If that innovation—and there would not be the discrepancy of age between the new and the old Fellows that there will probably be between workmen scholars and youths of eighteen or nineteen—was a marked success, a further step in democratising the University might be taken. Meanwhile some of the scholarship and exhibition money could be handed over to the Universities of London and Birmingham, or to similar institutions more in touch with members of the working classes.

A mechanic in Magdalen or Christ Church would feel as out of place as he would at a dining-table in the Carlton Hotel. If an Act of Parliament were passed compelling the Reform Club to elect ten

workmen a year, what would be the inevitable result?

J. B. RYE.

Oxford.

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## IRELAND 'IN EXTREMIS'

IT is impossible to envy the condition of mind of those Unionists, and there are many of them, who for the past three years have closed their eyes and ears to the rapid declension of two-thirds of Ireland from a state of admitted peace to one of almost incomparable anarchy. For reasons many and various the Unionist party has, with a few notable exceptions, devoted the whole of its time to problems involved in the Fiscal, Licensing, and Educational controversies; it has been almost impossible to arrest the attention of a British audience, even for a moment, and to get their sympathy for fellow-loyalists living in misery and terror about twelve hours distant from the metropolis of the Empire. At last the truth is dawning upon them and they are sickened at the news; they cannot but feel that, if they had attacked the present Government on the maladministration of Irish affairs with anything like the concentration and courage which distinguished their onslaughts upon the Licensing and Education Bills (since deceased), fewer families would be living in jeopardy of their lives by day and night, fewer tradesmen would be ruined by the 'boycott,' fewer farmers reduced to penury by cattle-driving, fewer postmen and process-servers maltreated when engaged on the King's business, fewer cattle maimed and mutilated in the country districts of Ireland.

But if recent disclosures have aroused the deepest feelings of Unionists, what must be the sensations of Liberals and Labour men who have not sunk to the level of being but stipendiary or voluntary echoes of their party leaders? What must those men and women feel who observe the appalling figures of crime and outrage, of tyranny by boycott and agrarian offence, reeled off by Mr. Birrell in answer to questions in the very first week of the new session? These things are not denied by the Government, nor by the United Irish League, which is responsible, directly or indirectly, for most of them. On the contrary, they are admitted and scarcely palliated, except by one or two inexperienced politicians in the House of Lords.

But when it comes to the question of punishment or prevention—aye, 'there's the rub.' Every conceivable excuse that human ingenuity can evolve for the utter failure of the law is offered by those in authority, from the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor downwards. The

latter gentleman assured the House of Lords that 'in about one-third of Ireland there is a deplorable state of things that ought to be of Ireland there is a deplotation and we try and have tried to be punished, that ought to be stopped, and we try and have tried to punished, that ought to be stopped, stop it.' And how have they 'tried' in the matter of cattle-driving, a cursed invention which the Bishops have condemned almost without a cursed invention which the Daniel Act of Edward the Third exception? They have invoked an ancient Act of Edward the Third (the 'ordinary law' forsooth!), and have bound some one thousand people caught in the act 'to keep the peace.' But they have in truth thereby stamped the delinquents as prominent agitators, and have so ensured them getting the largest and best slices of land when a property in the neighbourhood has to be purchased and divided by the Estates Commissioners! There is no penalty in this; it is no punishment, for I could tell of many men who have gone to the police to demand the reason why they were not arrested and bound, declaring that they had been engaged in cattle-drives which they named. Sometimes they are told to give bail for good behaviour, and if they refuse they are sent to gaol for a short term. Mr. Birrell asks us to consider that a penalty. How can we oblige him, when we know that in gaol they are treated as untried prisoners, wearing their own clothes, seeing their friends, receiving newspapers and writing letters, and being fed from outside at the expense of the League funds? No wonder they prefer gaol to bail; but it would be a different story if the Crimes Act were enforced, and if the sentence before two resident magistrates was one of imprisonment with hard labour for such term as the gravity of the offence demanded. A few such sentences would close the cattle-driving campaign in Ireland once and, probably, for all. And this, of all sections of the Crimes Act, is the easiest to put into operation; for it can be used—unlike the rest of the Actwithout proclaiming a district. This section (sub-section 3 of section 2) was actually proposed by a Nationalist member of Parliament, Mr. O'Doherty, on the 18th of May, 1887, in the following language:

This is an extension of the Crimes Act to all Ireland, and it exempts the Government from the necessity of 'proclaiming' any part of the country in order to punish offences against public order. . . . What I want the Government to do is to state that, when this particular offence of holding unlawful assemblies and rioting occurs, the offenders may be tried in a summary way without the stigma of Proclamation being put upon the district.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., seconded the amendment, which was accepted by Mr. Balfour and became part of the 'ordinary law'; but it is never used by the present Government, though when cattledriving is indulged in by two or more persons it constitutes an unlawful assembly, and may be dealt with as the Nationalists themselves proposed.

With such a weapon in their hands, it is idle for the Prime Minister and his colleagues to bewail the difficulty of getting evidence. Of course they cannot get it when every possible witness knows ful

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Of full well that, if he stated all he knew, he would be handed over to the tender mercies of the League when the Government had picked his brains. Things were different in Mr. Balfour's day; evidence was forthcoming by inquiries under the Crimes Act, convictions were obtained, and order was restored. Evidence is all a question of confidence; if the 'man in the street' (even in Ireland) knows he will be protected, he will come forward and give his evidence against a state of things which he loathes as much as any man; if he knows that he will be deserted and thrown to the wolves, he will keep his mouth shut. Yet we are told it is 'coercion' to ask for the enforcement of the Crimes Act. I agree with the poor farmer in Galway who said to me 'I never knew coercion except the coercion of bad neighbours.'

Before leaving this cattle-driving form of intimidation I would like to add that, large as are the numbers officially given, some 800 drives have been excluded from the Parliamentary returns because a rule has been laid down by the present Chief Secretary that only where these riots are followed by a conviction for unlawful assembly before a jury, or where compensation has been granted for injury to cattle, shall they be recorded in the criminal statistics. And, similarly, the records of crime take no official cognisance of the immense number of persons who are prevented by the United Irish League from taking or stocking grazing farms. In the days of Mr. Walter Long there was no fear and no difficulty in thus carrying on the ordinary business of agricultural life. He laid down an instruction to the Estates Commissioners that they should not purchase or divide lands where such intimidation had taken place. The present Government repealed this most wise regulation, and now cattle-driving and gross intimidation form no bar to lands thus vacated being dealt with by the Commissioners. Once more we see that vice is its own reward and a high premium is set on lawlessness.

It is amazing that, when coercion so rampant and relentless is applied both to the Government and the people of Ireland by the United Irish League, His Majesty's Ministers cannot summon up sufficient courage to shield either their own honour or the lives of those whom they are paid to protect. Who can blame, in these circumstances of helpless surrender, Mr. John Redmond, M.P., for his well-founded boast in New York on the 22nd of September 1908: 'We (the United Irish League) maintain an office in Dublin within whose walls, practically speaking, the Government of Ireland is carried on.'

Let me give one sample of this government. We learn from the Roscommon Herald of the 24th of October 1908 that the Longford branch of the United Irish League held a meeting on the 18th of October. A Mr. Thompson 'proposed that no man should trade with John Rogers, as he grabbed a portion of land at Lamagh. He carts milk in here to

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After a few words, 'an order was made that any person the town. After a rew words, transgressing the law with him in future would be brought up and dealt with.'

It with. Of the sequel I am competent to speak, as I have seen this poor man and his wife in Newtownforbes, where he lives. I have already referred to this case in a recent letter to the Times, but it bears and demands repetition until it is relieved by the authorities. He is absolutely boy. cotted, and I think he told me that his house has police-patrol protection, but I am not absolutely certain. He cannot buy food except from a boycotted tradesman; he cannot sell his milk; ruin stares him and his family in the face. His little boy was sent away from the school for being the son of his father; his girls are often pelted with stones as they leave their school. His wife went to the parish priest to complain of the way in which her child was treated by the schoolmaster, but the priest slipped out by the back door and so avoided her She went to the Bishop of the diocese, who, on hearing that the boy was the son of a 'boycott' who had taken some 'condemned' land, could only reply 'Isn't boycotting the penalty they always inflict for that?' I have said that this man's milk trade is ruined: ave, and British soldiers wearing the King's uniform are made to boycott him even against their will. Certain married men of the Army Service Corps, quartered at Longford and living in the town. were informed by their landlords that they must cease buying their milk from him or they would get no lodgings in Longford; so theythe King's soldiers-had to obey the law of the League. I have reported the case to the Secretary of State for War and to the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, who cannot deny its accuracy; but nothing is done, for 'the government of Ireland is carried on within the walls of the United Irish League office.' Yet this man Rogers, and a dozen others in the same district whom I have seen and could name, will not surrender to the forces of disorder though the League and the Government be against them. Others have surrendered, some out of sheer terror and some from pity for their families. The last case I hear of is of a railway clerk, a Unionist, who has given in; and this is but one of many. Unhappily, there are no statistics of these.

Yet we are told ad nauseam that boycotting is very difficult to deal with, and that the Government would do so if it could. Again we must call history to witness, and cite the Crimes Act and Mr. T. W. Russell's letter to the Times in March 1889 to prove the case. Before the Crimes Act came into force in August 1887 there were some five thousand cases of boycotting; in December these were reduced to about 2400; in December 1888 the number was 712; and on the 31st of December 1891 the then Chief Secretary declared that there was not a single case of a person being either wholly or partially boycotted. There is a complete answer; by the Crimes Act (Sec. 6) the League can be proclaimed as a 'dangerous association,' its meetings

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prohibited under penalty, and its tyrannical resolutions suppressed. prohibited which, the most that Mr. Birrell would do was to 'prohibit Instead of male and other persons.' So absurd a was to prohibit the publication of notices criminally libelling and intimidating owners of grazing lands and other persons.' So absurd a notice was derided of grazing the Nationalist Press of Ireland, and, except in form, no all through the slightest attention to it. Observe how easy it is editor has provided the spirit of this egregious prohibition: the editor may not publish the name of an obnoxious person as such; very well. The resolution is therefore framed as follows:

The Moylough Branch: That, as we have not up to the present received any intimation of the demanded withdrawal by this branch from the late take on the Powell estate of the objectionable, we are determined, in the event of his refusal, to have recourse to pressure of public opinion.2

### And again:

The Geevagh Branch: That we severely notice the action of a certain man from Unmeryoe in his connection with driving police, and we now call upon every Nationalist to observe the rules of the League.2

And yet Mr. Birrell fondly imagines that his regulations are being obeyed, and that the law, which he is well salaried to administer, is being respected! Let him be under no delusion; he no longer governs Ireland—if, indeed, he ever did; Mr. Redmond is the ruler from his office in Dublin, although the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary may imagine that they reign. And that is why the rich and poor go in terror of their lives and livelihoods in the twenty-two disordered counties in Ireland. That is why 47,000l. was charged on last year's estimates for extra police in Ireland; why thousands of pounds are charged on county rates for malicious injuries to property; why hundreds of people are boycotted; why tradesmen are ruined by the score and grinding tyranny crushes the spirit out of the poorest of the poor. Let any impartial man read the Judges' charges at the winter assizes in the crime-ridden counties, or the Lenten pastorals of the Bishops published ten days ago. These face the facts and state them; but the Chief Secretary, if he admits them (which is doubtful), laments his incapacity to cope with them.

There are not a few who believe that, by permitting all this unrest in Ireland, Mr. Birrell hopes ultimately to disgust Great Britain of her ancient connexion with the sister-isle and so to hasten the day of Home Rule for Ireland. He is certainly doing much to confirm them in that belief. He is arming the peasantry to the teeth, by ignoring the unanimous opinion of the police authorities that the Arms Act should not be repealed; he is adding to the financial obligations (over 330,000,000l. since 1880) which Ireland has incurred towards this country and which she, as other countries have done, may repudiate when separation takes place; he is making the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sligo Champion, November 14.

country impossible for friends of Great Britain to live in, Irish born and bred though they be. Feckless, he takes no note of the way in which the county and district councils in three provinces of Ireland do their public work as mere branches of the United Irish League, or of the governing capacity of Nationalists as shown in the recent Convention in Dublin. He probably has not even read of the part which the Irish-American newspapers expect Ireland to play in the subjugation of Great Britain once the former is independent.

It is quite idle for Mr. Redmond to attempt to minimise the stated facts by endeavouring to set up an analogy between ordinary crime in England and agrarian crime in Ireland. Into the former it is not my business now to inquire; but this difference must be noted once and for all: that, whereas in England the people are on the side of the law and the malefactor is punished, in the disturbed districts of Ireland the populace sides with the law-breakers who, if caught, get off scot-free. Besides which, the Irish disorders are the outcome of an organised conspiracy against the law of the land, and could be suppressed (as Mr. Dillon admitted in the House of Commons on the 24th of February) if the Nationalist party chose to denounce them; but the crime in England is committed by individuals without any pre-concerted arrangement whatsoever, and no Parliamentary party has the power to stop them.

Meanwhile Ireland is suffering morally and materially. It rests with the Unionist party to redress her just grievances, to crush agitation, to restore order and liberty for the law-abiding citizens of that unhappy land: for in all these particulars the present Administra-

tion has lamentably failed.

IAN MALCOLM.

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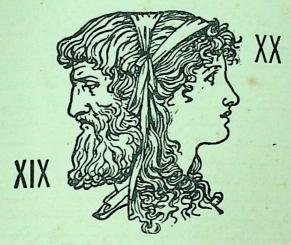
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# NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCLXXXVI—APRIL 1909

### THE NAVAL SITUATION

THE Navy Estimates for the coming financial year have been awaited with eager interest; they did not appear until an unusually late date (the 12th of March). It was recognised a year ago that there must be a considerable increase of expenditure, and that an enlarged programme of shipbuilding would have to be undertaken in view of the great activity of Germany. Amateurs, claiming more or less authority on the subject, have been occupied ever since in framing programmes. During the last two months they have been exceptionally busy, while rumours have been rife of dissensions in the Cabinet in deciding on the number of new ships to be provided for. This leakage of information in regard to Cabinet procedure is greatly to be regretted, and must do harm. Last year similar incidents took place in connexion with the preparation of the Navy Estimates, and the writer then ventured in these pages to point out the consequent evils, expressing a hope that what had happened would prove to be a rare departure from an honourable tradition.' Unfortunately that hope has not been realised, but it is unquestionable that the maintenance of secrecy in regard to preliminary stages in the preparation of Estimosischer in regard to preliminary stages in the preparation of Estimates is essential to efficient administration, and that the Vol. LXV-No. 386

reputation of a Government which does not secure that result must

Many features in the new Navy Estimates deserve consideration Many features in the new and importance; but for the moment the because of their novelty and importance; but for the moment the programme of shipbuilding is, by common consent, the vital question programme of shipbunding is, overshadowing all others. The debate in the House of Commons has been confined almost entirely to this subject. Although the First Lord, in his opening speech, alluded briefly to other matters, his Lord, in his opening speed, statement in regard to new construction was so unusual in form and dominated only statement in regard to how substance that it riveted attention and dominated subsequent discussion. Obviously the action taken by the First Lord was deliberate and thoroughly considered, and the speech had been most carefully prepared. It was naturally influenced by the consideration that many supporters of the Ministry had declared themselves hostile to increased expenditure on armaments; it may therefore have been thought desirable to place beyond question the necessity for making a larger provision for shipbuilding and for other items of importance in the Estimates. On the other hand, it may be doubted whether the Government realised beforehand the full effect which official statements made by Mr. McKenna, and subsequently confirmed by the Prime Minister, would have upon the House of Commons and the country. Before those statements were made the questions of chief interest had been-what number of ships would be laid down and what would be the additional expenditure? The speech of Mr. Balfour at once indicated that exceptional importance attached to other issues which had been raised. His treatment of the subject was worthy of the occasion. In words that must command universal assent Mr. Balfour referred to the 'immense effect upon the national destinies which may result from the decision which the House will take during the next two or three days'; and in view of what the First Lord had said this was no exaggeration. The Prime Minister in the opening sentence of his reply frankly admitted the truth of Mr. Balfour's opinion, and said: 'We are face to face, not with a party issue, but with a matter which affects the well-being, and indeed the safety, of the Empire.' These weighty words should be borne in mind by all who attempt to influence public opinion on the subject, and they will be remembered by the writer in all that follows.

The primary fact requiring to be kept in view at a time like this. when public anxiety has been awakened, is that the maintenance of naval supremacy is essential to the existence of the Empire. The nation is united in the resolve to maintain that supremacy at all costs, and only harm is done by exaggerated statements or by the hysterical inquiry which has been made in some quarters, 'Can our state Sea-Power be saved?' As a matter of fact the supremacy of the British Navy is as real at the present moment as it has ever been Illustrated a second Universal assent was given less than a year ago to a declaration in

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that sense made by the Prime Minister, and no one of authority now that sense the fact. The only matter requiring to be dealt that sense made. The only matter requiring to be dealt with now questions the fact. and execution of such a programment and execution of such a programment. questions the land execution of such a programme of further is the arrangement and execution of such a programme of further is the arrangement our continual supremacy at sea, notwithconstruction as the construction as which may or can be made by Germany and other tanding all efforts which may or can be essential point. standing an end. Balfour's words the essential point is whether or countries. In some state of the second state o tiends consider the programme embodied in the Navy Estimates friends to the insufficient, he invites the House of Commons to declare of 1909-10 that the policy of his Majesty's Government respecting the immethat the Provision of battleships of the newest types does not sufficiently diate provided the Empire.' That motion raises a distinct issue; the debate thereon should clear the air, and should enable the real naval situation to be better understood. Meantime it is desirable to avoid any disposition to create a naval 'scare' for which there is absolutely no justification, and the creation of which could only make us ridiculous in the eyes of the world.

For the present condition of anxiety in the public mind the Admiralty and the Government must undoubtedly be held responsible in great measure. It is the natural result of the form in which the shipbuilding programme has been presented in the Estimates, and of statements made in the House of Commons by the First Lord. Those statements were guarded and limited, no doubt, but the limitations have not been recognised generally, and a great impression was made on the House and the country by the serious tone adopted by Mr. McKenna and the Prime Minister when dealing with the recent action of Germany.

Take first the form in which the programme of shipbuilding has been presented. It may be said with truth that the Government thereby frankly confessed the absence of any definite decision on their part in regard to the number of battleships necessary to be ordered in 1909-10. It might be four or eight. Two battleships were to be laid down in July, two others in November; these were to be pressed forward rapidly and completed in two years from the dates of laying down. In regard to the other four ships the responsible authorities were content to express their policy as follows in a footnote to the Estimates:

His Majesty's Government may in the course of the financial year 1909-10 find it necessary to make preparations for the rapid construction of further ships commencing on the 1st of April in the following financial year. They, therefore, ask Parliament to entrust them with powers to do this effectively; such powers as would enable them to arrange in the financial year 1909-10 for the order. the ordering, collection and supply of materials for guns, gun-mountings, armour, machinery and shipbuilding, thus making possible the laying down at the date above indicated of four more ships to be completed by March 1912.

Mr. Balfour desired that for 'may' the word 'shall' might be

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The Prime Minister declined to accede to that change; substituted. The Prime Minister at the result of this action, the motion for a Vote of Censure followed. The result of this action, as might have been anticipated, was to transfer to the floor of the as might have been anticipated, ... House of Commons a discussion as to the 'necessary' number of ships. House of Commons a discussion which matter ought to have been dealt with finally and completely which matter ought to have been dealt with finally and completely in camera by the Admiralty and the Cabinet. As the writer remarked

Responsibility for the maintenance of our defensive forces at a proper Responsibility for the maintenance by the Government. Upon the Cabinet standard must necessarily be borne by the Government. Upon the Cabinet standard must necessarily be borned; upon the Admiralty developed the Cabinet rests the duty of determining governing conditions by which the standard of rests the duty of determining government and an availand military force shall be fixed: upon the Admiralty devolves the duty naval and military lores shall extent of the naval expenditure necessary to fulf these governing conditions.

Neither of these duties has been fulfilled in the new Navy Estimates, Instead of decisions one finds a 'contingent' programme, which has been attacked and defended at great length in Parliament and in the press. But for the important issues involved, the spectacle would have been amusing when politicians, innocent of technical knowledge like the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, the First Lord, and many others, attempted in public debate to make estimates of the number of new ships which would be 'necessary' at various dates, or to fix 'dangerperiods' likely to occur during the next three or four years. What happened really demonstrated what must happen if responsible administrators virtually abdicate their functions, and fail to reach and state definite decisions on matters of programme and Estimates.

Mr. McKenna led off in the direction indicated. Starting from the sound hypothesis that one is 'obliged to refer to foreign countries in making estimates of our naval requirements,' and that no country was developing its naval strength 'at a pace comparable with that of Germany,' the First Lord selected that 'Power as the standard by which to measure our own requirements'; adding 'the House wil understand that I do so only for what may be called arithmetical purposes.' His method proved singularly attractive to all who followed in the debate; everyone felt equal to an arithmetical effort, although some failed in their attempts to marshal figures, and others -perhaps unintentionally-overstated the German case. Much valuable time was wasted and no small confusion arose. 'Arithmetical' exercises have since proved attractive also to writers in the press; the game is still going on, with widely divergent results as to the relative numbers of German and British Dreadnoughts which will be complete and ready for service at various dates. Arithmetical exercises are necessary, of course, in settling a programme, but they should be performed deliberately by the Admiralty, and definite decisions based upon them should be communicated to Parliament after approval by the Cabinet. In the course of a long official experience the writer has never known of a refusal by the House of Commons to accept estimates

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1909 put forward by the Government representing what they considered put forward by for the national defence. There may be, and often to be necessary
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differences of opinion as to the provision asked for, but it have been, different that the Government must be trusted, otherwise has always been would disappear. If the provision suggested for any its responsibility would disappear the House and the considered inadequate by the House and the constant is considered. its responsibility of a Vote of Censure and the country, of course service is always the possibility of a Vote of Censure such as Mr. Balfour has proposed to move. It is the duty of a Government to make up has proposed to act. If there are contingencies to be met they its mind and to act. If there are contingencies to be met they its millu data with on lines similar to those adopted by Lord Goschen ten years ago when Russia was embarking on a special shipbuilding programme. Supplemental Estimates are always available if unforeprogramments arise; known requirements ought to be provided for in the regular Estimates. These are axiomatic statements, no doubt, but they need to be applied in practice.

Another fundamental condition, stated by Mr. McKenna before proceeding to give the results of his arithmetical investigations, also requires to be kept in mind. He clearly laid it down that his comparative figures applied only to 'the newest types of battleships and cruisers '-in popular language, to Dreadnoughts and Invincibles, or, shortly, to Dreadnoughts. He admitted that this method of 'calculating in Dreadnoughts and Invincibles alone may seem unsatisfactory, and even unfair, to some persons'; and he declared that the British Navy built before the Dreadnought era 'still constituted a mighty fleet.' The facts stated by the writer in this Review for December last demonstrate the truth of the last statement; indeed, these ships really constitute our existing naval force, since there are as yet only five of the modern vessels in full commission. According to the latest official estimates there will be ten Dreadnoughts and Invincibles finished at the end of next year and sixteen at the end of 1911. For the next three or four years, therefore, the main strength of the Royal Navy must consist of pre-Dreadnought ships. McKenna himself really demonstrated this fact in dealing with 'our battle strength in 1912, 'gave' roughly 'about fifty vessels as available, excluding Invincibles; and from his other statements it appears that only sixteen out of the fifty vessels would be Dreadnoughts. Later in the debate Mr. Macnamara fell back on this fact, and used it as an argument when pressed by comparisons of numbers of British and German Dreadnoughts likely to be available at different dates; but the limited scheme of comparison which the First Lord had started and the Prime Minister had adopted was naturally adhered to by the critics. The Financial Secretary's statement is worth quoting since it supports the contention of the writer and those who think with him. Dr. Macnamara said:

To-day we had forty first-class battleships, all under twenty years of age in ril 1912 April 1912. There was no other nation or any combination of any two nations

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which had such a magnificent reserve force. We had two Lord Nelsons which had such a magnificent reserve love.

had met more than one naval officer who would rather fight with the Lord Nelson Nels had met more than one naval omcer who ... than with the *Dreadnought*. In addition we had eight King Edwards, &c., &c.,

Dr. Macnamara might have added that many naval officers consider Dr. Macnamara might have determined the Dreadnought in offensive and the King Edwards to be superior to the Dreadnought in offensive and the King Edwards to be superior the Mr. McKenna, confined the defensive power. Mr. Asquith, like Mr. McKenna, confined the defensive power. Mr. Asquard, numerical comparisons he put forward to British and German Dread. numerical comparisons no partial Dread noughts, but was careful to explain that while he agreed that vessels of earlier type from the partial Dread noughts. of new types will gradually exclude vessels of earlier type from effective competition, he considered the magnificent fleet of forty battleships we now possessed to be 'the finest fleet which has ever been seen in the history of the world.' He added that 'up to the year 1912-13 it will be still the most powerful and most efficient and most formidable fighting fleet.'

Leaving out of account, however, all matters of opinion as to the relative fighting values of different types, the point requires to be pressed home that the main strength of the Royal Navy now and for some years to come must consist of pre-Dreadnought vessels, and that to treat them now simply as a 'reserve'—magnificent or otherwise is to unduly depreciate their importance. As time passes and these vessels grow older they must, of course, depreciate in value, and finally they will disappear; but Mr. McKenna apparently failed to realise the enormous importance of a reserve of ships in the passage of his speech in which the subject of 'scrapping' the older vessels of a fleet was touched. Those who are interested in the subject may turn to this Review for May 1905. The writer will be content with one quotation from the opinions he then expressed and to which he still adheres:

Increase in the power of artillery and explosives and the extended use of underwater attacks-by means of locomotive torpedoes and submarines-have rendered greater the probability of serious damage to structures, armament and equipment. Developments of mechanical power and of elaborate as well as delicate organisms in armament and equipment have enlarged the risks of injury to offensive power and manœuvring capability, and have added seriously to the time and cost of making repairs. Both sides engaged in a contest must suffer; but it is undoubted that supremacy on the high seas can only be assured by considerable superiority in numbers as well as in the power of individual ships of the several classes. The British Navy ought, therefore, to possess such a reserve of ships available for service that after a campaign with a powerful enemy its effective force shall still be able to meet, with assurance of success, any fleet which is likely to be brought against it: even if that fleet had not been engaged in the earlier stages of the war and consequently remained practically intact, while many of our ships will be war-worn and to some extent deteriorated. These are the commonplace considerations which have governed our naval policy for nearly twenty years, and have led to the retention on the effective list (although in inferior categories) of a considerable number of vessels of various classes which had passed by lapse of time through the process of gradual degradation in rank. As 'in the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king,' so in the last stages of a great naval struggle these ships might play a decisive part.

It is worth noting that the German Admiralty has adopted the

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system which has been departed from by our own Admiralty in system which out the 'scrap-heap' policy of the last four or five years. carrying out or five years.

Even when so-called 'substitute ships' have been completed for the German Navy their predecessors are usually retained for a time as German and in recent years large sums of money have been spent on reserves, and improvements in German ships which are distinctly repairs to British ships which have been scrapped. The main fact to be kept in mind, however, is that above stated—the naval power of Great Britain now and for some years to come must depend on ships of the pre-Dreadnought period. No comparison limited to Dreadof the Programmed to Dread-noughts gives a measure of the actual relative naval force of various countries.

The controversy in regard to the numbers of British and German Dreadnoughts which will be completed at different dates still continues. There is no dispute about the British ships, but considerable differences of opinion exist as to the dates of completion of their rivals. Admiralty statements, used by the Prime Minister and First Lord, may be briefly summarised. At present Great Britain has five vessels completed and two others will be finished this summer; Germany has none complete; two are to be finished towards the end of this year. At the end of 1910 it is anticipated we shall have ten ships ready and Germany five. In April 1911 the corresponding numbers are twelve and nine; at the end of that year sixteen and thirteen; in April 1912 twenty and seventeen. The German rate of progress is put higher by some writers as well as by Mr. Balfour and his followers. One of the most sensational estimates on this side gives for December 1910 ten British as against nine German, and for April 1911 twelve British against thirteen German, but the assumptions on which this estimate is based do not appear trustworthy, and are contradicted by a semiofficial communiqué published in the Cologne Gazette of the 21st of March. According to this authority-which confirms a statement said to have been previously made to the Budget Committee of the Reichstag by the Secretary of State for the Navy, Admiral von Tirpitz -the anticipated dates of completion for German Dreadnoughts are as follow: The first four battleships afloat will be ready for active service between the autumn of this year and the spring of 1910; the first armoured cruiser was launched on the 20th of March and will be completed in the summer of 1910; three other battleships and a second cruiser are to be ready for service in the summer or autumn of 1911; and an equal addition to the active list will be made in the course of 1912, when the grand total of completed German Dreadnoughts and Invincibles will be thirteen, instead of seventeen assumed as possible by Mr. McKenna, and twenty-one assumed as possible by Mr. Balfour and his friends. The German journal adds: 'We have more confidence in the figures of Admiral von Tirpitz than in those of the E of the First Lord of the British Admiralty, and we do not believe that

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anyone will doubt the statements of our Naval Secretary in respect anyone will doubt the statement. This comment is natural enough in of matters touching our Navy. This comment is natural enough in of matters touching our mary.

view of the fact that British journals of high standing have ventured view of the fact that British journals of high standing have ventured view of the fact that British Journal to let us know in a friendly to suggest that Germany might be asked 'to let us know in a friendly way' what is the real interpretation she actually places on her (Navy) way' what is the real interpretations'; simply because a free.

Law because it 'would help to good relations'; simply because a free. Law because it would help to got lance and not unprejudiced writer like Count Reventlow happens to express opinions differing from those attributed to the Secretary of express opinions differing from State. Suggestions of such a nature surely indicate that British State. Suggestions of Such a state whether or not an well suggestions of Such as well journalists have rather lost their heads. They might quite as well ask the British Government to state whether or not an opinion on any naval subject expressed by Mr. McKenna was to be accepted, if one of our many naval experts differed from the First Lord.

A careful perusal of the reports of the debate leads to the conviction that the anxiety which has undoubtedly arisen in regard to the relative standing of the British and German fleets, so far as Dreadnoughts are concerned, has been caused by statements made by the First Lord on the faith of information furnished to him by his professional advisers, and now reported to be contradicted by responsible German authorities. To say the least this is an unfortunate occurrence, and does not reflect credit on the Intelligence Department at the Admiralty. It appears desirable to deal with this matter more fully, as the incident is unusual and the declarations publicly made by the First Lord are of an unprecedented character. These statements were twofold. First, Mr. McKenna said, 'the Government find themselves placed at this moment so that we do not know—as we thought we did—the rate at which German construction is taking place . . . we do not know the rate at which the provisions of this Act (Navy Bill of 1908) are to be carried into execution.' Secondly, Mr. McKenna asserted that there was good reason to believe that the dates of completion originally assumed for the four German ships of the 1909 programme would be anticipated, and that similar acceleration in construction might be secured with the four ships of the 1910 programme. The German financial year, like the British, begins in April. Mr. McKenna stated that one of the four German ships of the 1909-10 programme was already 'laid down'; two others were not laid down, although materials for their construction have been collected and the armaments are in course of construction; as to the fourth he 'did not know' whether the vessel had or had not been laid down. This last statement was extraordinary, for it is by no means difficult to ascertain whether or not a battleship is in course of construction on a building slip. The localities in which all the German ships are to be built are well known, and anyone who cares to take the trouble can discover readily whether or not the operations of building are in hand. An Intelligence Department exists for the purpose of obtaining accurate information on subjects affecting our

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naval policy, and it is clear that if information is not obtained in cases such as the foregoing the work of the Department has not been done efficiently. Mr. McKenna strongly resented this charge when it was made, but the effort to defend officials did more credit to his heart than to his head.

According to the Cologne Gazette, the facts are as follow: The Navy Law of 1908 provided that three battleships and one large Navy Bar. Navy Bar. Should be laid down in the financial year 1909-10, which commences on the 1st of April 1909. The orders for two of the three battleships were placed with private yards (at Stettin and Danzig) about October 1908, although the first instalments of the ships had not yet been voted by the Reichstag. The reasons alleged for this anticipation of the date of ordering are that a discharge of workmen which would otherwise have occurred was avoided, and that more favourable terms were obtained from builders because of the depressed condition of shipbuilding. In passing it may be remarked that this explanation is quite reasonable. Further, it is stated that the period allowed for construction of these two vessels extends to thirty-six months from the date at which the first instalment is voted by the Reichstag, and that they will not be completed before April 1912. For the other two vessels of the 1909-10 programme no tenders have yet been invited, and it is not expected they will be completed until the autumn of 1912. At that date Germany would have altogether thirteen completed Dreadnoughts instead of seventeen in April 1912 estimated by the Admiralty, and the possible twenty-one contemplated by Mr. Balfour. It is admitted that the Cologne Gazette derives its inspiration from high official authority, and there appears no reason to doubt that the communiqué was intended to show that there is no real cause for the suspicion which Mr. McKenna's statement aroused in this country, and that Germany was not secretly accelerating the rate of production of warships. No one has questioned her right to determine that rate without regard to other countries; but in some quarters the worst possible construction has been placed on the incident which Mr. McKenna described as having come to the knowledge of the Admiralty last November. He then cited this date as a proof of the alertness of the Intelligence Department, but the Times subsequently called attention to the fact that its correspondent had given information on the 15th of October that two battleships had been ordered. Hence it appears that what one of the apologists of the Admiralty recently described as 'a new fact,' was not a 'fact 'at all as regards two ships, and was not 'new' as regards the other two. No doubt there are some persons who will treat this semi-official statement as only a fresh proof of German duplicity. When men can bring themselves to base upon the confessedly imperfect information as to German shipbuilding given by Mr. McKenna a charge such as is contained in the following sentence: 'By an act of moral treachery a foreign Power has doubled

its naval programme in secret and has gained six months' start in a its naval programme in secret and he expected to maintain that conspiracy against our life '—they may be expected to maintain that conspiracy against our life — they have been all circumstances. Reasonable men, however, will be prepared view in all circumstances. view in all circumstances. Reasonable to believe that the publication of the German statement has been to believe that the publication of the German statement has been made in good faith and is intended by its authors to remove misapprehensions caused by Mr. McKenna's speech, and to relieve the apprehensions caused by hit the produced thereby in the minds of British people.

Viewed in the light of the latest information it will be seen that a programme which provides for effectively commencing two new British battleships in July and two others in November next, and for completing each ship in two years, should give us sixteen completed vessels of the Dreadnought and Invincible classes before the end of 1911, at which time Germany would possess nine similar vessels ready for service, two others approaching completion, and two well advanced but not expected to be ready for service until the autumn of 1912. Further, if orders are placed for four additional British ships so that their actual erection can be commenced in April 1910, these also should be available before the summer of 1912, and we should then have twenty battleships and cruisers of modern types as against thirteen German ships. What margin of strength in these particular classes of warships should be provided is a matter for the Government to decide; but in making that decision regard should be had to two important considerations: First, the enormous preponderance in numbers and power of the British Navy in ships of the pre-Dreadnought types; second, the ignorance which still prevails in the Admiralty as to the actual particulars—including offensive and defensive powers—of the latest German battleships and cruisers. When the Nassau and her sisters enter into service many of these carefully and successfully guarded secrets must be disclosed. It is most desirable that the facts should be known before further designs for H.M. ships are finally Admirers of the present régime are already declaring loudly that recent debates have conclusively demonstrated universal acceptance of the Dreadnought type as the best possible, and that all which now remains to be done is to multiply it. The writer has stated his views in regard to that type (see this Review for June 1908) and does not desire to carry on the controversy here. He will be content to express the conviction that as there is no finality in warship design, and as the Dreadnought type is not approved by many competent authorities, it is practically certain that it will not remain permanently in favour or be so long continued in use as its advocates think probable. Mr. McKenna said that 'inasmuch as every other country is copying us we assume that it is the best type of ship.' He did not realise perhaps that other nations are not copying the Dreadnought in many important features, and particularly in defensive power and secondary armament. The First Lord himself in the same speech went on to

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say that the four ships of the new programme would be 'greatly superior to the Dreadnoughts and Superbs; and consequently in 1911-12 our fleet will be much stronger than if we had gone on the lines of building four ships each year.' He stated also that the new ships would 'we believe be something like 30 per cent. superior to the Dreadnought.' It would be interesting if he would inform those interested in warship design what is the scale of comparison by which this 30 per cent. is measured. Apart from the provision of that information one may venture to hope that Mr. McKenna will keep an open mind, and will endeavour to discover what is the general opinion of the Naval Service as to the type of battleship best suited for adoption in the Royal Navy, rather than to approve the perpetuation on an increasing scale of size and cost of so-called Dreadnoughts.

In passing it may be noted that the so-called 'secret procedure' which the Germans are practising was really begun by the British Admiralty about four years ago, when the Dreadnought and Invincible classes were introduced. Up to that time German practice had been characterised by free disclosure of details of designs for new ships. When it was publicly declared by representatives of our Admiralty that particulars of our ships must be refused 'in the public interest,' it was natural that the Germans should take a similar course. If rumours may be trusted, and in this case they seem probable, the attempts to keep secret from German authorities particulars of our designs did not prove successful, and there is evidence on the other hand that the Germans have played the game of secrecy better. Yet the game goes on and is illustrated even in the Navy Estimates just issued, wherein many details which must have been settled for various vessels, and which ought to be given to Parliament in the public interest,' do not appear, but are represented by blank spaces.

It would be interesting also to have authentic information in view of the complaints recently made against German naval authorities because a few orders have been antedated, and contractors have been enabled to push on with preparations for building two new battleships, as to whether similar action has been taken in this country in recent years. If report speaks truly, such action has been taken in several cases, and no one need object to it; but if it has been taken, why throw stones at other people if they do likewise? In carrying out large operations in warship-building it is perfectly legitimate to use every proper means in order to get the work completed in the stipulated time.

The situation in Germany at the present moment is one of great difficulty for the naval authorities. Under the Navy Acts of 1900, 1906, and 1908 they are charged with the construction of a great fleet of thirty-eight modern battleships, twenty large armoured cruisers, thirty-eight small protected cruisers, and 144 torpedo craft, besides a number of submarines within a certain period. At the start the

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battleships constructed were of about 13,200 tons displacement, each battleships constructed were of about one and a quarter millions costing (inclusive of armaments) about one and a quarter millions costing (inclusive of armaments) the description of these were laid down from 1900 onwards and are the Dreadnought was laid down in 1902. sterling. Ten of these were laid and are now on service. When the *Dreadnought* was laid down in 1905, and now on service. When the Drewious battleships 'obsolescent', heralded as a type that made all previous battleships 'obsolescent', heralded as a type that made as I be obsolescent, if not obsolete, the German authorities thought it worth their while if not obsolete, the German according to improve upon that vessel, and so made a start in that competition which has so much exercised, of late, the minds of the British Parliament and people. Consequently, in 1906, a new law was passed Parliament and people.

under which the cost of German battleships was increased by about 50 per cent., and six large armoured cruisers were decided on as rivals to our 'ships of mystery'—the Invincible class which were ordered in 1905. Then in July 1907 the British Admiralty presented to Parliament a return of warships, in which nine out of twenty existing German battleships were officially classed as 'obsolescent.' The German authorities responded by another Navy Act (1908) reducing the agelimit of their battleships from twenty-five to twenty years, and provided for laying down in each of the years 1908-11 four large armoured ships instead of three previously arranged for. German resources had proved capable of coping with the previous programme of shipbuilding, but the latest developments—including the introduction of the rivals to our Dreadnoughts and Invincibles-made necessary great extensions in the means of manufacture of heavy guns and their mountings, of armour and shipbuilding materials. This demand has already been met to a large extent, and in the writer's opinion-formed and expressed before the recent agitation began-there should be no serious difficulty as matters stand in carrying out the programme as amended in 1908, except as regards guns and gun-mountings. Of course, the greatest care and forethought are required on the part of those who are responsible, in order to carry through successfully such a vast undertaking, and, as one whose experience in that kind of work is extensive, the writer can sympathise with the men now bearing the burden in Germany. On the other hand, he feels confident that of late far too much credit has been given in the British Parliament and Press to German industrial resources and possibilities.

One feature of the Dreadnought class is the greatly increased demands it involves for heavy guns, their mountings, and the machinery for working and loading the guns. For instance, a vessel like the Nassau is said to carry twelve 11-inch guns. If they are mounted in pairs, as is usual, each ship will require six sets of heavy gun-mountings and machinery. One of her predecessors of 13,200 tons would have carried four 11-inch guns and have required only two sets of mountings, &c. That is to say, each of the German Dreadnoughts needs as many heavy guns and mountings as would have sufficed to equip three of her predecessors; and there are to be four new ships of the modern type laid down annually instead of three of the preceding class.

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sequently, twenty-four sets of mountings and forty-eight guns (excludsequenty, sequency, are now needed for each year's ships as against twelve ing reserved as against twelve guns and six sets of mountings for the earlier annual programme. The guns and upon the manufacturer has been quadrupled. Here lies the demand are demand at the output of warships in Germany at the present time, and Admiral von Tirpitz practically admitted it to be so in the Reichstag Admirat Volume Reichstag last December. Armour may also be rather difficult to obtain at times, but probably it does not cause serious hindrance.

In Germany Messrs. Krupp have a practical monopoly of the manufacture of armour as well as of heavy guns and their mountings. According to the Times (the 23rd of July 1908) the firm obtained a loan of two and a half millions sterling during the first half of 1908, primarily for the purpose of constructing new workshops for armaments. It was then stated that Berlin banks had provided the whole sum in advance, so that the German Admiralty had probably determined that these extensions were essential to the fulfilment of their enlarged programme not later than April of last year. It is highly improbable that the whole of this new capital was designed to be employed on extensions of factories for guns and gun-mountings, and it is obvious that the construction of buildings and the provision of machinery and equipment on the large scale contemplated would in itself require a considerable time for completion, before the full effect on output could be secured. Mr. McKenna informed the House that the acceleration of the German programme was ordered in October last and was known to the Intelligence Department within a week or two, so that the Admiralty and the Government became aware of the 'new fact' in November. The Times statement shows that this is not a complete account of the transaction, and that the enlargement of Krupp's works was known months before. Mr. McKenna, when questioned further, stated that the Admiralty had information of what was done in July, but his original statement hardly conveyed that impression, and his hearers certainly took November as a critical date.

In this country the manufacture of items corresponding to those of which Krupp has a practical monopoly is undertaken by many establishments—such as Armstrong and Whitworth, Vickers, Beardmore, the Coventry works, and Woolwich Arsenal. We have also five great armour-plate and gun-steel works; while firms like Firth and Hadfield furnish projectiles and steel. No one more admires the great organisation at Essen than does the writer, and he has been made welcome there: but he considers that this country has a distinct superiority over Germany in the scale and distribution of the aforesaid manufactures. He is also of opinion that Mr. Arthur Lee was mistaken in the assertion made during the recent debate that Krupp's present 'output of guns, gun-mountings, turrets, and other essentials of that kind exceeded that of Armstrong, Vickers Maxim, the Coventry works, Woolwich Arsenal, and, in fact, the whole of

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our national resources put together.' It would be interesting to our national resources put together British firms capable of under hear what the heads of these and other British firms capable of under. hear what the heads of these and the would have to say in regard to Mr. taking this class of manufacture would have to say in regard to Mr. taking this class of manufacture when the statement ought to be that Mr. Lee has not the technical to be Lee's assertion. The authority of the has not the technical known given, as it is well known that Mr. Lee has not the technical known given, as it is well known that Mr. Lee has not the technical known given, as it is well known the stimate. Similarly, his assertion ledge requisite to form a trustworthy estimate. Krupp have that during the last twelve months Messrs. Krupp have increased that during the last twelves from 68,000 to 98,000 needs examination the numbers of their employees from 68,000 to 98,000 needs examination the numbers of their employees from 68,000 to 98,000 needs examination to the true property of the t tion and verification. Even if it be true, which appears doubtful one would require to know in which of the many departments of that vast undertaking the increase in numbers has been made. Mr. McKenna was more modest in his estimate of Krupp's capability; including recent extensions it was supposed the firm could 'supply the component parts of eight battleships in one year': the context showing that the reference was to a possible output of 'guns, armour and mountings.' Mr. Roberts (of Sheffield) during the debate read a letter from a correspondent in Germany to the effect 'that the German Emperor has an arrangement with Krupp, and that if necessary that firm could make the complete armaments of ten battleships in one year, of course giving them a few months in which to collect the materials.' Mr. Roberts did not authenticate this statement, but said that 'he knew Krupp's factory was far greater than was needed for Germany's present needs.' In the writer's opinion, even allowing for extensions, Krupp's capacity will be fully drawn upon in meeting the large requirements of the annual programme now in process of execution.

Considerable weight has been attached by Mr. Stead, and by other persons, to the fact that building slips capable of receiving Dreadnoughts have been multiplied during recent years in Germany. Mr. McKenna stated, as if it were an important item in warshipbuilding capability, that Germany already possessed fourteen such slips, and would soon have three others; for this country the corresponding number of slips was said to be seventeen. This was an obvious under-statement of our resources, and attention was soon drawn to the matter by a member (Mr. Renwick of Newcastle) familiar with the subject. The numbers given could only have been arrived at on the basis of some arbitrarily chosen conditions; a much larger number of slips are to be found in private yards, which already are or could readily be made fit for building Dreadnoughts, and Mr. McKenna subsequently admitted as much. This question, however, has no real importance in connexion with the output of battleships in either country. The limit is not fixed by the possible production of hulls or propelling machinery, but by other items above mentioned, and especially by the output of armour, guns, and gun-mountings. Moreover, no country could expect to have orders for seventeen battleships simultaneously, even if it could undertake the work. In

short, this is one of many instances where German capability has been short, this is. The First Lord introduced into his speech a tribute exaggerated.

ex to the largest size in Germany 'during recent years; and the fact is of the large. But when he went on to say that the present productive undoubted will tax the resources of our own great firms if power or retain the supremacy in rapidity and volume of construction' he did our firms less than justice. To their enterprise and courage in developing resources, not merely for shipbuilding and engineering of all kinds, but for the manufacture of specialities, such as guns, gunmountings and armour, the nation owes a deep debt. In Germany recent expansion has been largely due to the encouragement given to private firms by the receipt of extensive Government orders; and our firms can fairly expect, if they do not claim, similar help; for, after all, these great private establishments are based on commercial considerations, not on patriotic or philanthropic principles.

Recent discussions in Parliament and outside it have brought into prominence once more the question of the relative rates at which warships are or can be built in Great Britain and in Germany. Apart from financial considerations, which often control the rate of advancement in the royal dockyards, or from labour troubles, there is probably little difference between the time now required by leading firms in both countries to build a single ship, each firm doing its best. Other considerations, of course, come into play when a large number of ships have to be built simultaneously, and in that case we undoubtedly have a great advantage as yet. As a matter of fact and experience, apart from the considerations mentioned, British practice in recent years has probably involved somewhat less time than German. Some remarks on this subject made by the writer in this Review for December last may be read by those interested in the subject; and further facts can be found in an able article on 'German Naval Policy' contributed to the last Navy League Annual. In connexion with strikes the following remarks are made in the latter article:

Essen . . . is a hotbed of trade unionism, even though Krupp is regarded as a model employer. In the event of a strike occurring among the many thousand men employed in those huge foundries, the German naval programme would receive a severe check. . . . We therefore arrive at the conclusion that

upon the goodwill of the national labour party depends to no inconsiderable extent the materialisation of Germany's maritime ambitions.

Details are also given in that article of strikes which have recently occurred in leading German shipyards, and the author dwells upon the demonstration they have afforded of the power exercised by workmen's organisations. Facts such as these should not be overlooked when estimates of progress in warship construction in Germany or comparisons with British performance are made. It is wise, no

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doubt, always to make an allowance in favour of a competitor, in doubt, always to make an another allowance should not be unorder to be on the safe side, but that allowance should not be unorder to be on the same and the control of the control of the same and the control of t order to be on the sare side, but reasonably large. Another quotation from the same article will

German shipbuilders have been credited [by the English Press] with per. German shipbuilders have been created that the feetly supernatural attainments, and we have even seen it stated that the feetly supernatural attainments, and the superficial acquaintance with the provisions of improved Nassaus are to enter communications with the provisions of current the keel-plate. The most superficial acquaintance with the provisions of current the keel-plate. The most superficient to expose the fallacy of such a declaration,

As a matter of fact, the German Navy Act contemplates an average period of construction of three years, and it will be remembered that the recent communiqué to the Cologne Gazette confirms that view. Certainly a less period will suffice here, and the Admiralty now fix about two and a third years from date of order as a proper time to

be allowed for the largest ships.

Readers unfamiliar with shipbuilding operations may understand better the points at issue if explanations which were given by the writer three years ago in this Review are summarised. Phrases such as 'laying down,' 'period of construction' and 'dates of completion' have been used repeatedly in recent discussions, but not always in the same sense. When a warship is ordered by the Admiralty from a private firm the 'period of construction' (or contract date for delivery) is usually estimated from the date at which drawings and specifications are received by the builders, A large amount of preliminary work has then to be done in preparing orders for materials, obtaining them from manufacturers, putting together framing, plating, &c., forming parts of the structure, preparing the building slip, and other matters precedent to commencing erection. Three or four months are usually occupied in these preliminaries, and the 'laying down' of the vessel-i.e. the commencement of the erection of her structure on the building slipis later by that period than the date of order. If a ship is built in a royal dockyard similar considerations hold good, but not unfrequently sufficient information and drawings are sent to enable the preliminary stages to be passed through before the complete design-drawings are furnished to the dockyard. The extent to which the work of preparation is carried before a ship is 'laid down' on the building slip may be, and often is, considerably varied. In some instances this work has gone on for several months, and many hundreds of tons forming parts of the structure have been put together and made ready for erection before the keel is officially laid. In some cases, indeed, a considerable amount of erecting work has been done on the slip in the royal dockyards before the keel was nominally laid. In these circumstances, obviously, erroneous ideas may be formed of the time really necessary for building a ship—taken from the date when the design-drawings and specifications are supplied if the

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time for construction is reckoned only from the official date time the keel is 'laid down.' It is, of course, advantageous to when the preliminary work thoroughly, and to prepare many carry out to prepare many portions of the structure before a ship is laid down, in order that there portions of progress in the work of erection when it has may be the begun. The case of the Dreadnought is an extreme once bear of this general statement. Preliminary work for that illustration work for that vessel began early in the financial year 1905-6; the official date for vessel began, was deferred to the 2nd of October 1905, at which time great weights of the structure were ready for erection, and all the heavy steel castings had been made and delivered by contractors, and were ready to go in place. Machinery, armour and gun-mountings had also been in process of manufacture long before the keel was laid. Six months after the official date of 'laying down' the financial year ended; and yet in that year no less a sum than 857,000l. had been expended, including about 90,000l. for dockyard labour, 475,000l. for materials and armour, 165,000l. for machinery, and 120,000l. for gun-mountings. This was a very exceptional case, of course, but the figures show how inaccurate may be the idea of progress obtained by taking official dates for laying down as guides for estimating real periods of construction.

In Lord Cawdor's memorandum of November 1905 it was ordered that two years should be the period of construction for future British battleships. The writer was of opinion (NINETEENTH CENTURY, 1906, p. 614) that this period would not suffice unless the time occupied in preliminary work was excluded. It is satisfactory to find that Mr. McKenna now adopts the writer's opinion, and says, 'It is impossible to rely upon ships of the (Dreadnought) type being delivered in time (i.e. in two years from laying down) unless considerable notice is given to contractors who supply equipments of the ships, and unless orders are given for materials.' For smaller vessels less time is usually required.

The fact that the German fleet is being constructed under Parliamentary Acts, which determine the number of ships to be built and their dates of completion, carries with it certain advantages in the execution of the work. As the Admiralty authorities in Berlin have a complete knowledge of what has to be done during a term of years, as well as an acquaintance with the capabilities of various shipbuilding establishments for producing different classes of vessels, they can take a 'long look ahead' and make the most suitable arrangements. The magnitude of their task, in comparison with the number of establishments capable of building the heaviest ships, has led them already to place some orders with comparatively untried firms, quite inexperienced in the construction of large warships, and this fact is in itself a comment on the First Lord's remarks on the vast resources of Germany. Similarly, orders for armour, guns and

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gun-mountings can be given in good time so that they may be made gun-mountings can be given in good and delivered, as far as possible, at dates which will facilitate the comand delivered, as far as possible, as has been explained, there have pletion of ships. On the other hand, as has been explained, there have pletion of ships. On the other name, accompanied by changes in the Navy Acts, accompanied by changes in the navel types of ships and arms the navel types of ships are types of ships and arms the navel types of ships are typ been many changes in the translation been many changes in the translation designs of ships; and with novel types of ships and armaments designs of ships; and with novel types of ships and armaments designs of ships; and with as it is with established types of ships progress is not so easy or rapid as it is with established types of ships progress is not so easy of rapid and guns. It is reasonable to anticipate, therefore, that longer periods and guns. and guns. It is reasonable to anticept and trials of the vessels built since may be required for completion and trials of the new Corner o may be required for completely. None of the new German battle. ships, of course, have yet reached the final stage. Doubts exist here as to what is the actual heavy-gun armaments of the later ships. It has been confidently stated that they are to carry 12-inch guns instead of 11-inch, as in the first four battleships. This is a new calibre in the German Navy, and preliminary trials of guns and mountings will be necessary if this new gun has been introduced before manufacture can proceed on a large scale and with rapidity. No doubt all these difficulties and drawbacks will be overcome in due course, but only those who have been 'through the mill' know what they involve in time and trouble, and attention is directed to them because they have as a rule been entirely overlooked in recent discussions.

Finance lies at the root of all great naval programmes; yet, strange to say, in recent discussions of a possible acceleration of German shipbuilding hardly any attention has been given to the financial effects of such a change. Everyone familiar with the subject will know that in connexion with each Navy Act there has been prepared a comprehensive financial statement, giving details of the estimated expenditure for each year over which the programme is to extend, as well as the amounts to be provided either by ordinary revenue or by loan. These figures are available, and have great interest. Of course the changes made since 1900 have involved very large additions to the original estimates, and those of 1908 have been especially costly. Taking the three years 1909-11, the total anticipated naval expenditure stands at twenty, twenty-two, and twenty-two and a half millions sterling respectively; and that estimated for new construction and armaments averages twelve and onethird millions sterling per annum. In view of these figures and of the condition of Imperial finance, there would seem to be little probability of acceptance of increased outlay in these years for the purpose of accelerating the completion of a few ships. It may be added that during the three years named it is proposed to charge about eighteen and a half millions sterling of the total naval expenditure to loan. If space permitted much more might be said in regard to the financial side of the German naval programme. It may be stated briefly that for each ship annual instalments are voted during her construction, and the armaments of new ships are dealt with separately, which is not the case in our Navy Estimates. Take, for example, the Nassau,

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the first German Dreadnought. Beginning in 1906 with an instalthe first detail and machinery of 147,000l. (round figures), the succession telments voted were 421,000l. in 1907, 284,000l. ment for sure ments voted were 421,000l. in 1907, 284,000l. in 1908, and sive installment (or final installment) falls upon the coming year. The the balance the balance to this ship is, for ship and machinery, about total estimates and for armament 725,000l.; grand total, 1,838,000l. As 1,113,00001, 1 a matter of comparison, the following figures may be given for the a matter H.M.S. Bellerophon, laid down in December 1906, and completed in February 1909. Preparatory work had been carried far before the vessel was laid down, so that at the end of March 1907 only four months after the nominal laying down—319,000l. had been spent on and for the ship and machinery; 859,000l. was spent in the next year, and 472,0001. in the remaining ten months occupied in completing the vessel. The grand total of cost for ship and machinery (exclusive of armament) is 1,650,000l. No figures are given for the cost of armament except the price of the guns, which was 116,300l., and to this must be added the cost of ammunition, projectiles and reserves—a very considerable sum. It should be noted that the German system includes under the 'armament' section items which our estimates place under 'ship and machinery.' Further, it is asserted that the cost of armour per ton for German warships is considerably less than that for British ships, so that any detailed or exact comparison cannot be made with the figures available. ought not to be the case that Parliament should be left uninformed as to the total cost of British ships, including armaments, ammunition and reserves.

The Nassau and her sister ship the Westfalen belong to the 1906 programme, and it might have been expected therefore that they would have been completed early this year. Owing to various circumstances connected with their increased size and novel type, these vessels were not laid down until the summer of 1907, were launched in March and July 1908, and are not to be completed until October and November next. These facts are notable illustrations of the difficulties imposed upon German naval authorities by the enlargement of programme embodied in the Naval Acts for 1906 and 1908. It is possible that the antedating of orders for some of the later ships may have been due in part to this experience with the first vessels of the Dreadnought type. Great importance has been attached by some writers to the fact that the first and second instalments for the German ships of the 1908 programme have been much increased in comparison with those voted for the Nassau and her sister ship. The actual sums proposed for the later vessels are (for ship and machinery), first instalment, 269,000l.; second, 525,000l.; or an increase on the two instalments of about 226,000l. The policy of secrecy has been carried so far that the total cost of the later vessels has not been published, but it has been stated on good authority

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to be about two millions sterling—inclusive of armaments—that is to be about two millions stering nearly 200,000l. more than the corresponding cost of the Nassau. nearly 200,000*l*. more than the larger instalments for the ships of If this be true, it tollows that the stage of the ships of 1908 do not necessarily mean accelerated progress, especially as under 1908 do not necessarily mean according to one year are available the German system instalments not spent in one year are available the German system installing and contemplate provision for advance in the next, although it does not contemplate provision for advance payments caused by antedating orders for building ships. financial provision goes, therefore, no evidence can be found of a quickened rate of shipbuilding; but for later ships—as preliminary difficulties have been surmounted and manufacturing resources enlarged—the conditions will be more favourable than were those for the Nassau.

Suggestions have been made that we should match programme with programme, or 'lay down two keels to one' laid by Germany, or make a supreme effort and decide on the simultaneous construction of such an overwhelming force as would convince the German Government that it is hopeless to attempt a competition with Great Britain. All these proposals appear to miss the essential point that we already possess an overwhelming force, taking into account the two navies as they exist, while in Dreadnoughts alone we have maintained (as shown above) a considerable lead, shall continue to maintain it for three or four years if the new programme is carried out, and can maintain it without any special programme on lines similar to the German Acts. Those Acts closely resemble our Naval Defence Act of 1889, and as the writer was responsible not merely for the designs of the seventy ships then built, but for the preparation of the financial scheme and the supervision of the building of the ships, he can speak from thorough experience of the relative conditions of working under a special Act of Parliament or under a series of Annual Estimates. No one who has had such experience can doubt that for the Royal Navy the latter system is greatly to be preferred. Its adoption does not involve the absence of a programme drawn up for some years beyond that to which the estimates for each year correspond: such a programme ought to exist; it did exist and doubtless continues to exist in the Admiralty. But it is only published in sections, and as the programmes of other countries are varied the unpublished British provisional programme can be suitably adjusted. of that nature is an essential condition in a shipbuilding programme, and the succession of German Acts since 1900 proves that this is true. They also demonstrate the unwisdom of adopting the heroic method proposed and laying down simultaneously a great number of ships in order to convince Germany that competition with us in naval power is hopeless. Germany would never be convinced in that fashion; its rulers are keen and determined: they have framed their scheme and will carry it through, making such modifications from time to time as experience may show to be desirable. Germany

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is acknowledged to be strictly within her rights in creating a powerful Great Britain is within her rights in maintaining naval pavy. If it be accepted that any mutual agreement to limit supremacy.

suprem armaments shall restrict the scheme of warship-building embodied in her Navy Acts, that conclusion need not carry with it the necessity for a mad competition in naval expenditure for all time to come. for a made to come. The real 'fact' with which our Government has to deal—and it is The real a 'new' one—is that Germany, for reasons of its own, has resolved to become—indeed has become—a great Naval Power. Accepting that fact, it is the duty of the British Government to take the action necessary in order that Great Britain shall always continue to be the greatest naval Power, capable of meeting any combination of navies which can be brought against her. Mr. Asquith has declared repeatedly that the Government fully recognises this duty and will fulfil it. The programme of shipbuilding for 1909-10 in the judgment of the Government is sufficient for that purpose; but their acknowledged doubts as to the actual progress of German warship-building opened the door to a discussion that might have been avoided had a definite decision been made, on the basis of the best information available, and brought before the House of Commons as sufficient, in the judgment of the Admiralty and the Government, to secure our supremacy. Whatever motive may have led to the disclosure of doubts or ignorance respecting German progress and intentions, the result has been most unfortunate, and has produced a state of anxiety and suspicion of Germany in the public mind that now appears to have been to a large extent unfounded. It must be admitted that in these circumstances the action of the German Government has been friendly, and that it furnishes evidence of a desire to remove anxiety or suspicion as to their alleged acceleration of the execution of the programme of shipbuilding as a whole. The writer does not presume to say that the communiqué which has been published in the Cologne Gazette is sufficient in itself to give proper assurance that no serious acceleration of the programme has taken place or is contemplated. In his judgment, however, even allowing for all recent increase in the manufacturing resources of Germany and of Krupps in particular, there is no reason for supposing that any considerable acceleration would be attempted, nor has Germany any sufficient motive for facing immediately any further increase of naval expenditure, which under the Acts is already enormous during the next three years. The assumption that underlies the alleged acceleration is that Germany sees an opportunity of overtaking or surpassing Great Britain in the number of Dreadnoughts available for service at particular dates during the next three years, and that this superiority in Dreadnoughts alone would be fatal to our naval supremacy, because Dreadnoughts have rendered all earlier types obsolescent and of little

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fighting value. The latter doctrine has been preached so long and fighting value. The latter document that it has found and loudly in this country during the last four years that it has found many loudly in the navel of the last four years that it has found many loudly in the navel of the last four years that it has found many loudly in the navel of the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last four years that it has found many loudly in the last fo loudly in this country during the in Germany; but the naval authority converts here, and possibly also in Germany; but the naval authority converts here, and possibly also in Germany; but the naval authority converts here, and possibly also in Germany; but the naval authority converts here. converts here, and possibly and the believers in that fallacy, and again that they are not and have given evidence again and again that they are not. They have given evidence again the cherish no illusions, but fully recognise the enormous preponder.

Destrict Fleet, and it is folly to offer. cherish no illusions, but tun, preponder, and it is folly to attribute to them the desire to provoke a conflict in the near future. them the desire to provoke have reason to be ashamed of the wild talk which has been have reason to be ashamed of the last few days. have reason to be assistance indulged in by some writers during the last few days, and for an indulged in by some writers during the last few days, and for an assertion that 'unless the Government can be induced or forced . . . to lay down eight ships in the next few months, and to order that those vessels shall be pushed on night and day, our naval supremacy is doomed, and our national life, our Imperial existence, are worth little more than two years' purchase.' While the talk of a possible invasion of Great Britain by German military forces goes on here, in Germany the possibility of a repetition of the 'Battle of Copenhagen 'and the destruction of the German Fleet by the British is troubling the minds of many people who sincerely desire the existence of friendly relations between the two countries. writer speaks of what he knows in regard to German feeling, and regrets to add that the indiscreet utterances of some of our fellow-countrymen, whose position and knowledge render inexcusable what has been said by them, have given colour to the suspicions and fears of Germans. Is it not time that this unnatural and unnecessary irritation should cease? and Great Britain must be rivals in industry, trade and commerce, and also in naval power; but there need be no reason for a permanently hostile attitude, which even now exists chiefly, if not exclusively, in the minds of a limited number of irresponsible but noisy persons on both sides.

One great aid to a better understanding would undoubtedly be found in discarding the stupid and provocative folly of secrecy which was adopted by our Admiralty in connexion with the Dreadnought and Invincible classes in 1905, and has been carried out since by Germany much more effectively. Surely there can be no reason for hiding, or attempting to hide, information as to the dates at which warships are ordered and laid down, or the proposed dates of completion. The German Navy Acts really contain this kind of information so far as the intended programme is concerned. If for any reason changes in that programme should be made, although there is no obligation on the part of the German Admiralty to make the facts known, there would undoubtedly be less chance of suspicion of ulterior purposes, or possible intention to accelerate progress, if changes of plan were made openly. On our side the corresponding information as to the immediate future has been published and

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ss, if ding and discussed during the debate. On the German side there has been a semi-official communiqué. If it should happen in the course of the coming debate in the Reichstag that the German Government should decide to make known officially the present position of shipbuilding affairs, and its intentions for the coming year, the only ground for possible misapprehension would be removed, and the feeling of mutual confidence—which every right-thinking man must desire and pray for—would be re-established.

W. H. WHITE.

Postscript.—The following facts for British and German warships, which will not exceed twenty years in age in the year 1912, were stated by the Prime Minister in the debate on the 22nd of March, after this article had passed into the printer's hands. It is a matter for regret that Mr. McKenna did not present the figures to the House of Commons at the commencement of the debate, and in advance of his comments on recent construction in Germany. If this course had been followed there would have been no approach to a 'scare.'

PRE-DREADNOUGHT BATTLESHIPS:	British. Germa	n.
Number · · · · · ·	40 20 85,000 241,000	)
6 to 12 inches	650 384	
Number	35 8 16,000 FF 200	
Total number of guns of calibre from	16,000 75,000	)
6 to 12 inches	470 112	

A considerable number of the British armoured cruisers are distinctly superior to some German battleships in offensive and defensive power. The British battleships have 152 12-inch guns in their armaments; the German battleships forty 11-inch. British cruisers carry sixty-eight 9·2-inch guns as against six 9·4-inch guns carried by the German cruisers.

When it is remembered that this 'mighty fleet' will be supplemented in 1912 by at least sixteen completed *Dreadnoughts*, and that twenty such vessels will be ready if the four 'contingent' *Dreadnoughts* are laid down, while Germany anticipates the completion of thirteen ships only by the autumn of 1912, it must be admitted that no true reason exists for anxiety as to our naval strength three years hence in comparison with Germany; or that the accelerated completion in that country of any possible number of *Dreadnoughts* by that date can threaten our superiority, since we can build as fast, and probably faster.

Some remarks made by the head of one of the greatest private firms in Great Britain since this article was written may also be

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mentioned. Mr. Thomas Vickers, of Sheffield, whose authority and mentioned. Mr. Thomas vickes, experience on the subject are exceptional, is of opinion that wild experience on the subject are exceptional, is of opinion that wild experience on the subject are the postions of the public press statements have been made in the great shipbuilding and armament regarding the possible output of the great shipbuilding and armament regard to that regarding the possible output of the garding armament works of this country.' Mr. Vickers asserts in regard to that output works of this country. Mr. Hones output that the 'United Kingdom need not fear comparison with any foreign that the 'United Kingdom need and the any foreign country.' Mr. Vickers is personally well acquainted with the manufacturing resources of Germany, and his estimate of relative capabilities facturing resources of Germany, and will be preferred by most people to those of amateurs, in or out of

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## A RUDE AWAKENING

LIKE Rip van Winkle, the country has awakened from a long sleep and has found things much changed. This sleep was recommended by the First Sea Lord about a year ago, and, trusting in the watchfulness of the Admiralty, the public dropped off with a sense of perfect security and absolute confidence. The feeling expressed in the formula, 'Anyhow, the Fleet's all right,' gave rise to a settled conviction that no danger was to be apprehended from any potential enemies by sea. The Army might be inefficient, the War Office might be rotten, but the Fleet! Fortunately, there was no doubt about that. But what an awakening and what a disillusion! A confession by the Government that they too had been sleeping and had failed in their duty as custodians of the national safety. Out of their own mouths they stand condemned. They confess that in last November they knew of the acceleration of the German programme and yet did nothing to counteract its effect. They acknowledge that they did not know, what everyone else knew, that this acceleration had been determined on six months previously. In addition, they based their advice to Parliament as to the number of Dreadnoughts which we ought to build on a false idea of the rate at which the Germans could turn out their ships. Could anything be more fatuous or show a greater disregard of the charge committed to them, whether they took this course through ignorance or in the interests of a popular Budget? Even now they refuse, presumably in deference to the Little Englanders in the Cabinet, to take the only steps which can remedy these unfortunate mistakes. In this respect I am confident they entirely misjudge the effect which these disclosures have had upon the public mind. Without going too deeply into technical details, the ordinary citizen has got it into his head that nothing less than the laying down of eight Dreadnoughts will give him that feeling of security which the revelations of the last few days have so rudely disturbed, and, what is more, he means to have them. The Government will find that this frame of mind is one not to be trifled with, and the sooner they recognise it the better. Mr. Asquith seems to forget, in his denunciation of the agitation that is going on in the country, that it is due entirely to his own speech on the 16th ult.

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He admitted in that speech the serious position we shall be in a few He admitted in that speech the strength of the lacelerated programme of German Were years hence, and showed planty taken to counteract the accelerated programme of Germany our taken to counteract the scelerated programme of Germany our taken to counteract the account to danger of disappearing our superiority in the North Sea would be in danger of disappearing. Yet superiority in the North Sea would superiority in the North Sea would be now refuses to take those very steps which, on his own showing of safety. Can he grumble if the he now refuses to take those constitute the minimum of safety. Can he grumble if the country constitute the minimum of sacration the surprised if the country has taken him at his word? Can he be surprised if the country has has taken him at his word:

made up its mind to have these eight Dreadnoughts at any price? made up its mind to have the forgotten the question of And, above all, has the Government forgotten the question of And, above all, has the control administration? It is all very well to say it is not a party question. I quite agree that it is a national question, and it is the nation that has taken it up and means to see it through.

There can no longer be any doubt that the public is genuinely alarmed at the statements made by the Prime Minister and Mr. McKenna as to the relative strength of the British and German navies in the near future. For the first time for two hundred years people are beginning to realise that our supremacy at sea is being challenged by a neighbouring Power. I have said the country is alarmed, and, I think, not a little angry too, with the Government for neglecting its duty and allowing a rival to steal a march on us. Yet I doubt if it even yet quite appreciates the menace to our national existence disclosed by the recent admissions of the Government. It is not merely the approaching equality in numbers of Dreadnoughts which makes the situation so serious, but the interior lines on which our rivals can work. This is an advantage from a strategical point of view which it would be difficult to exaggerate. While our battleships must of necessity be scattered all over the world, Germany will be able to keep hers concentrated, and will always have a preponderance in the North Sea. The limited coal-carrying capacity of her ships alone makes it obvious that they are built for service in home waters; besides which, Admiral Tirpitz has stated that the German fleet is for service in the North Sea. Then, again, the power of concentration which the Kiel Canal has given her is an advantage of the first importance. Taking all these matters into consideration, can it be wondered at that Germany rejected our somewhat undignified and childlike suggestions for mutual disarmament at the Hague Convention? An arrangement by which our supremacy would have been assured for all time could hardly commend itself to an ambitious and self-respecting Power. The advantages were all on our side, and it is hardly to be wondered at that the honesty of our intentions should be doubted and that an amused incredulity should have greeted our protestations of disinterestedness. In any case, we could hardly expect our powerful neighbour to acquiesce in an arrangement which, though it suited us admirably, must have been extremely galling to her. The challenge was bound to come

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sooner or later, and is merely the logical conclusion of forces which sooner of the natural expansion of a great people. Why it has are due to people of this country so much by surprise is difficult to taken the Post The Germans have been quite straightforward in the understand. The Germans have been quite straightforward in the understand we cannot say we have had no warning. I do not blame them for one moment. From the time the Emperor said 'Our future them for one ocean' till Germany contemptuously rejected Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's advances as to disarmament, she has never Camputed in her task. She has worked in a businesslike manner to accomplish her ends, and while our Government has been sleeping she has been steadily reaping the benefit which comes to those who get up early. Germany has made no mystery about the matter. There has been little concealment beyond the secrecy always observed in her arsenals and dockyards. We have been lulled into a sense of security by the process of a few international courtesies which have encouraged our Little Navy party and have had the effect of restricting our programme, while hers remains unaltered and goes ruthlessly forward. The visit of a few burgomasters or representatives of the Press has been quite sufficient to curtail our output, while Germany has kept steadily on, laying down more ships. Under all these circumstances it is no wonder the country has become alarmed, but why they should be surprised or grumble at the Germans is quite another matter. Except to those who are wilfully blind, or whose simplicity renders them incapable of appreciating obvious facts and drawing natural deductions from them, the revelations made some months ago in the Daily Telegraph must have shown the mental attitude of the Germans towards this country. Just as there were simple-minded people who failed to see that the preparations made by the Boers before the war were, and could only be, directed against this country, so there are now many who seem to imagine that Germany is merely spending all this money for amusement. They seem to forget that on any other assumption this expenditure would be criminal folly.

Again I do not think Germany is to blame. Circumstances are too strong for her, and her policy is dictated quite as much by economic conditions as by her restless ambition and desire for national glory. The rapid increase of her population renders expansion in the future a necessity; and any real expansion is out of the question till sea power makes it possible, and this can only be arrived at at our expense. The natural wish of a great people to possess the outlets of the waterways which traverse its country is another factor which some day we may have to reckon with, and which may probably be part of the goal to which all these naval preparations are tending. In counting the number of *Dreadnoughts* which Germany may at some future time place in line, it will be well not to ignore those possessed by Austria-Hungary. The support which the latter country is receiving at the

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present moment from Germany goes to prove that these two countries present moment from Germany government its interests were threatened are as one should either Powers. The three Dreadnough ened by any combination of other Powers. The three Dreadnoughts, there. by any combination of other and should not be ignored in conference, possessed by Austria-Hungary should not be ignored in conference to the country and Germany. fore, possessed by Austria-Transported in computing the relative strength of this country and Germany. Besides puting the relative strength of the Brazilian Government, which are these there are three owned by her and which are probably in the not likely to be wanted by her and which are probably in the market not likely to be wanted by not likely to be sold to the highest at the present moment, and would alter the centre of gravity. at the present moment, and their possession would alter the centre of gravity at sea, bidder, and their possession would alter the centre of gravity at sea, and might constitute a dominant factor in the situation. These are contingencies which make the problems to be dealt with more difficult, and I am doubtful as to whether their importance is sufficiently appreciated by the country at large.

While acquitting Germany of any duplicity in the matter, and while fully recognising her right to take whatever steps she thinks fit for the development of her maritime power, I venture to think the time has come when a little plain speaking on our part might be of advantage, and when we might point out, frankly but firmly, that we mean to remain masters in the North Sea. first step in this direction is the laying down of these eight Dread. noughts at once, and for this reason. The finances of Germany are not in the most flourishing condition and although want of money has never stopped a nation going to war, yet if Germany once realised that we were determined, cost what it might, to retain the superiority which we now possess, the idea might strike her that perhaps after all the game was hardly worth the candle, that competition in warships was a wasteful and unremunerative game, and that the money might be otherwise and better employed. Unless some such reasoning is adopted, there seems no alternative but that this country and Germany should sooner or later come to blows in the North Sea. The space is too limited to support two Kings of Brentford, and the question of which is to have the upper hand must ultimately depend on which is the stronger. Sea power is the heritage of the strong. We have fought the Spaniards for it, we have fought the French for it, and it may be that we may have to fight the Germans for it. I believe this is the opinion of the governing classes in Germany, and they are very wisely making the preparations they think necessary. For what other possible reason can Germany want seventeen Dreadnoughts, and for what other reason is she pushing on her building of ships with this accelerated vigour? Her commerce is in no danger, her colonies are few, and her coast-line is adequately defended, as was apparent in the war against France in 1870. On no other assumption is it possible to justify this sudden and rapid advance of her naval policy. She is a great land Power, conscious of her own strength, animated by what she considers a lofty ambition, and pushed forward by her rapidly increasing population and a consequent desire for

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expansion. Her alliance with Austria makes her the dominant expansion the Continent, and it is only England and her Navy that Power on the Power of the Power of the Stands between Germany and supreme power in Europe. History stands between tiself, and the time may come when perhaps this country may once more have to fight for the liberties of Europe against the despotism of one great central Power.

On the other hand, the action of New Zealand and our other self-On the Colonies will probably exercise a restraining effect on German aspirations as to sea power; and the spirit which has prompted their offers of assistance in ships shows, as it did in the South African War, how strong are the bonds which unite them to the Mother Country. I had the privilege of serving with these New Zealanders and Australians in South Africa, and I know what sort of men they are and how they are to be depended on. I feel sure the nation at large is deeply touched by this evidence of practical patriotism on

their part, and is very grateful for the assistance offered.

I think I have said enough to expose the gravity of the situation disclosed by the Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Admiralty, and I would turn for one moment to the effect which this rude awakening should have on our national defences. In the first place, the sense of absolute security due to the preponderance of our Fleet, in which we have always believed, has received a severe The tenets of the Blue Water school have been rudely shattered, and we may not unnaturally ask ourselves whether the danger of invasion has not come appreciably nearer, and whether we are content, in the event of the Expeditionary Force being out of the country, to rely on an imperfectly trained force of 300,000 men for security against invasion or raids. The distinguished military correspondent of the Times has said 'that the period of training approved for the Territorial Force is altogether inadequate, and that any attempt to increase the training will destroy the Force.' There is only one logical remedy for this unsatisfactory state of affairs, and it would be well to consider whether the time is not ripe for the making of a real national army by the thorough training of every adult male in the country who is capable of bearing arms. This, or a large increase in the Regular Army, in addition to the eight Dreadnoughts demanded, seems to me to be the natural outcome of the recent revelations, unless we wish tamely to abdicate the position handed down to us by our forefathers. This is the only way to give freedom to the Fleet and to enable it to carry out its legitimate duty of seeking out and defeating the enemy wherever he may be found.

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## GERMAN ARMAMENTS AND THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

The discussion of the Naval Estimates has revealed a most serious state of affairs, and I am afraid that even now the danger of the present position is not fully understood by the nation. On Tuesday, the 16th of March, Mr. Balfour stated in the House of Commons!

We have reached a point when the matter in debate among us is not, whether in respect to that particular class of ships (*Dreadnoughts*) we maintain the two. Power standard, but whether we are maintaining the one-Power standard.

I have been forced most reluctantly, not only against my wish, but against all the traditions by which British politicians and statesmen have been animated for generations, and now for the first time in history, to declare that we are face to face with a situation so new, so dangerous, that it is very difficult for us thoroughly to realise all that it imports.

For the first time, there is bordering on the North Sea, upon the waters bathing our own shores, a great Power, which has the capacity, and which looks as if it had the will, to compete with us in point of actual numbers in respect of these great battleships. I am afraid that nothing can be done. It is too late with regard to the years that precede November, 1911. What has been done has been done, and we can do nothing to remedy it.

On the same day when Mr. Balfour uttered these words of despair the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, confessed:

(1) That, a year ago, when the Government brought in the naval estimates, he had stated before the House of Commons, that the German shipbuilding programme was a 'paper programme' which could not be carried out, and that not only his prediction had been absolutely falsified by events, but that the 'paper programme' had been actually doubled by the sudden addition of four German *Dreadnoughts*, which had been laid down, and which are being built with the utmost speed.

(2) To give Mr. Asquith's own words: 'We had a substantial advantage in the rate of construction, which would always enable us to quickly overtake Germany. I am sorry to say that that is not the case. I believed it to be a fact at the time at which I spoke, but there has been such an enormous development in Germany, not only in the provision of shipyards and slips, on which the bulk or the fabric of the ship can be built or repaired, but, what is still more serious, in the provision of gun mountings and armaments, that we could no longer take to ourselves the consoling and comforting reflection that we had the advantage

The extracts from Parliamentary speeches are taken from the Times report.

in the speed and the rate at which ships can be constructed. That is a vital and most serious fact.'

Mr. McKenna, the First Lord of the Admiralty, confessed:

Two years ago, I believe, there were in Germany, with the possible exception of one or two slips in private yards, no slips capable of carrying a Dreadnought. To-day they have actually no less than fourteen such slips, and three more under construction. And what is true of the hull of the ships is true also of the guns, armour and mountings. Two years ago, anyone familiar with the capacity of Krupp's and other great German firms would have ridiculed the possibility of their undertaking the supply of all the component parts of eight battleships in a single year. To-day this productive power is a realised fact, and it will tax the resources of our own great firms if we are to retain the supremacy in rapidity and volume of construction.

Was there ever a more lamentable confession of ignorance and incompetence made in the British Parliament? The position of affairs into which we have been brought by the action, or, rather, by the culpable inaction, of the Government, was well summed up by the Radical Morning Leader of the 17th of March in the words: 'Our British superiority in the rapidity of construction, where great battleships are concerned, has been wiped out by the amazing development of German resources.' Our rapidity in building Dreadnoughts has, indeed, been 'wiped out' by the lamentable and inexcusable neglect of the Government, and I intend to prove in the following pages that the Government must have known, and actually did know, that the British superiority in rapidity of construction was in process of being wiped out by Germany, and that the Government did not lift a finger to prevent that calamity whilst there was time.

Both Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna pleaded that they were ignorant of Germany's shipbuilding activity, and that they were surprised by its enormous expansion, which they discovered only recently. Their excuses are worthless, and their explanations cannot be accepted. The fact that Germany was accelerating the building of Dreadnoughts to the utmost was no secret in Germany. One can possibly keep secret for a time the building of a small torpedo boat or of a submarine, by constructing it in a closed shed, and by entrusting the work to a few picked men of known character; but one cannot keep secret for a day the building of numerous huge slips, able to bear the weight of Dreadnoughts, or the construction of 20,000ton ships, or the manufacturing of the armour, turrets, guns, &c., required for a large number of Dreadnoughts, for such work requires an army of more than 50,000 men. Fifty thousand men cannot be set to work in a few business centres without everybody in those business centres knowing it.

The enormous shipbuilding and armament-making activity of Germany was the talk of the steel trade and of the business men all over Germany, and notices about the progress of naval work could

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be found in many German newspapers. Great Britain has an be found in many German no. 1 Ambassador in Berlin, and consuls at all the principal German ports Ambassador in Berlin, and consuls in some of the very towns and business centres. She has consuls in some of the very towns and business centres. She has in which Dreadnoughts and their armaments were actually being the hour of the hour o in which Dreadnoughts and our consuls know German, constructed. The British Ambassador and to keep the German constructed. The British American and to keep the Government It is their business to observe events and to keep the Government It is their business to obtain matters which have a military or political informed on all economic matters which have a military or political Hence it is absolutely inconceivable that all our representatives should have failed to notice and to report Germany's feverish haste in building ships and making the armaments required Besides, Great Britain has in Berlin a naval attaché, who presumably knows the German language and reads the German papers, and whose special business it is to study and to report on Germany's naval progress. Can we believe that the naval attacht also did not know what was going on ?

We have in London a Naval Intelligence Department, composed of an admiral, four captains, nine commanders, and numerous marine officers and engineers. It is their principal and special duty to study the progress of our greatest naval competitor, and they have ample means at their command for finding out what Germany is doing. Germany is not a far-off and mysterious country like Japan or Tibet, into which an Englishman can penetrate only with difficulty. The Government has enough Secret Service money at its disposal to get all the information which it requires. However, it was not even necessary to employ a secret agent. It was not even necessary to send to Germany an Englishman familiar with the German language. Every schoolboy and every workman in the shipbuilding towns and in Essen knew what was going on. The very barbers and waiters would unreservedly have talked with a British emissary about these things, which were matters of public knowledge. As a matter of fact, I have the very strongest reason to believe that the Naval Intelligence Department did not fail in its duty, that it correctly informed the Government in time, and that the Government failed to take notice of that information.

Lastly, there is an intimate connection between the British and the German iron trades. The British steelmakers in Sheffield and elsewhere were, to my positive knowledge, acquainted with the cause that kept their German competitors extremely busy when they were slack, and it is inconceivable that the British contractors for armour, &c., who knew of Germany's activity, did not urge the Admiralty to take their countermeasures in time.

If we wish to believe that the Government was ignorant of Ger many's activity, we must assume the impossible. We must assume that the Admirate that the Admiralty is out of touch with our steel trade. We must assume that the British Ambassador and the naval attaché in Berlin, our consuls in Germany, and our Naval Intelligence Department, April

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neither read a single German paper, nor even any information on Germany which appears in the British Press. No less than nineteen months ago, in September 1907, I wrote in this Review, in an article entitled 'The Anti-British Policy of Germany,' quoting Die Flotte for August, 1907:

More than a year ago, five private shipbuilders in Germany have declared that they are able to lay down every year seventeen large battleships, and to complete them within from twenty to twenty-four months, and besides these, we have available for shipbuilding two other large private builders and the Imperial shipyards in Kiel, Wilhelmshaven and Dantzig. The manufacturers of guns and armour have declared that they could provide during the same time more armour and guns than are required for seventeen battleships.

Eleven months ago, in May 1908, I again drew attention to the dangerous increase in the naval armaments, and to the rapidity of naval construction, in Germany in the pages of this Review. Under the heading, 'The Naval Policy of Germany,' I wrote, commenting on last year's Naval estimates, and especially on Mr. Asquith's statement that 'there was very grave reason to doubt whether the Germans could build a *Dreadnought* in thirty months':

We have officially and semi-officially been informed that we need not hasten to take up the German challenge because Great Britain builds her warships far more quickly than Germany, and that she can therefore always catch up and outbuild Germany. The same people who know the intentions of the German Emperor toward this country better than his Majesty knows them himself, and who disregard the clear and explicit statement of Germany's naval policy contained in the preamble of the Navy Bill of 1900, are apparently also better informed about Germany's shipbuilding capacity than is the head of the German Admiralty, Admiral Tirpitz. Admiral Tirpitz expressly declared in the Reichstag that it was not true that Great Britain built warships more quickly than Germany; but that, on the contrary, Germany built warships more quickly than Great Britain. The semi-official Naval Year Book, 'Nauticus,' and the semi-official naval monthly, Marine Rundschau, have given exact calculations of the building times of a large number of British and German warships, which absolutely confirm Admiral Tirpitz's contention that Germany builds her warships more quickly than does Great Britain. The first German Dreadnought was launched seven months after she was laid down, and her successors are to be built even more Furthermore, according to Die Flotte for August 1907, five private German shipbuilders have declared that they are able to lay down every year seventeen Dreadnoughts, and to complete them within from twenty to twenty-four months. Nevertheless, the advocates of naval economy persist in speaking of Germany's shipbuilding inferiority, and in assuring the British public that Germany requires three years or more to build a Dreadnought.

As the German programme stands at present, Germany will lay down four Dreadnoughts and Invincibles every year during the next three years, and then she will lay down only three. That programme will very likely be considerably exceeded, especially if the British Government shows a desire to withdraw from the race for naval supremacy by making puerile proposals of naval disarmament which serve only to strengthen Germany's determination to outbuild this country.

My forecast was to be fulfilled only too soon. The warnings from all quarters fell on deaf ears, for none are so deaf as those who will Vol. LXV—No. 386

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not hear. I do not think that I was the only one who, eleven not hear. I do not think that ago, drew attention to Germany's months and nineteen months ago, drew of the fact that months and mineteel months. In view of the fact that our Em bassy in Berlin, our consulates in Germany, and especially those in bassy in Berlin, our constitution building towns, such as Düsseldorf, the naval armament and shipbuilding towns, such as Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Dantzig and Stettin, must have noticed what was going on under their eyes, that the Naval Intelligence Department presumably takes in some of the German papers, and that the Admiralty officials talk with British naval contractors, I am reluctantly forced to conclude that the Government must have known, and actually did know, what was going on in Germany since at least eighteen months, and that the Government deliberately closed their eyes and deliberately abstained from necessary action. Under these circumstances, it seems most reprehensible that the Government should have allowed the blame for their own incapacity to fall on their expert advisers. I have every reason to believe that the Intelligence Department did their duty, and the attempt of the Government to allow their professional advisers to be suspected of having kept the Government in ignorance was rightly censured by Mr. Balfour.

Whilst Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna pleaded that the Government were unacquainted with the enormous developments which the output of naval armaments has taken in Germany during the last two years, both Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna took much credit to themselves for the fact that the Admiralty and the Government knew already in the autumn of last year that Germany had anticipated her shipbuilding programme by six months by laying down four Dreadnoughts in advance. With regard to these four German Dreadnoughts, Mr. Asquith stated, on the 16th of March in the House of Commons: 'We knew it, or heard of it at any rate, in the autumn,

I think in November.'

The Government are apparently the last people in the world to receive information on the most important matters of State. In July last year, whole-page prospectuses appeared in the German Press in which Krupps invited subscriptions for a sum of not less than Marks 50,000,000 for the extension of their plant, and in the money article of the Times of the 23rd of July it was stated that a loan of 2,000,000l. had been floated in Berlin to enable Krupps to double their productive power. That money had been advanced by Berlin banks and was actually being spent two months before the loan. Therefore the British Embassy, who are in touch with the Berlin bankers, should have known something about the Krupp loan long before July. The Government apparently received their information several months after it had appeared in the Times.

discovered, that In November 1908 the Government at last Germany had laid down unsuspectedly four Dreadnoughts, and Mr. McKenna mentioned proudly that the Admiralty discovered this only a few weeks after the event, when they might and ought to have known it many months before the event, through the enormous activity at Krupp's. Now the well-known weekly, Engineering, gave, on the 6th of November 1908, exact information of the sudden expansion in Germany's naval construction in a statement which concluded with the words:

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The general programme of Germany has been advanced. Therefore, nine ships have been laid down within two years—seven battleships and two immense cruisers—and three will follow in a month or so.

From the foregoing quotation it appears that the information which, if we can believe Mr. McKenna, the Admiralty received in November, must have reached *Engineering* at the end of October at the latest. Yet Mr. McKenna was proud of the Admiralty having possession of information which they might have obtained from the office-boy of *Engineering*.

Let us assume the unlikely. Let us assume that the British Government really discovered, only in November 1908, that during that year Germany had laid down eight Dreadnoughts as compared with only two Dreadnoughts of our own. What was the Government to do? Having discovered that this country was in danger of losing its naval supremacy, it was clearly the duty of the Government immediately to acquaint Parliament with these threatening German armaments, to ask for credits sufficient to checkmate Germany's move, especially as they had also discovered that Germany could build battleships more quickly than this country, and to call all our shipbuilders together to agree with them on a plan for the most rapid construction. But what did Mr. Asquith do? On the 16th of March he told us himself what he did in the following words:

He knew it, or heard it at any rate, in the autumn, I think in November, and it was in view of that most grave, but to us not only unforeseen but unexpected, state of things, that we had to reconsider our programme of the present year.

Seeing Great Britain's naval supremacy threatened, and considering the position most grave, unforeseen and unexpected, Mr. Asquith spent four months in consideration of a programme of the present year, and he made in the meantime brave speeches about his determination of maintaining the two-Power standard.

The British Government met Germany's move of putting eight Dreadnoughts on the stocks in one year against our two, not with deeds, but with brave words addressed to the British public, which, however, was kept in ignorance about the real state of affairs. As regards Germany, the Government determined to rely on the most futile and foolish diplomacy. Mr. Asquith asked Germany to reduce her naval armaments because the cost of naval armaments was ruinous—to Great Britain. On the 16th of April, Mr. Asquith stated

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in the House of Commons: 'The question (of the restriction of naval armaments) has been raised by us, the British Government, more armaments) has been raised by any than once, but we have been assured more than once, and in the than once, but we have been about the German) naval expenditure most formal manner, that their (the German) naval expenditure is governed solely by reference to their own needs.'

Can anything be more humiliating than the foregoing statement? Can anything be more humiliating than the spectacle of a British Prime Minister going cap in hand to Germany, and saying: 'Let us Prime Minister going cap in Let us stop building ships. The expense is ruinous.' He does not say 'It is ruinous to us,' but he might just as well have added these two words, for we do not go and ask Germany to stop shipbuilding because it is ruinous to her. And when Mr. Asquith is told 'in the most formal manner': 'No, thank you for your good advice, we prefer going on building ships,' he, like a commercial traveller anxious to take an order at any price, does not mind asking Germany more than once 'to stop building battleships against Great Britain. That is Mr. Asquith's conception of statesmanship. By the by, there is 80 little sympathy with the restriction of naval armaments policy in Germany that the Chamber of Commerce of Altona, a town unknown to most Englishmen, is, I think, the only one in that country which has advocated a reduction in naval armaments.

On the 16th of March, when the naval estimates were brought out. and when Mr. Asquith made to us the revelation that we had actually lost our supremacy in rapidly building battleships to Germany, the two-Power standard, about which the Government had talked so bravely last autumn, was not even mentioned by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Daily News, the organ of the Little Navy party, which opposes the two-Power standard, wrote in a tone of satisfaction in its leading article of the 17th of March: 'The ideal of the two-Power standard was practically dropped.' The Government has maintained the two-Power standard only with words, at a time when they were actually destroying the two-Power standard by their inactivity and negligence. As a matter of fact, the chief activity of the present Government in naval matters was to weaken the Navy. The Liberal Government, during their three years of office, have struck off, for the sake of economy, four Dreadnoughts, demanded as indispensable in the Cawdor programme, and if these four battleships had not been struck off our naval position would now be more secure. For the sake of economy they have used up 4,000,000l. worth of our war reserve of ammunition and stores without replacing them. For the sake of economy, in order to save money on the coal bill, they have not given the necessary tactical exercise to the fleet and have made the manœuvres a few days' farce. For the sake of economy, they have disbanded a large number of the coast guards, the look-out men of these islands, whose services in war time would be invaluable. They have 'retired' Lord Charles Beresford, perhaps the ablest of our

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admirals, who is the strongest advocate of efficiency and preparedness for war in this country. Such qualities are, of course, very inconvenient to politicians bent on economy at any price. The Government have produced economy at the cost of efficiency and security.

The provisions made by the Government in commencing for certain only four Dreadnoughts in the course of this year, and taking power only lour only lour material for another four ships, are absolutely insufficient even against Germany alone, and there are grave reasons for believing that these provisions were considered absolutely insufficient by the Government's professional advisers. On the 18th of March Mr. Balfour said in the House of Commons that 'The Government should not shelter themselves too assiduously behind the opinions of their expert advisers.' He intimated 'that the Government had bargained with them or suggested diminutions in this vote or that' and that 'the official experts had in certain respects probably been overruled.' Mr. Asquith, who immediately replied to Mr. Balfour. was very careful not to answer these awkward questions, and we must draw our own conclusions from the evidence at hand. Dr. Macnamara, the Civil Secretary to the Admiralty, stated on the 17th of March in the House: 'The First Lord of the Admiralty, the Civil Lord, and himself had worked and worried this thing (the estimates) out for days and nights and weeks . . . . They (the Government) were not dictated to by experts; they came to their own deliberate judgment.' There must have been a great deal of bargaining and haggling with the expert advisers if the battle of the estimates between the politicians and the admirals raged 'for days and nights and weeks.' Therefore we have been given political estimates but not naval estimates.

The Daily News appears to be often in receipt of inside information, and that paper stated most positively in its leading article of the 17th of March: 'The demand of the Admiralty was for six Dreadnoughts this year and as many next year. That total twelve has been reduced to eight.' If this piece of news is correct, and there is reason to believe that it is correct, it seems likely that the Admiralty Board threatened to resign unless they were given eight Dreadnoughts as a minimum, and these eight Dreadnoughts were very ingeniously whittled down in 'days and nights and weeks' to four by giving to the Board four Dreadnoughts for certain, and by giving them assurances for the remaining four ships, which assurances were to be fulfilled or not to be fulfilled according to political convenience.

Mr. Asquith, after repeatedly solemnly pledging himself to maintain the two-Power standard in its integrity—and the two-Power standard has always been understood to apply to capital ships—justified the insufficient provisions for shipbuilding by a statement which was loudly cheered by his followers of the Little Navy party, and which has been differently reported in different papers. The

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Governmental Daily Chronicle reported Mr. Asquith as saying, on the Governmental Daity Chronica repeated the most positive assurance that it is 16th of March: 'We have had the German Government to accelerate their not the intention of the German Government to accelerate their (Ministerial cheers).' The Times reported Mr. Asquith programme. as saying :

We have had a most distinct declaration from them (the German Govern. We have had a most distinct their programme—(cheers)—ment) that it is not their intention to accelerate their programme—(cheers) ment) that it is not their interest. believing as we do most explicitly in and we cannot possibly as a Government, believing as we do most explicitly in and we cannot possibly as a Government of these declarations—(cheers)—we cannot possibly put before the good faith of these declared the programme on the assumption that a declaration of that kind will not be carried out.

From this extraordinary statement of Mr. Asquith it appears that the Navy estimates were framed principally with the object of not hurting Germany's susceptibilities. And that is a statement which a British Prime Minister has ventured in all seriousness to put before the House of Commons and the country.

I am acquainted to some extent with the traditions and methods of German policy and of German diplomacy, and Mr. Asquith's statement is so extraordinary that I am afraid that his memory has deceived him when he stated that he was given 'the most positive assurance' as the Daily Chronicle reported, or 'a most distinct declaration.' as the report of the Times says, that Germany would not accelerate her shipbuilding. Therefore it is to be hoped that the Prime Minister will either withdraw the statement or give us some details of that 'most positive assurance' or that 'most distinct declaration' so that we may know their wording and exact value. It is of course quite possible that some German official obligingly assisted Mr. Asquith in his desire to keep our Naval expenditure down by saying in a private conversation either to him or to another representative of Great Britain that Germany did not intend to accelerate her shipbuilding. However, such a statement, if ever it was made, would of course not be binding on Germany and would therefore be worth-Such a statement would be similar in character and aim to those declarations and assurances which Bismarck gave to Benedetti before the war of 1870 and which Benedetti was foolish enough to take seriously, to France's ruin. In diplomatic matters one can expect to be told the truth only when one has a right to ask for the truth. No nation can claim from its competitor State to be given reliable information as to its armaments. A child, not a statesman, can put such a question, and a childish question such as 'How many ships are you going to build?' does not deserve a serious answer. Possibly Mr. Asquith told the German Ambassador: 'We are in trouble about finding the money for our next Budget. I hope you will abstain from accelerating your shipbuilding and save us the expense of laying down additional Dreadnoughts? 'If the question was put in that form the

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Ambassador would of course say: 'Don't trouble about us. I don't Ambassauct think we are going to lay down any extra Dreadnoughts.' Now let us look at the Anglo-German naval position and let us

try to gauge its dangers.

We have seen that Germany is outbuilding this country in Dreadnoughts, battleships which, according to the German official view, possess three times the fighting power of the battleships of the prepossess that Germany laid down last year eight Dreadnoughts to our two. We have seen that, according to Mr. McKenna's statement, Germany can turn out eight Dreadnoughts a year. But that is not the whole danger. Germany is building three Dreadnoughts for Argentina and Russia. These three ships may possibly come into Germany's possession, and though I think that the three Dreadnoughts which are building in this country for Brazil are not for sale at present, it seems doubtful whether they will ever reach Brazil. The future may reveal to us an unexpected further strengthening of the German Dreadnought fleet through the purchase of foreign Dreadnoughts.

According to the Government's statement, our Dreadnought fleet will in 1911 and 1912 be numerically slightly stronger than the German Dreadnought fleet. According to Mr. Balfour's calculations, it will be weaker than the German Dreadnought fleet. The Government's forecast of the future growth of the German fleet must be regarded with grave suspicion after the incompetence which the Government has so far shown in gauging Germany's shipbuilding capacity.

We cannot rest contented with a small margin of superiority over Germany. Our superiority must be overwhelming. Apart from these islands we have four continents to protect whilst Germany has only a single short coastline to defend which, owing to its extensive sandbanks, scarcely requires any defence. Great Britain is the most vulnerable, and Germany perhaps the least vulnerable, of States in a naval war. Germany can draw her provisions overland and can direct her foreign trade viâ Rotterdam, Antwerp, Trieste and other neutral harbours in case of a blockade. We have not that advantage. Whilst, therefore, a blockade would merely inconvenience Germany, it would ruin us. A blockade would mean merely a moderate rise in prices to Germany, but it would mean starvation to Great Britain.

Germany has shown the greatest ability in war by land and she

may show equally great ability in naval warfare.

War is a one-man business. A democracy is always at a disadvantage when fighting against a well-organised and wealthy monarchy in which science and war have been developed to the utmost. In the struggle between a democracy and a monarchy, divided councils and unpreparedness are pitted against a perfect organisation controlled by a single will. A disciplined nation which is certain to obey is led against an undisciplined nation which, at the supreme moment, may

see its strength crippled by unscrupulous party politicians or by Besides we may be attacked by surprise, we may lose a ship strikes. Besides we may be accepted an admiral may make a blunder, an our shipbuilding may be delayed at or two by accident or mines, an ally may be delayed through ally may make a diversion, our shipbuilding may be delayed through ally may make a diversion, our through labour difficulties, we may have a powerful squadron abroad. For all labour difficulties, we may have a relative these reasons our superiority over Germany must be overwhelming these reasons our superiority over Germany must be overwhelming. these reasons our superiority and Mr. W. T. Stead's formula, 'two British keels for every German and Mr. W. T. Stead's formula, 'two British keels for every German one,' must become our guiding principle laid down by law.

Our naval position is unfortunately far more dangerous than it our naval position as than it appears at first sight. Under her Navy Bills Germany is enabled to lay down a large number of ships of the Dreadnought class, and her immense preparations for building these ships make it seem probable that she will continue turning them out with the greatest rapidity. Besides, she is likely to amend the Navy Bill. The original Navy Bills 1900-1906 provided for thirty-eight battleships and twenty armoured and protected cruisers. A large number of these battleships measure less than 13,000 tons, and many of her armoured and protected cruisers measure from 5700 to 9500 tons. If we take the agitation of the powerful semi-official German Navy League as a guide to Germany's intentions, it appears that the German authorities wish to replace her inferior ships by battleships and battleship-cruisers of the largest type. At any rate, as Germany is increasing her slips from fourteen to seventeen, it is safe to conclude that she wishes to construct more ships than she is constructing at present. The Dreadnoughts which Germany has on the stocks, and which may exceed ours in number, are to be faster and more heavily armed than our own. and we must bear in mind the possibility of our eventually having to meet a fleet of fifty-eight German Dreadnoughts.

The naval position of Great Britain is most serious, not only because the present Government has allowed Germany to overtake us in the race of armaments. In modern wars success depends perhaps not so much on superiority in numbers and material, on the bravery of the men, and on the ability of the general or the admiral in command, as on superior preparedness. It depends largely on the supreme direction and organisation of the armed forces in times of peace. The supreme direction of the British fleet is not in the hands of the Admiralty but in those of the Prime Minister and of his Cabinet. Superior preparedness, due to superior organisation and direction in peace under the ablest experts, was the chief cause of the splendid victories of Germany and of Japan. Unfortunately, the chief business of our Admiralty seems to be an unending and exhaustive struggle with the ruling politicians, and with a supreme political direction of our naval forces such as the recent debate in the House of Commons has revealed, Great Britain's defeat in case of a war with Germany is possible if not probable.

The danger of a surprise attack, in the event of an Anglo-German

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war, must not be overlooked. The German navy stands under the sole command of the Emperor. According to Paragraph XI. of the German Constitution it is one of the Emperor's functions to declare From the same paragraph we learn that 'for a declaration of war in the name of the Empire the consent of the Federal Council is required, unless an attack takes place upon the Empire or its coast.'

It is true that, according to the letter of the German Constitution,

It is the decimal the constitution, the German Emperor cannot declare war without the consent of the individual German States represented in the Federal Council. But Prussia's military preponderance in Germany is so enormous that none of the smaller German States would risk picking a quarrel with the German Emperor and King of Prussia, because of an infraction of the Constitution. If it did oppose Prussia, its ruler would risk to lose his throne, as did the King of Hanover, and his ministers might have to flee the country.

Moreover, it is not even certain whether a sudden attack on Great Britain ordered by the German Emperor on his own initiative would really involve an infraction of the German Constitution. It is Germany's principle to prepare in peace for every emergency which is likely to arise in time of war. At present Germany can hope to defeat Great Britain only if she takes her by surprise. A previous consultation of the States might make a surprise attack impossible. Hence, it is not by any means impossible that the German Emperor and Chancellor are already empowered by the leading non-Prussian States to declare war and to order an attack on Great Britain on their own initiative.

I do not wish to insinuate that Germany intends attacking Great Britain in time of peace. Still the Statesman must be prepared to meet every possible danger. A more or less plausible casus belli can always be produced at short notice. It may be created over night. A German fishing boat may draw fire from a British gunboat. If we are preparing ourselves for an Anglo-German war—and the armaments of Germany and of Great Britain and the disposition of their fleets on either side of the North Sea show that we do—we must take into account all possibilities, and among these is a surprise attack. Since the time of Frederick the Great, Prusso-Germany has won all her great wars by falling on an unprepared enemy. The only time when she allowed herself to be attacked, in 1806, she was defeated, and she will scarcely repeat that blunder. Let us not forget that it is Prussian tradition to be ready first, and it is unfortunately British tradition to be caught napping.

In view of the possibility of an Anglo-German collision and of a surprise attack upon Great Britain, I think it is perhaps unwise to have our *Dreadnoughts* in harbours on the North Sea. Germany's torpedo boats might cross the North Sea unnoticed and destroy our finest ships in harbour, but they could scarcely go unnoticed up the Channel to our harbours on the south-west coast of England. We require, of

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chemical and Course, war bases on the east coast. Whilst preparing the harbourn the coast as war bases, and fitting them for defence course, war bases on the east coast as war bases, and fitting them for defence with on the east coast as war business, and some of the older battle. torpedo-boats, submarines, a result of the ships, it will, perhaps, be advisable to put our most valuable battle.

ps out of reach or a surprise and some weak spots in our naval would now draw attention to some weak spots in our naval I would now draw attended dock, there is not a single dock defences. Apart from one private dock, there is not a single dock defences. Apart from one produced on the east coast able to take Dreadnoughts. If a battle should on the east coast able to disabled German Dreadnoughts. on the east coast able to the disabled German Dreadnoughts might occur in the North Sea, the disabled German Dreadnoughts might occur in the North Sea, one described, whilst the disabled British reach their home docks and be abandoned and be allowed. Dreadnoughts might have to be abandoned and be allowed to sink Therefore, the present Government's failure to provide docks for Therefore, the present coast is most culpable. Various high German authorities assert that our 12-inch wire guns are very inferior weapons. They say that the barrel of our guns loses its shape very quickly. The 12-inch Krupp guns are said not only to wear better and to allow of straighter shooting than our 12-inch guns, but, according to the German ordnance tables which I have seen, they are far more powerful weapons than are ours. Our reserve of 12-inch guns is far too small. Lastly, the Germans attach great value to airships and flying machines for reconnoitring and In these we are lamentably deficient, and, as airships can be effectively fought not by gunfire but only by airships and flying machines, Germany would have a great advantage over us in naval war. In about two years Germany will possess some twenty airships able to travel thirty hours, or, let us say, more than six hundred miles, and to carry each from one ton to three tons of explosives. We have nothing to meet these, and, lacking experience. we shall scarcely be able to have any airships ready by 1911. This danger to our fleet should not be under-estimated.

During the last three years the Liberals have followed their traditional policy of starving the Fleet. Eleven months ago I wrote in this Review:

During a long time it has been the settled policy of the Liberal party to starve the Fleet in order to pose as champions of peace and economy with their supporters and to declaim against the 'reckless wastefulness' of the Unionists, and their 'bloated armaments,' as soon as these tried to make good the neglect of their predecessors. From the party politician's point of view, the traditional policy of the Liberals was very useful. It is true that, incidentally, it imperiled the reference of the Taylor and the Ta the safety of the Empire, but that was apparently a minor consideration. At present the Liberals are again practising naval economy at the cost of national security. Will they allow Germany to obtain a temporary naval superiority, which may become a permanent one, and which may involve this country in the greatest dangers, in order to gain a trick in the party game? Will it not be madness in view of the cride (and which may involve this total to be madness, in view of the cride (and which may involve this total to be madness, in view of the cride (and which may involve this total to be madness, in view of the cride (and which may involve this total to be madness, in view of the cride (and which may involve this total to be madness, in view of the cride (and which may involve this total to be madness, in view of the cride (and which may involve this total to be madness, in view of the cride (and which may involve this total to be madness). madness, in view of the evident drift and the officially declared aim of Germany's naval policy, to allow Germany to outbuild this country in first-class battleships!
Will it not be an almost any in the satisfield Will it not be an almost equally great madness for this country to be satisfied with but a small margin of next. with but a small margin of naval superiority over Germany, and thus allow her to hope that by a special offert. to hope that by a special effort she might succeed in outbuilding Great Britain!

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The naval policy of the Liberal party has had the consequences which I predicted. The traditional Liberal policy of naval economy which I predicted. It is an economy which causes enormous is the economy of folly. It is an economy which causes enormous waste. By whining to Germany about the costliness of naval armaments, and by reducing our shipbuilding programme, the Liberals have not only endangered our peace but have encouraged Germany tomake a bid for naval supremacy. Thus, the Liberals, by their pseudocomy, have made necessary an enormous enlargement of our shipbuilding programme, and for every single million saved on the Navy by Mr. Asquith we shall probably have to spend ten millions. This is the usual result of Liberal economy in naval matters.

By failing to provide adequately for our naval defence, the Prime Minister has shown that he does not possess the most elementary qualifications required for directing the policy of Great Britain and of the Empire. We need not inquire which members of the Cabinet are responsible for the neglect of our Navy, for there is a joint responsibility in the British Cabinet. Mr. Asquith and his colleagues are a danger to the State. The defence of the Empire must be amply provided for at all costs, and if the Government refuses to do this it must be removed. The House of Lords should throw out the Budget if it contains insufficient provisions for naval defence and thus force on a dissolution, and save the country from this Government. If it be allowed to stay on, the historian of the future may sum up its record in the words: 'It took a farthing off sugar and wrecked the Empire.'

J. ELLIS BARKER.

Postscriptum.—Since these pages were written some of the daughter-States have offered Great Britain battleships as a gift. I think their offers spring partly from generosity, partly from a feeling that Germany's naval armaments threaten them quite as much as us. Their offers should be accepted with gratitude and rejoicing, and if they should materialise, it is to be hoped that the Dominions will be invited not only to assist in the defence of the Empire with their money, but also to man their ships with officers and sailors of their own. Such a step would make the Imperial Navy a reality. Friendly rivalry between the Colonial and British contingents of the fleet would increase its efficiency. Before all, the common task of defence would bring the oneness of the Empire home to every heart and would visibly demonstrate its peaceful and defensive mission. It should be the British Empire

## THE UNIONIST PARTY AND ITS FISCAL

THE Unionist party suffers from a running sore. Sometimes this ailment weakens it to a dangerous state of debility; sometimes it is no more than a vexation and distress. Just now the party is gaining strength and recovering with a rapidity which delights its friends from its great illness of three years ago; and yet its physicians cannot quite relieve it from the discomfort and irritation of its fiscal sore.

It may seem strange that the fiscal question should be so peculiarly vexatious. Other questions lead to disagreement; other questions strongly arouse passion; but neither in contemporary politics, nor in the pages of Parliamentary history, will there be found anything precisely resembling the disorganisation and uneasiness which the fiscal controversy has caused among Unionists. Not even in the great convulsions which took place over the Corn Laws and over Home Rule was the disturbance so lasting. When Sir Robert Peel divided the Conservative party by repealing the Corn Laws in 1846, when Mr. Gladstone divided the Liberal party by introducing Home Rule in 1886, there was an acute difference of opinion within the disintegrated party; but in neither case did the disagreement produce a prolonged disorganisation in its internal economy. In the days of the Peelites such dissension was not so abnormal as now. Independence from party was recognised as legitimate, and the friction that it caused was much slighter. The period of bitterness, though acute, was short; and afterwards the Peelites were allowed to continue an independent element in public life, until they were gradually and with little pain absorbed into the two main parties. After the rejection of the first Home Rule Bill, the Liberal Unionists passed rapidly and easily into coalition with the Conservatives; most of them had long been vexed with the developments of Gladstonian Liberalism. Neither after 1846 nor after 1886 was there exhibited the spectacle which we see to-day of a party comprehending, but neither tolerating not assimilating, conscientious disagreement within its ranks. Disagreement is ranks. ment is commonly tolerated, is sometimes assimilated, and in very rare cases it leads to secession, but that none of these three things should happen is a phenomenon new in politics.

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An exhaustive analysis of the causes of this state would be difficult. An exhaustive rate largely due to two unusual circumstances: the But it is at any rate policy in the form of abstract consideration of a policy in the form of abstract consideration. But it is at any proposed in the form of abstract considerations more indefinitely propounded, and the insistence on a line of the state of the proposed in the state of the s promulgation of the propounded, and the insistence on a doctrine of or less indefinitely rigid than has been heretofore known. If the party discipline more definitely propounded, if there were a specific issue had been more duties in existence to which the issue had been a specific bill or schedule of duties in existence to which the majority of the bill or senedule was pledged, it is probable that either co-operation Unionist party
with Liberal opponents of that definite proposal, or else compromise with its Unionist supporters, would be feasible. Or, again, if the older doctrine of the independence of politicians prevailed, and it older woods thought right and obligatory for public men at least to pretend that they preferred the interests of the country to those of their party, and that they determined their action by conscientious reflection on the merits of current questions, no friction resembling that which exists would trouble us. Independence admittedly honest would be respected, and there would be no effort to force on a dispute which night after all be avoided. It is the singular combination of vagueness in the party policy, and rigidity in the claims of party allegiance, which oppresses us. This union of vagueness and strictness is unpreedented. Even the history of religion, rich as it is in the enforcement of opinions by menaces, cannot, I think, match the attitude of the zealous inquisitors of Tariff Reform. Persecutors are always harsh and narrow, but never before have they been so unreasonable as to require assent to what has not been precisely formulated.

The situation will be more clearly dealt with if I, as a Unionist Free Trader, consider in turn these three questions: (1) Why cannot we secede to the Liberal party? (2) Why cannot we assimilate our opinions to those of other Unionists? (3) Why cannot our opinions be tolerated by our Unionist friends? Hitherto either secession, assimilation, or toleration has always adjusted difficulties such as ours. Why are none of these solutions appropriate to-day? To this problem I now address myself, writing only on my own responsibility

and without any claim to be the mouthpiece of others.

The most obvious obstacle to secession lies in the aims and character of the Liberal party. Co-operation with them would only be possible to Unionist Free Traders if Free Trade was the main and dominant belief of the Liberal party, and if that party accordingly directed its political action mainly with the purpose of preserving Free Trade. If Liberals cared for Free Trade as Conservatives cared for the Union in 1886, there would at any rate be some basis for friendly co-operation between Liberals and ourselves. And if one were merely to listen to what Liberals say, it would be natural to believe that they were before all other things Free Traders. Every Liberal candidate, I suppose, at the late election, put the defence of Free Trade in the very foremost Position in his address. Not a few actually added the name 'Free

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chemical and Trader' to the name 'Liberal' as a characteristic title. Nor the flattering courtesy of their words towards It. Trader' to the name Interior Courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceed the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceed the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering courtesy of their words towards Unionist anything exceeds the flattering exceeds anything exceed the flattering the art of the for Free Trade is almost exclusively the con-Free Traders, as well in public recommendation of Liberals for Free Trade is almost exclusively the concern of zero of Laws so far as I know, never modified the They have, so far as I know, never modified the policy their lips. They have, so have the rolling of their party in the interests of Free Trade, and hitherto they have of their party in the interests as to be negligible missed any one stances as to be negligible missed any one of their party in the interests of the negligible missed any opportunity only in such rare instances as to be negligible missed any opportunity of capturing a seat from a Unionist Free Trader.

The truth is, I believe, that Free Trade has not that predominant The truth is, I believe, the would make them sacrifice the ordinary influence with Liberals which would make them sacrifice the ordinary influence with Liberals which would make them sacrifice the ordinary purposes of Liberalism for its sake. They do not care for it as Conpurposes of Liberature as Conservatives cared for the Union in 1886. It is possible that as the danger to Free Trade becomes more acute they may see the need of larger sacrifices. But so far nothing has been given up. Nay, Dis. establishment and even Home Rule are again, it seems, to be placed in the forefront of their programme; and all the objects of Liberalism including measures like the Eight Hours Act and the Old Age Pensions Act, which considerably enlarge the functions of the State and are further departures from the system of natural liberty by which adult men, at any rate, were left to make their own bargains and provide for their own futures, are keenly pursued without regard to the risks involved to the maintenance of Free Trade. Finally, by proclaiming an uncompromising attack on the House of Lords, the leaders of the Liberal party have raised an insurmountable barrier of separation between themselves and everyone of Conservative or moderate opinions. Very absurdly, they have continued to maintain that the existence of Free Trade will be a main issue at the general election side by side with their projected constitutional revolution. There are to be two dominant issues-so loosely do eminent Liberals think and speakthe preservation of Free Trade and the destruction of the House of Lords. Yet a dominant issue, if the phrase has any useful meaning, should connote a line of division ranging men into two opposing There can no more be two dominant issues between parties than there can be two frontiers between countries. Trade and the House of Lords as the dominant issues at the election is like talking of the Rhine and the Vosges as the frontier between France and Germany. To what country, then, it would be asked, do those belong who live between the Rhine and the Vosges? And with what party, we may now ask, are those to vote who wish to maintain both the established Constitution and the established fiscal system of the country? The phrase 'two dominant issues' is, in fact, a mere confusion. If clear-headed men use it, it can only be to secure against the House of Lords the votes of those who are afraid of Protection—a design not very ingenuous and singularly futile.

Secession to the Liberal party is, then, rendered impossible by

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the resolve of Liberals to prefer the interests of Liberalism to those of Free Trade, a resolve which finds its most strident and repellent of Free Trade, in the levity with which the destruction of the ancient expression in the been urged.

Constitution has been urged.

Constitution has Such are the difficulties in the path of secession to Liberalism. Such are the difficulties in the path of secession to Liberalism. The next question is: why is it impossible for all Unionist Free Traders to do what many of them have done, that is, assimilate their opinions to those of the Leader of the party? To answer this fully would be to enter upon all the merits of the fiscal controversy, which would be to enter upon all the present article; but it may be convenient to beyond the scope of the present article; but it may be convenient to set out, so far as may be, the character and extent of the difference of opinion that separates us from Mr. Balfour. For that purpose let me recall the main features of Mr. Balfour's policy.

Mr. Balfour, in his famous Birmingham speech, gave an outline of his plan:

On this question of fiscal reform I do not think there is a better text to be taken than that which is given me by the resolution moved by my friend Mr. Chaplin, and passed, not merely unanimously, but with enthusiastic acclamation, by the whole body of representatives. That resolution divides the question into four heads—broadening the basis of taxation, safeguarding our great productive industries from unfair competition, strengthening your position for the purpose of negotiation in foreign markets, and establishing preferential commercial arrangements with the colonies and securing for British producers and workmen a further advantage over foreign competitors in the colonial markets. ... I think you may approach those four propositions—broadening the basis of taxation, safeguarding productive industries, strengthening our position in foreign markets, and colonial preference—you might, I say, approach the whole policy from any one of these four propositions, and I believe you would arrive at the same practical result. The policy which is good for one is good for the other, the policy by which one can be promoted the other can be advanced, and we can confidently say that any fiscal changes we carry out would not be merely independent efforts to deal first with this proposition and then with that, but a comprehensive scheme by which all four of those great causes might be equally advanced. Well, if it be a matter of indifference, and I think it is, from which of these propositions you approach the whole policy, let us for the sake of brevity approach it from the revenue side, from the point of view which is represented by the resolution which deals with the basis of taxation. . . . Looking at it from that point of view alone, how are you going to broaden the basis of taxation? Surely there are four principles which may be laid down as practically incontrovertible, or, at all events, which I am prepared to support by arguments if necessary. The first is that your duties should be widespread; the second is that they should be small; the third is that they should not touch law material; the fourth is that they should not alter the proportion in which the working classes are asked to contribute to the cost of government. They should be small, because it is small duties which do not interfere with the natural course either. course either of production or consumption; they should be numerous because, if you require if you require revenue and your duties are small, you must have many articles of consumations. of consumption subject to those duties. Need I argue the other two questions—the question. the question whether they should be applied to raw material, or whether they should be used. should be used to alter the balance of material burdens on the working classes? Those require no argument.

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Mr. Balfour's policy will be seen to amount to this: he desired Mr. Balfour's policy will be desired to have customs duties for four purposes: (1) to get revenue; (2) that to have customs duties for four party to have customs duties for the benefit of the colonies in return for they may be reduced for the benefit of the colonies in return for they may be reduced for the they may be varied after negotiation reciprocal concessions; (3) that they may be varied after negotiation reciprocal concessions; (5) that reciprocal concessions; (6) that to obtain similar concessions; against foreign countries in order to obtain similar concessions; against foreign countries in concessions; (4) that they may afford some safeguard against what he calls untain (4) that they may afford some safeguard against what he calls untain (4) that they may another purposes he designs a tariff of numerous competition.' For these purposes he designs a tariff of numerous but small duties which are not to be on raw material, which are not but small duties which are not to be on the working all burdens of the working all burdens on the working all burde but small duties which are not to alter the paturel and are not to alter the balance of material burdens on the working classes, and most remarkable of all, which are not to alter the natural course either of production or consumption. This last condition appears to different that adopted by France Co. entiate his policy sharply from that adopted by France, Germany or America, and recommended by the majority of Tariff Reformers, Certainly a principal object of the tariffs of America, Germany and France is to change the natural course of production and consumption: and if the arguments that are used in favour of Tariff Reform in every corner of the country have any meaning, it is the purpose of Tarif Reform in like manner to change that natural course. When, for instance, Mr. George Bowles is attacked in Norwood for refusing to promise to support a duty which would restrict the importation of doors and window-frames into this country, it would seem that he might reply that he was only insisting on Mr. Balfour's principle that duties should not interfere with the natural course of production and consumption. But it might perhaps be rejoined that Mr. Balfour, in the fourth branch of his policy, contemplates customs duties as a safeguard against unfair competition. And this is precisely the most doubtful and obscure part of Mr. Balfour's policy. What competition, in his meaning, is 'unfair'? The classical Birmingham speech appears to throw no light on this problem. But in other utterances, including his last speech in the House of Commons delivered on the 19th of February, the competition which he appears to desire to prevent is the competition of goods during a period of depression, which are sold in our market at a price not determined by the ordinary cost of production. Such importation of goods is ordinarily called 'dumping,' and, since the phrase is convenient, I will use it, quoting a passage from Mr. Balfour's speech as describing what dumping He supposes the tariff-protected manufacturers to speak as is. follows:

We will build our mills upon a scale that will supply our country adequately in good times, and in bad times we shall no doubt suffer, but we shall be able to put our surplus produce in the neighbouring Free Trade market at a price, it may be, that will not pay interest on our capital, but that will enable us to keep our hands and not discipate the our hands and not dissipate the staff, and to keep our machinery running on the whole, and to nour out whole, and to pour out our surplus produce in bad times upon this open market.

The same process is described in Mr. Balfour's pamphlet, 'Insular

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Free Trade' at greater length. I can only quote a part of what is there set forth :-

Such is the ordinary position of the manufacturer under Free Trade. Com-Such is the position of his protected rival, who controls his home markets. pare with it the dangers of over-production appear in their most benignant form.

To him the dangers of over-production appear in their most benignant form. To him the damage of the home demand slackens, compelling him, if he desires to maintain prices, If the nome supply, he has a way of escape not open to his less favoured to limit home supply, he has a way of escape not open to his less favoured to limit nome series favoured to limit nome to his less favoured brother. Instead of closing works, dismissing hands, and running machinery brother. Instance may hope that the markets benevolently opened to him by on half time, of ten very much lower, than the prices which have a free prices which have a free very much lower, than the prices which have a free very much lower. Free Trade of the price of the no doubt is donestic and foreign, remunerative as a whole transaction, domestic and foreign, remunerative as a whole.

why, it may be asked, is no similar policy open to the manufacturer in a Free Country? Because Free Trade makes it difficult for him to obtain control of his home markets; and because, unless he has this control, it is difficult for him to fix two prices, a low foreign and a high domestic one. If he attempts it he will be undersold in the home market by his rivals, or even, if the divergence of price exceed the double cost of carriage, by himself! His own goods will be reimported. He will become his own most dangerous competitor!

It is worthy of note that in theory it is not only possible that the foreign prices charged by the quasi-monopolist should be less than the home price, but even that they should be less than the cost of production. And it has often been so in practice. Foreign steel, for instance, has been sold in this country at a price for which no English manufacturer could produce it-or foreign manufacturer either, without the double aid of combination and protection.1

It seems that the sort of importation which is here contemplated Not every industry is of a character must be of a limited amount. to make continuous production on a large scale a very important matter, nor in the case of any industry can production be artificially kept up in times of depression unless, in addition to a tariff, there is a combination to control the home market. Accordingly, while we hear a good deal/about dumping in some branches of commerce, notably in the iron trade, there is no reason to think that dumped goods are at all a large proportion of the total imports. If, then, 'unfair competition' only means dumping, the fourth object of Mr. Balfour's Birmingham policy would only interfere with no extensive part of the import trade of the country. All the rest would only pay the duty which Mr. Balfour has expressly stated is to be small because 'it is small duties which do not interfere with the natural course either of production or consumption.'

If this be a correct account of Mr. Balfour's fiscal policy, it must be said that it cannot satisfy either a convinced Free Trader or a convinced Protectionist. Even those parts of his policy like retaliation, restraint of dumping, and the levying of revenue, which are not inconsistent with the theoretical principles of Free Trade, must excite apprehensions in the minds of Free Traders on account of the mechanism which Mr. Balfour apparently intends to use. A general

Insular Free Trade, Paragraphs 52 and 53. Vol. LXV-No. 386

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tariff against all countries for the purpose of retaliation, of excluding dumped goods, and of collecting revenue, would be complicated and dumped goods, and of concerning it could hardly escape protected and ambiguous. In its practical working it could hardly escape protected and ambiguous are the instance of the numerous body of protections. ambiguous. In its practical interest of the numerous body of protectionist developments at the instance of the numerous body of Protectionist developments. On the other lands are the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the other lands are the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the other lands are the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of the numerous body of Protection in the instance of the numerous body of th tionist developments at the mistal tionist developments at the mistal tionists by whose support it would be enacted. On the other hand, the tionists by whose support it desires something more. He wish convinced Protectionist desires something more. He wishes to see convinced Protectionist desired trade by means of import duties with a view to the encouragement of British industries. He wants, in fact, precisely what Mr. Balfour appears to deprecate, the changing of the natural course of production and consumption. It is a whimsical idea, but perhaps a correct one, that this Birmingham policy, a verbal adherence to which is being imposed on every Unionist candidate, is in its true character such as would secure the support of neither of the principal divisions of economic opinion. Perhaps if everyone fully understood Mr. Balfour's meaning, the more ardent Tariff Reformers would find themselves as little able to assent without reservation to the Birmingham policy as any member of the Unionist Free Trade Club.

It is possible, however, that the above is not the true interpretation of Mr. Balfour's doctrine of 'unfair competition.' speech in the House of Commons he certainly appears to regard the Continental tariffs as beneficial to the countries that adopt them. He praised, in particular, the stability which he believed a tariff to secure but a tariff does not, by itself, secure what Mr. Balfour calls stability It does not, on the one hand, prevent dumping, as Canadian experience shows; it does not, on the other hand, control the home market unless it is supplemented by some kind of trust or syndicate. I can hardly suppose that Mr. Balfour desires to see trusts and syndicates established in this country. But it is not easy to understand the relevance of his arguments about stability, if he shrinks from enabling combinations to control home competition. In short, on this part of his policy we still require more light. If Mr. Balfour would tell us what he regards as fair competition, his meaning would be made clear. Hitherto the obscurity in his utterances which has so often been complained of, has always arisen from one cause—his reluctance, namely, to limit his policy on what may be called its protectionist side. He has often explained the distinctions between his policy and the existing system; but how his policy would differ, for example, from the German system, if it differed at all, he has never explained Similarly, while he has described the sort of importation which he regards as mischievous, he has never stated what kind of imports he approves and would leave unrestricted. We hear of unfair competition from him, but we are not told what competition is not unfair, and we cannot certainly judge whether he means to limit his restrictions to dumping, or whether all foreign competition would fall under the same condemnation. My own opinion is that he means no more

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than the restriction of dumping, and that he no more wishes to restrict than the resultation (e.g. of doors and window-frames) than does Mr. normal important until the doubt is cleared up, it would by itself George Bowles, any Unionist Free Trader from assenting without reservation prevent any Unionist Free Trader from assenting without reservation to the Birmingham policy.

So far, then, as three out of the four points of the Birmingham So far, once, the difficulty with which Free Traders are encountered programme go, as it seems to me, from doubt as to the precise purport of the arises, as it became to 'unfair competition' Mr. Balfour might do policy.

Something to make matters clear by explaining what competition he includes, and what competition he excludes from that description. In respect to the revenue tariff and to the policy of retaliation the doubt relates only to the machinery by which the policy will be carried out, and is therefore unavoidable. It can only be cleared up when proposals are definitely made to Parliament. I make no criticism upon Mr. Balfour in noting the impossibility of giving an unreserved assent to what is not yet defined. But how strange it is that numerous speakers and writers seem to regard it as natural, proper and requisite that candidates for the House of Commons should pledge themselves beforehand to support they know not what. It is evident that such pledges, if they are to become usual in public life, will destroy all rational ground for having a House of Commons at all. It would be no more use in our Constitution than the College of Electors is in that of America. Manifestly, if the deliberations of Parliament are to be of value at all they must be entered upon with a certain amount of freedom in respect to the conclusions at which its members are to arrive. A pre-arranged decision makes deliberation a sham.

The part of the Birmingham policy to which it seems necessary to take an objection in principle is that which relates to Colonial Preference. I do not say that there is no kind of preferential policy which could ever be adopted without grave political or economic mischiefs. I do say that if by Colonial Preference is meant a policy of bargaining with the colonies and adjusting a number of commercial treaties between the different parts of the Empire, such a policy is far more likely to end in discord than in harmony. No one can watch the periodic renewals of commercial treaties between the great protectionist countries of Europe without observing how fruitful such negotiations are in ill-humour and friction. It is not too much to say that the doctrine that agreements for promoting mutual trade by means of differential duties lead to unity or even to friendship is contradicted by experience as well as by a priori reasoning. We once had preferential duties in favour of the Colonies, and the Colonies were certainly not more devoted to the Mother Country than they are now. On the contrary, their separation from the Empire seemed in those days far more probable than it does at present. Mr. Lyttelton, indeed, points out that Cobden anticipated that Free Trade would dissolve the con-

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nection with the Colonies, but it is hard to see what instruction we nection with the Colonies, but that fact. It shows, it is true, we are supposed to derive from that fact. It shows, it is true, that are supposed to derive from Cobden was wrong, but this illustration of human fallibility is only Plainly. Free Trade has not diesely Cobden was wrong, but this collection of biographical interest. Plainly, Free Trade has not dissolved the of biographical interest. That you was of Free Trade—or forty.

Empire. On the contrary, after sixty years of Free Trade—or forty. Empire. On the contrary, area is more closely bound together the last preferential duty was not nine years, to be more precise, abolished till 1860—the Empire is more closely bound together than abolished till 1860—the Emperorement abolished t ever. Nor is this all. When preference existed as they are now, the withdrawal of preference preference and was one of the causes. very naturally gave them offence and was one of the causes which led Canada into making a commercial treaty with the United States, Can our advocates of preference be sure that there will never be a withdrawal, in whole or in part, of the preference that they propose to establish? It is one among the many mischiefs of their policy that there is no going back without danger. Further still, their teaching is curiously at variance with what took place in respect to the commercial treaty between Canada and the United States. According to preferentialists, the treaty ought to have been the first step to political unity between the two contracting parties. But, in fact, after it had lasted a number of years it led, as commercial treaties so often do lead, to a quarrel. The treaty was broken off, and the relations of Canada and the United States have never been so cordial again, Experience, therefore, does not sustain the preferentialist policy. And, surely, it might seem clear to any fair-minded inquirer that arrangements which pre-suppose that the Colonies and the Mother Country are distinct bodies with separate, and possibly conflicting. interests, cannot make for unity. We shall draw the Empire together, not by formally recognising and powerfully emphasising the separateness of its different parts, but rather by seeking out opportunities for common action when the Empire can move and feel as a single whole. Such common action does, as the South African War showed, effectually strengthen the sentiment of unity throughout the body.

One of the economic aspects of preference presents also an insuper-The taxation of food is, we are told, a necessary part able objection. of the policy of Colonial Preference. But the taxation of food implies the taxation of the very poorest of the people. It is quite true that the burden thus thrown is in popular controversy often much overstated; but state it as soberly and moderately as you please, it remains a fact that there is a burden. Those who are on the very threshold of the workhouse must pay taxation on the necessaries of life, and of no other taxation can that be said. I cannot think it either just or reasonable that those who are living on this level of misery should be made to pay taxation for anything except the national revenue. a preferential policy contemplates that they should pay in order to make richer the colonial farmers who are already very prosperous, and those manufacturing interests, like the woollen producers of York.

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shire, who might gain from reductions in the colonial tariff, but are shire, who might be shire, who might be the level of destitution. The half-destitute on the coronary on bread alone presses are not indeed. whom a tax on bread alone presses are not, indeed, a numerous class, whom a tax on but unquestionably they exist, and to add in however slight a degree but unquestions of their lot in order to enrich other British citizens to the hardships of their lot in order to enrich other British citizens who are already much better off seems to me wholly indefensible. who are the directly and not by the veiled operation of an import Juagine is Suppose a tax collector was sent round to every citizen, includduty. Sure of the dwellers in the slums of London, and asked from each sixpence a month (or any other sum at which the incidence of the proposed corn duty may be estimated), and that the money so collected was then divided among the farmers in the colonies and the clothiers of Yorkshire, and is there any one, either here or in the colonies, who would defend or tolerate such an arrangement? This, it will be observed, is an argument which rests upon no exaggerations about the big and little loaf; it depends on an indisputable statement of fact. I suggest to Tariff Reformers that it is an argument that will certainly in the long run be fatal to the taxation of food for purposes of preference. Even if such taxation be imposed it will be reversed after the following general election. An English working-class electorate will not permanently endure the taxing of the almost starving for the benefit of those who are better off. The tax if imposed will be repealed and the system of preference dislocated. Yet whatever else may be good for the Empire, we are surely agreed that sharp changes in the mutual relations of its parts will be bad.

Assimilation of Unionist Free Trade opinion to the policy of fiscal reform must, therefore, like secession, be set aside. It might, indeed, be possible, so far as some sections of the policy are concerned, if it were made clear that the dangers of Protection could be guarded against. But, in respect to Colonial Preference, at any rate on a more than complimentary scale, and especially if involving the taxation

of food, the disagreement appears to be beyond adjustment.

The sore cannot be healed by secession or by assimilation. it not be healed by toleration? I think it could; but in arguing this I am, of course, in a difficulty. The questions of seceding or of assimilating opinion are questions depending on the judgment of Unionist Free Traders, and about that I am in a measure able to speak. But toleration depends on what those who are sincerely convinced that Tariff Reform is beneficial may think it wise to do. In arguing for toleration I must endeavour to put myself into the Position of a sincere Tariff Reformer, or else my words will be vain and useless. It is, then, speaking from the point of view of those Tariff Reformers who form the main body of the party, that I assert that toleration of Unionist Free Traders within its ranks is wise and patriotic.

Those who favour exclusion reason somewhat like this.

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urge that Tariff Reform is the first object of the party; that it is urge that Tariff Retorm is the party and disagree with its first object; impossible to be a member of a party and disagree with its first object; and that, therefore, the position of Unionist Free Traders is essentially and that, therefore, the position a false one. And going more into detail, they point out that as in the a false one. And going more at the House of Commons, those who first session of a Unionist Land of Commons, those who are conprincipal business in the House of Commons, those who are conprincipal business in the Training Reform will immediately find themselves scientiously opposed to Tariff Reform will immediately find themselves scientiously opposed to Taill and if possible put them in a obliged to vote against their party and if possible put them in a minority, thus destroying at the outset the Unionist Government,

This argument in its more general form depends upon the state. ment that Tariff Reform is the first object of the Unionist party by which is meant that it is so immensely the most important matter that it outweighs everything else. To maintain this position Mr. Balfour's authority is quoted. He, it is said, has declared Tariff Reform to be the first object of the Party. But, in fact, Mr. Balfour's language is different, and essentially different, from the doctrine which is attributed to him. What Mr. Balfour said in his famous Valentine's Day letter was that 'Fiscal Reform is, and must remain. the first constructive work of the Unionist party.' Those who are familiar with the precision with which Mr. Balfour uses language. will not need to be reminded that the word 'constructive' can assuredly not be treated as redundant. It obviously implies a limitation of the word 'first.' The Speaker is reckoned the first commoner. but he takes precedence behind the House of Lords. In like manner we shall not be wrong in assuming that the 'first constructive work' ranks behind some, at any rate, of the defensive works of the party. I feel confident that Mr. Balfour reckons fiscal reform as less important than the maintenance of the Union, or of the House of Lords, or of the Established Churches of England and Scotland; and I should hear without surprise that he reckoned the defence of denominational religious education as a more important matter than the party's 'first constructive work.' Nor (if I am right) is his point of view different from that of the great majority of his supporters. To Conservatives the defence of the great and fundamental institutions of the country is naturally of prior concern to any constructive work. therefore, no obvious and self-evident absurdity in those who warmly sympathise with the defensive objects of the Unionist party sitting as Unionist members, and co-operating in Parliament as well as out with the rest of the party, although they may not approve of its ' first constructive work.'

The detailed argument, that Unionist Free Traders in Parliament will necessarily be driven to vote against Tariff Reform and therefore to wreck the Unionist Government, would have much more weight if they were a more numerous body. But in that case it is obvious that they would correspond to would correspond to such a force of opinion in the country that Tarif Reform would be impossible. As things stand they are, and can be

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only a few. The case, then, of a Government depending solely on only a few. could hardly arise, for no Government would attempt their support th and the presence of some dissentients on the back benches is so far And the presented or unusual that it is the ordinary state of from being and Very few measures of a highly controversial character have things. Very Parliament which have secured in the division lobby passed through the unanimous support of the party that promoted them. Indeed, the unamber of the House of Commons who dissents from his party on any issue sufficiently important to cause the destruction of the Government, the ranks of both parties will be much reduced. Suppose that Tariff Reform is carried in the first session of the next Parliament, in the second session some other question of capital importance will be taken up—let us suppose the education question. Upon this question there will doubtless be a few dissentients corresponding to the Unionist Free Traders in the first session. And this issue, not less than Tariff Reform, will involve the existence of the Unionist Government which deals with it. In respect to education, as in respect to fiscal reform, we have from Mr. Balfour certain principles laid down which he recommends for public acceptance. Yet is it proposed that every Unionist candidate is to be required to assent to the settlement of the education question upon the basis of parents' rights, or to forfeit the support of the party? Evidently such rigour of orthodoxy would be ruinous. No party can exist unless toleration is extended even to those who are dissentient on an issue of capital importance—that is to say, on an issue upon which the existence of a Government may depend.

Nor, even looking singly at Tariff Reform and considering its interests alone, will the toleration of dissension be found to be unfair or inexpedient. It is sometimes said that Free Traders expect to get the best of both worlds, to have all the advantages of membership of a great party, and at the same time to have liberty to hinder that great party's policy. If among the advantages of membership of a great party is included a claim for office when the party comes into power, the presumption attributed to Free Traders would certainly be great. But I cannot imagine that any Free Trader has ever entertained the smallest anticipation of office in a Tariff Reform Parliament. Mr. Balfour will be very unwise if, when he is preparing to carry Tariff Reform, he does not confine his selection of colleagues to those who are wholeheartedly with him in his plan. Not merely professed Unionist Free Traders, but anyone who has misgivings as to the wisdom of the policy should assuredly be left out. Of all the errors that led to the destruction of Mr. Balfour's last administration none, Perhaps, was more considerable than the attempt to keep in one Cabinet gentlemen who upon the main issue of the day were not in heartfelt agreement. But if only membership of Parliament is the

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advantage in question, it may fairly be urged that even from the advantage in question, it may unionist Free Traders have point of view of Tariff Reform many Unionist Free Traders have point of view of Tarin resort. For they have laboured, and are earned some claim to reward. For they have laboured, and are earned some claim to reward.

labouring, to destroy the present Government, and in so doing they are, labouring, to destroy the present whether they like it or not, necessarily helping Tariff Reformers. If whether they like it or not, need to will get its chance; and if it supporters believe, its chance; and if it Liberalism be overthrown, really be the good cause its supporters believe, its chance will mean its really be the good cause its support are thus indirectly labouring for success. Unionist Free Traders are thus indirectly labouring for Tariff Reform, little as they like that aspect of their exertions. They Tariff Reform, little as they ask their Tariff Reform friends are doing in fact precisely what they ask their Tariff Reform friends are doing in fact process, to do, making the immediate defence of great institutions their first political object. By the action of Liberals in uniting the cause of Free Trade to the cause of unjust and revolutionary change Unionist Free Traders have been driven to fight against both. In return for their exertions it is not much to ask from Tariff Reformers to claim to be allowed to serve their country within the walls of Parliament.

Their claim is not unfair and its granting is expedient for Tariff Reform. Suppose it be denied; suppose, instead of toleration, a continuance of these disputes within the party which I have compared to a running sore; suppose what is, I am afraid, only too likely to happen, the aggravation of the dispute by recriminations and retaliatory measures taken on the one side and the other, does anyone doubt that Tariff Reform (not to speak of all the other and greater objects of the Unionist Party) will lose much more than it can possibly gain? It would be strange indeed if a prolonged and bitter feed carried on with all the forms of agitation between Unionist Free Traders and Tariff Reformers did not cost the Unionist party much more than the few seats whose retention by Free Traders is supposed to be so intolerable a concession.

These considerations are so obvious that I ask myself why it is that any Tariff Reformer is averse from toleration. The only suggestion I will make is that some Tariff Reformers wish to do much more than carry a particular measure in a particular session of Parliament. They wish permanently to change the character of the Unionist party. It is, with them, no question of half a dozen conscientious dissentients being out of harmony with their party for a single session, but rather of the continuance within the party of a body of opinion alien from what they would fain have to be its essential characteristic. Protectionism is to some people more than a policy: it is a political faith. It belongs, in their minds, to a general scheme of thought on public affairs, and in a party which adopted that scheme of thought Unionist Free Traders would unquestionably be out of place. The design of the more extreme Tariff Reformers is, I suppose, to change the Unionist party into a Protectionist party; into a party of plutocratic defence cratic defence, somewhat callous about public corruption zealous for industrial progress; a party not indifferent to the evils April

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of poverty, but seeking the remedy for those evils rather in the of poverty, paternal bureaucracy than in the training of personal activities of a paternal bureaucracy than in the training of personal activities of a Paragraphic activities of a party setting character under the discipline of liberty and self-help; a party setting character under and greatness of their country, but not often re-high the efficiency and greatness of their country, but not often rehigh the emotion on the ultimate ethical justification for national greatness; a flecting on the ultimate ethical justification for national greatness; a flecting on the first better elements nobly pagan, in its worse some-party, in short, in its better elements nobly pagan, in its worse someparty, in short, party, in short, in its worse somewhat sordidly self-interested. To such a party Unionist Free Traders what sordid nor would belong. But I do not half neither could nor would belong. Mr. Balfour or the majority of Conservatives wish the Unionist party Mr. Banous to change its general character. To them Tariff Reform is not a to change it is a particular measure which they believe to be beneficial. Whether in the end the forces of opinion will not compel a cleavage between the two types of Tariff Reformers may well be doubted. But at present it is enough for my purpose to note the distinction, and to appeal to the great majority of my Conservative friends not to allow themselves to assent to a policy of exclusion which for the mere purpose of carrying Tariff Reform is unnecessary and unwise, and can only be justified, if at all, as a preliminary to transforming Unionism into a novel and alien shape.

It may be asked, from an opposite standpoint, whether Unionist Free Traders are justified in continuing to co-operate with the Unionist party even if their existence within it be tolerated. As I have argued, by doing so they endanger Free Trade. Is this patriotic? I would answer, first, that Liberals have forced us into some such position by their persistent subordination of Free Trade to Liberalism, and, secondly, that Free Trade can afford to run some risks precisely because it is a sound cause. By helping to turn out a Liberal Government we are, as I have said, labouring to give Tariff Reform a chance; but that chance will benefit it only if it be a wiser measure than we think. In the end, after all, the good cause tends to survive and the bad one to collapse, whatever may be the temporary effect of cross currents of opinion and the adroit management of political tactics.

And it is in this reflection that the good cause is better than the bad, and that it really matters to be right, that Unionist Free Traders must find comfort amidst the discouragements of their position. This must be our watchword to put to flight the fiends of depression and dismay: we are right. We are right when we deny that a great revenue can be raised from foreigners; when we resist as both wasteful and demoralising the manipulation by the State of the springs and courses of commerce; when we deprecate the folly of seeking to bind the Empire together by a quadrennial squabble between its members over profit and loss, and denounce the injustice of taxing the food of the hungry to add to the wealth of the thriving. We are right, again, when we cry out against the scandals of Irish disorder, and against the recklessness which would dismember the kingdom into different nationalities; when we shrink from entrusting

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chamber; and when the whole legislative authority to a single chamber; and when we relations of Church and State. It is support the whole legislative authority defend the ancient relations of Church and State. It is supported by defend the ancient relations of the conviction that we are able to endure a position certainly neither this conviction that we are able to ease. And while one this conviction that we are assert that the conviction of the conv gratifying to ambition not again without baseness desert that position, remain unchanged, we cannot without baseness desert that position. we must keep our ears open to the counsels of reason, our eyes to the testimony of fact. A foolish obstinacy we must abhor. we cannot yield to reason or to fact we must not surrender to caresses we cannot yield to reason of the kindly remonstrances of our friends, to the or to threats. To the kindly remonstrances of our friends, to the ignoble menaces of those whom we have given no cause to be our enemies, to the impatience of partisans who have lost their value for enemies, to the imparence of reformers, who cannot balance independence, to the vehemence of reformers, who cannot balance in sober moderation one public interest against another, to critics of all sorts, harsh and genial, intelligent and ignorant, we have one answer, brief, sufficient, sustaining : we are right.

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FORTY-FOUR YEARS AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE

It goes without saying that any institution of such a nature as a Government Department must undergo many and important changes in the course of forty odd years. But in the case of a Department the business of which must necessarily depend mainly on external communications, it is obvious that such changes will be of exceptional

magnitude and importance.

When I entered the Colonial Office in 1864, ocean telegraphy was still in its infancy. The only existing cable was to North America; and South and West Africa, the Eastern Colonies, Australia, and the West Indies were still only accessible by mail. The result was that even in the case of a despatch of the utmost importance, addressed say to Hong Kong or Australia, the question at issue, so far as an answer to that particular despatch was concerned, might be put comfortably to sleep for the best part of four months. And as in those days even mails were few and far between compared with what they are now, the opportunities for communication of any kind with our Colonial Empire were necessarily somewhat infrequent. Apart moreover from actual correspondence with the Colonies, the circumstances governing what may be called the domestic life of the office were very different. Questions in Parliament, which now create endless work during the session for a large section of the staff, were then of comparatively rare occurrence. No one, with the exception of a few specialists-mostly self-constituted-knew or cared much about Colonial affairs; and the life of the Parliamentary Under-Secretary was dignified ease compared with what it is now. It indeed makes me quite uncomfortable to think of the consternation that would have been produced at that time if the office had woke up one morning to find a string of perhaps thirty odd questions—by no means an outside number nowadays—put down for that day alone. And when, added to all this, the gigantic development of the Colonial Empire in all directions during the last quarter of a century is taken into consideration, it is hardly to be wondered at that the atmosphere of the Colonial Office was characterised by a placidity to which the 'strenuous life'

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of the present day offers a somewhat remarkable contrast. of the present day offers a some solutions, of course; but as a rule they were of importance there were at times, of course; but as a rule they were of importance there were at times, of course; but as a rule they were of importance there were at thice, either settled by 'the man on the spot,' not then, be it remembered, either settled by 'the and of a wire,' or else resolved themselved. either settled by 'the man on a wire,' or else resolved themselves into merely 'a man at the end of a wire,' or else resolved themselves into merely 'a man at the end of a man at the leisurely academic discussions on paper, which have long since found leisurely academic discussions on paper, which have long since found leisurely academic discussions of the Record Office. Looking at the matter, honourable sepulture at the Record Office. Looking at the matter, honourable sepulture at the Landschaff standpoint, it can hardly be said the matter, therefore, from the more modern standpoint, it can hardly be said that the work of the Colonial Office was in those days heavy. I well remember an official who was then about halfway up the office, and afterwards became a district and afterwards became a district. who had already made his mark, and afterwards became a distinguished Colonial Governor, offering to make a bet that if he were allowed to Colonial Governor, one ring to an add to choose his day between mails, he would undertake for that day to transact the whole business of the office himself, beginning with the opening of the first despatches or letters, the registering and minuting of all papers, the drafting and copying of any despatches or letters that might be required in answer, the interviewing of all callers, and in short, the carrying out of every detail of work down to the posting of the last letter. But no one could be found to take the bet; and assuming that the necessary arrangements could have been made for him to carry out his object, there is very little doubt that he would have won it.

It is curious to look back to some of the easy-going arrangements that prevailed in those days. One well-known and talented head of an important department, who found that attendance at the office was not altogether conducive to the maintenance of his health, was allowed to live away from London altogether, and to do his work at home Official papers were supposed to be sent to him every day, and these he certainly dealt with in the most capable manner, his writings, in the form of minutes, etc., being monuments of erudition; but any practical supervision of his department was of course under such circumstances out of the question. Another official who held a highly-paid appoint ment, the nature of which nothing should induce me to reveal, but which had then become practically a sinecure, never appeared at the office at all during the daytime. But an occasional belated junior clerk, hurrying away at what would then be considered an outrageously late hour for departure, would come across a mysterious and secretive looking individual, stealing along a passage to a sequestered apartment where he was accustomed to perform such work as could be found for him during the watches of the night; and would be informed on enquiry that it was Mr. —, the —. I only once, I think, caught sight of him myself, and I never knew of anyone who referred to him as more than a chance acquaintance; but there he had been for many years; and when one day, or rather one night, he quietly disappeared, and his place. and his place was not filled up, it was somehow felt that a good old institution had never l institution had passed away.

But whatever little irregularities may have been permitted among

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the senior officers, it was quite another matter in the case of the juniors. the senior ometry, work could be regarded as severe; but it was Not that their order and no doubt rightly, that their time should be considered desired. With this laudable object in view, it was ordained fully employed. Work more pressing affairs of State were for the fully employed more pressing affairs of State were for the moment in that whenever and devote ourselves to the less elevating occupation of copying letters and despatches, entering them in books—a singularly of copying to a state of time, as the actual draft of the letter or despatch elaborate would always be found attached to the document to which it related and performing other mechanical and unattractive duties, that would very properly be regarded by a junior clerk of the present day with much the same feelings as would be experienced by a groom of the chambers who should be requested to clean the front doorstep or to assist the scullery maid in preparing the vegetables for dinner. But although this class of work was then considered an excellent thing for discipline, it had an important effect upon our enjoyment of life. In those days there were no fussy Orders in Council or inquisitorial Treasury Minutes respecting leave of absence; and by the traditions of the office everyone in the higher division, junior clerks included, was supposed to be entitled to two months' regular leave at a certain time of year, with as much more in the way of occasional days as he could get. The granting of this latter privilege was in the hands of the heads of departments; and it depended entirely on the views respectively entertained by these authorities whether a junior clerk got a good many odd days or perhaps none at all. I myself was so unfortunate as to be attached, on entering the office, to the department of an estimable but crotchety old baronet, who had no sympathy with holidays himself and was unable to understand any necessity for them in the case of others. Coming straight from Harrow, my ideas were, I am afraid, more centred on cricket than anything else; but it was only with the greatest difficulty that I was able to screw a very occasional and grudgingly bestowed day out of my chief during the summer, while I had the mortification of seeing those in other departments getting away pretty much when they liked. The exigencies of the public service could hardly be said to have stood much in the way; but as long as there was any copying or 'entering' to be done, it was held that I should be there to do it. The office hours were certainly not long in themselves, for even my special bureaucrat was quite satisfied if we appeared punctually at 12 and remained till 5.30, at which hour, without fail, he himself would be tucked carefully into his brougham and driven home to West Kensington. And while enforcing strict discipline on his subordinates, the good old gentleman was careful not to impair his own constitution by overwork. It was his daily habit, after luncheon, to ensconce himself in a cunningly designed designed rocking-chair, and for exactly one hour to devote himself, ostensibly, to the perusal of old Quarterly Reviews, to which it was

understood that bygone members of his family had been extensive understood that bygone members derived much extensive contributors, and from which he doubtless derived much edification contributors, and from which he was very properly altogether and support. During this period he was very properly altogether and support. During this poster have been dangerous to disturb him, inaccessible; and it would in fact have been dangerous to disturb him, inaccessible; and it would in the line inaccessible; and It is hardly necessary to say that incurring his displeasure; but we considered it only right to follow incurring his displeasure; but we considered it only right to follow the example of our chief by allowing our own minds to unbend in other the example of our chief by directions. Not long after I joined, the premises occupied by the office were enlarged by the annexation of some territory on the upper floor of No. 11 Downing Street, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's house next door; and one afternoon, when two or three of us were exploring the new quarters, we came upon a staircase in a dark corner that appeared to lead nowhere in particular. This clearly needed investiga. appeared to lead to lead to lead to lead to our surprise tion; but on ascending as far as we could go, we found to our surprise that it ended abruptly about five feet below a landing to which in the ordinary fitness of things it ought to have led. We were not long however, in pulling ourselves up by our arms, and there we found a nest of three or four small square rooms, unfurnished and uninhabited, and evidently not intended for present use. We looked at each other, and one great thought simultaneously flashed upon us—it was clear that Providence had designed these rooms for fives courts. We lost no time in carrying our idea into execution and communicating our discovery to others; and afternoon fives soon became a regular institution, shifts from the various departments relieving each other as the 'exigencies of the public service' permitted. But the attention of some high functionary on the first floor began to be attracted by a curious rumbling sound, accompanied by vibrations, that appeared to set in about the same time every afternoon. The building was an old one, and some uneasiness began to be felt as to the possibility of there being anything wrong with the foundations or superstructure. But this idea was soon dismissed, and, moreover, such scientific investigations as were within the scope of the officekeeper and his assistants appeared to point to the disturbances proceeding from above rather The end of it all was that one afternoon we were caught than below. in flagrante delicto, and arraigned before the higher authorities. We expected to get a tremendous wigging, but I am bound to say that they behaved in the most gentlemanlike manner, and we were merely told that we must 'go and play somewhere else.' Another and even more popular recreation, being within the compass of those who by nature or disposition were not appealed to by the more energetic exercise of fives, was that of dart-throwing. I cannot remember exactly how this began, but it rapidly 'caught on.' A target was marked out on a cupboard door (in my room, I regret to state); an office needle, inserted in an office pencil from which the lead had been partially removed, firmly secured by red tape, and weighted with sealing-wax, formed the dart; and everything was complete. It was a most fascinating occupation,

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and even some of the higher—not quite the highest—officials would and even succumb to it. They would come in and frown sternly at us, but would at the same time seize upon a dart and indulge in a at us, but and indulge in a few minutes' target practice, which they appeared to enjoy as keenly few minutes. With this support, we felt that our proceedings were as ourselve hallowed and justified; and it seemed in fact to be generally recognised that the sport of dart-throwing was not a practice that called for official interference.

All this may no doubt appear somewhat frivolous; but it may perhaps be excused as tending to illustrate the contrast between the past and the present time, when the staff of the office is more than doubled, when ceaseless activity prevails from early in the morning till any time in the evening, the busiest period of the day often being at an hour when in former days the office would have been silent and deserted, and when anyone who should suggest the idea of fives or dart-throwing as an agreeable and lawful relaxation would be regarded as having taken leave of his senses. I will now endeavour to approach my subject in a more serious manner.

I had not been long in the Colonial Office before I began to experience a growing sense of disappointment—a feeling that somehow or other things were not what I had expected, or what in my opinion they ought to have been. I will not pretend that there was anything 'Imperial' about my sentiments at that early age; but I had nevertheless formed certain ideals, which seemed in a fair way to be rudely dispelled. I had pictured the Colonial Office to myself as a dignified abode of mystery, excitement, and la haute politique, where I should beentrusted with weighty secrets, and where, in plain English, I should be able to 'fancy myself' as an active participator in some of the most important and delicate affairs of State. Instead of this, I found myself in a sleepy and humdrum office, where important work was no doubt done, but simply because it had got to be done; where there seemed no enthusiasm, no esprit de corps, and no encouragement for individual exertion. And, what to my foolish imagination seemed worst of all, I very soon began to realise that the Colonial Office did not occupy the position in the eyes of the world that even I was able to feel it ought to have done. I could not understand this at the time, but I understand it very well now.

Among Leech's early Victorian 'Pictures of Life and Character, from the collection of Mr. Punch,' there appears an illustration of the meeting of two 'Dandy M.P.s' in Rotten Row-

FIRST DANDY M.P.—Pwowogation to be late this year on account of some Colonial bills, I hear.

'SECOND DITTO—Bother the Colonies! havn't we done enough for em this year? Didn't West Australian win the Darby?'

This, I am afraid, strikes the keynote of the general feeling of the official, political, and general public regarding the Colonies at that time

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and for many a long year afterwards. The Colonies were simply a hore, and they had got to be maintained by and for many a long year and they had got to be maintained, but at mith as little trouble as possible. They They were there somehow, and the solution as little trouble as possible. They might as little expense and with as little trouble as possible. They might as little expense and with as an interpolation and might even now and then provide a subject for abstract discussion, and might even now and then provide a subject for political purposes; but they now and then provide a subject the normal than purposes; but they were not come in useful occasionally for political purposes; but they were not come in the life of the come in useful occasionally lot portation in the life of the nation recognised as constituting an integral factor in the life of the nation recognised as constituting an interest of the nation, and they just had to take their chance. No doubt there were some, and they just had to take with sufficient instinct to foresee greater even in those days, endowed with sufficient instinct to foresee greater even in those days, endowed who, if they had had their way, might possibilities in the future, and who, if they had had their way, might have helped to anticipate the long-delayed awakening. But the time had not come; there was absolutely no popular feeling to support them, and they would simply have been crying in the wilderness. What wonder is it therefore that stagnation prevailed even at the Colonial Office? It is not for me to pass judgment on my former chiefs or their predecessors. The roll of bygone Secretaries of State contains the names of many well-known and able statesmen, who can hardly be described as unfitted for such a position. Whether they were invariably selected for any special interest in or capacity for dealing with Colonial affairs is another matter. But it would have required an exceptionally powerful and determined Colonial Minister in those days to inaugurate any new developments in Colonial affairs, and he certainly would not have received much encouragement or assistance from the permanent staff. There were able enough men in their way at the head of the office. men who would no doubt have distinguished themselves in any position. and of whom it could never even be suggested that they were not acting for what they believed to be the best; but their views on Colonial matters would hardly now be regarded as large-minded or sympathetic; and when I recall the general tenour of the policy that was openly and deliberately advocated by them as the advisers of the Secretary of State, I can only wonder that we have any Colonies left.

But it is only fair to say that the state of things which I have described, and which prevailed during the early years of my official life, was even then gradually, though slowly, coming to a close. It happened, in fact, that I entered just towards the end of the bad old days. The inception in 1867 of the negotiations leading up to the establishment of the Dominion of Canada was bound to attract a certain amount of public interest to Colonial affairs. waters of the Colonial Office began to be stirred by an occasional breath of life; and the advent in 1871 of Sir Robert (then Mr.) Herbert as Permanent Under-Secretary may, I think, be regarded as the beginning of a new era. By this time telegraphic communication had been established with the Eastern Colonies, Australia, and the West Indies, though the linking-up of South Africa was still some years distant. Things began to move in connexion with the selfgoverning Colonies, as was only to be expected under Sir Robert Herbert, himself a former Colonial Premier; but little advance was

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1909 FORTY-FOUR YEARS AT COLONIAL OFFICE

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as yet made in other directions, and the further development of our Crown Colonies and Protectorates, which perhaps represents a more Crown Color of the question than is generally supposed, was important supposed, was yet to come. And here a word on this last subject might not be out

of place. I have already referred to the ignorance of and want of interest in Colonial affairs that formerly existed; but I have often been struck by the extent to which they still prevail. Take any average gathering of English gentlemen, at a club, a dinner-party, a meet of hounds, or of English 8 and—barring soldiers who have seen foreign service, sailors, and officials—I very much doubt whether even now one in five would be able to define correctly the difference between a Crown and a self-governing colony, or even to say where half of them were. You may endeavour to explain, but it is of no use; they look at you hopelessly, and go away sorrowfully; it is too much for them, and they give it up. One of course thinks nothing of being asked to assist in obtaining a British consulship in a British Colony for some friend or relative; it is perhaps too much to expect that the difference between a Colony and a foreign country should be universally understood; but it is a common thing for candidates for Crown Colony appointments-well educated and of good position-to state when filling up the form of application that they would prefer to go to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and sometimes India! And only the other day I was talking to a highly respectable member of the House of Lords, who takes an intelligent interest in public affairs, but who had never heard of Northern or Southern Nigeria, and whose ideas of our West African possessions were limited to 'some place called the Gold Coast.' It was a revelation to him, and a somewhat staggering one, to learn that in that quarter of the world there were vast inland territories, with an enormous trade, rapidly being developed by roads, railways and other accompaniments of civilisation, and offering almost endless possibilities in the future. And there are thousands in the same position who are equally uninformed. Colonies' to them merely suggest Canada, Australia, South Africa, and possibly, as becoming a winter resort, the West Indies; but their ideas as to the rest of our Colonial Empire are, to say the least, somewhat vague. The great self-governing Colonies and Dominions must of course always occupy the first place in the public mind. are nations in themselves; their climatic conditions render them the natural outlets for emigration; and they are united to us by ties that in the case of most of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates cannot in the nature of things be said to exist. But I have often felt that the growing importance and significance of the latter is not realised or understood as it ought to be, and that they have had to occupy too much of a 'back seat' in the public estimation. Neither is it sufficiently realised what service is being rendered there—not

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only in our old-established Colonies, each with its carefully thought only in our old-established coloring thought out system of government and administration, but in our enormous out system of government and administration, but in our enormous out system of government and administration, but in our enormous out system of government and administration, but in our enormous out system of government and administration, but in our enormous out system of government and administration out system of government and government an out system of government and and rapidly developing Protectorates in East and West Africa by and rapidly developing Fronteet workers, with no political or other an army of silent but devoted workers, with no political or other an army of silent but devoted axes to grind, often carrying their lives in their hands, and empire. builders' in the truest sense of the word.

lders' in the truest sense of the lders' in the truest sense of the lders' in the Colonial Office really position. I should be inclined to really If I were asked to he had be inclined to place really began to assume its proper position, I should be inclined to place it began to assume its proper position of 1886, when Mr. Stanhope succeeded approximately in the autumn of State. He was only five approximately in the autumn of State. He was only five months in office, and it is hardly probable that his name will now be associated to any great extent with Colonial affairs. But there must still be some who will be able to call to mind the remarkable energy, capacity and enthusiasm with which he entered upon the duties of his office, I was his principal private secretary during this short period, and was perhaps therefore in a better position than most others to realise the broad, statesmanlike, and original ideas entertained by him, and which struck me as quite unlike anything else to which I had previously been accustomed. His whole heart was in his work, and it was a bitter disappointment to him when after these few months he was called upon to abandon it, and to undertake the charge of a depart. ment where many others had failed, and where he had a consciousness that he himself could not hope to succeed. He told me that nothing would have induced him to accept the War Office had it not been that the greatest pressure was brought to bear upon him, and that being the youngest member of the Cabinet, he felt that it was his duty to put his own hopes and aspirations on one side and conform to the wishes of his chief. But there never was a greater mistake. His career at the War Office and comparatively early death are now matters of history; but I have no hesitation in saying that by his removal a Colonial Secretary of exceptional promise was lost to the country. The state of things at the War Office at that time may be imagined, when I mention that he told me subsequently that it had taken him two years to master the intricacies of the various departments, and to form even an idea of how the work was supposed to be done. It is perhaps not generally known or remembered that it was Mr. Stanhope who initiated the idea of the first Colonial Conference, the invitations to which were sent out by him in November, 1886; but it was not granted to him to carry out the development of his idea, which passed into the able hands of Lord Knutsford, then Sir Henry Holland. It cannot be said that any great practical results were the outcome of this conference; but the first step had been taken; the attention of the country had been attracted; and Colonial affairs were now beginning to occupy their proper place.

But I am now approaching a period of contemporary history, with which the public is or ought to be as familiar as myself, and as ormous ica-by r other empirereally place it ceeded nths in ociated still be pacity. office. d, and realise m, and viously was a he was lepartousness

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to which my own private opinions can be of little interest. It is, to which no reflection on others to observe that what may be called however, 'boom' of the Colonial Office was unquestionably during the administration of Mr. Chamberlain, which, as everyone knows, the administration of 1895 to 1903. It has been said of him that he raised the lasted from the position of Colonial Secretary to the high level at which dignity stands, and I should certainly be the last to contradict this. It is only necessary to note the extraordinary enthusiasm with which the mere mention of Mr. Chamberlain's name is received at any gathering of Englishmen who are in any way interested in, or connected with, the Colonies or the Colonial Service to realise the extent to which this feeling is entertained; and while it is only fair to others to bear in mind, as I have already pointed out, that this elevating process had already commenced, there can be no question that it reached its climax under Mr. Chamberlain. It was mainly owing to his energy, determination, and personal interest that the great developments in West Africa began to assume the proportions which they have now attained, and which have altogether revolutionised the state of affairs in that corner of the world. The incidence, moreover, of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 gave under his guidance an enormous impetus to the interest taken in Colonial matters; and the tragic occurrences of the war in South Africa kept the Colonial Office continually before the public. Straws proverbially show which way the wind blows, and it was now for the first time that the Colonial Office began to find favour as about the best opening for candidates for Civil Service appointments. And here I may perhaps be permitted to say a word as to the process by which these appointments are obtained.

Any disquisition on the merits or demerits of open competition can now only be of an academic nature. The thing is done, and is not likely to be undone. Personally I must confess to a lingering and perhaps antiquated prejudice against it in the abstract; but at the same time I am far from being blind to its advantages. When I entered the office, the system of limited competition was in force, some half-dozen candidates for each vacancy being nominated by the Secretary of State, of whom probably not more than four would actually come to the scratch. But this system had only been in operation for a few years; for more than half the office, i.e. those whose appointments were antecedent to 1858, had entered without any competition at all, and had presumably been only called upon to pass some mild test examination, if even that. Comparing the Colonial Office staff of 1865 with that of 1909, I cannot honestly say that, on the whole, I see any difference in favour of the former; in fact, were it merely a question of ability, it seems to me that 1909 would have the best of it. It certainly does strike me that the senior officers of 1865—the out-and-out non-competitioners—were somehow

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men of a greater personality—more suited for command—than the men of a greater personancy— men of a greater personancy— howadays. But this may have been average head of a department nowadays. But this may have been average head of a department to the case may be due to the greater accidental; or possibly my view of the case may be due to the greater accidental; or possibly my view respect paid to one's superior officers in those days than is I fear the respect paid to one's superior one their duties were much lighter. Speak. case at present; and no doubt the speak of producing a really better class of producing a really better class of ing generally, it seems to me the seems are ally better class of candidate to have been the means of producing a really better class of candidate to have been the means of production of the whole I am inclined to believe there is nothing more to be said it has; but there is to my mind just one defect about it. The weak point of open competition seems to me to be its too universal applica. tion; and it was, in my humble opinion, a mistake to regard the Civil The work of the large majority of Government Service as a whole. offices may be described as of a routine character; there is little variety about it; and, except in a formal and business capacity, the officials are seldom brought in contact with the outside world. For appointments to such offices no fault whatever can be found with open competition. But it is a very different thing in such a department as the Colonial Office, where, apart from the exceptional import. ance and variety of the work, the staff are at any moment called upon to interview officials of more or less importance from all parts of the world, and to discuss with them not only ordinary official business. but questions of the most delicate and personal nature. It may fairly be contended, in fact, that tact, manners, and savoir faire, if combined with good average abilities, are likely to be of as much importance in the discharge of a great part of their duties as mere capacity for piling up marks at an examination; but I am afraid it is not always realised to what extent this is noticed and commented upon by those from outside, and how important it is in the interests of all concerned that the tone and 'form' as well as the general efficiency of the Colonial Office should be maintained at the highest possible standard; and I find it difficult to believe that the pundits who were responsible for the introduction of open competition could have had this point sufficiently brought before them by those who were at the time charged with the interests of the Colonial Office.

While, therefore, I recognise unreservedly that it is mainly opencompetition men who have made the Colonial Office what it now is, I am bound to say that my experience has forced me to the conviction that it would have been better for the office—better for the whole Colonial Service, in fact—if some power of selection had been, as in the case of the Foreign Office, reserved to the Secretary of State; and I know that this opinion is shared by many of my late colleagues, nearly all of whom have themselves entered by open competition. The reasons for this are perhaps not quite so obvious as in the case of the Foreign Office, where limited competition is still retained; but they are very nearly as strong, and are becoming stronger every day. I do not for a moment believe that it would have resulted in

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any detriment to the public service. I believe that the really best men who have got in by open competition would have got in just men who I am not aware that it has ever been suggested that the the same of limited competition has affected the chances of getting the best available men for the Foreign Office, and I see no reason to suppose that it would have had this effect in the case of the Colonial Office. Not that I am by any means a blind advocate of limited competition. I cannot say that I was much impressed with the manner in which this was carried out during my short experience of it at the Colonial Office; it was practically left to the private secretary of the Secretary of State, who might or might not be qualified for the discharge of such an important duty; and it certainly struck me that sufficient pains were not invariably taken to get hold of the best possible candidates. But these, it must be remembered, were the darker days of the Colonial Office, and it possessed nothing like the same attractions that it does now. And there might doubtless be other alternatives. Anyone who takes the trouble to read the reports of the Civil Service Enquiry Commission, published in 1875, with the evidence, can hardly fail to see that the Commissioners were not altogether united or happy in their minds upon the particular point to which I am referring. of open competition had already been definitely accepted, and they therefore had in a great measure to 'ride to orders'; but, looking to their evident searchings of spirit on the subject, it is difficult to see why they might not have been able, without sacrificing the main principle, to suggest some loophole, not necessarily limited competition, that would have enabled the head of such a department as the Colonial Office to exercise a certain discretion in those cases where there seemed reason to think that a candidate might be better suited for some As it is, whenever a vacancy occurs at other vocation in life. the Colonial Office there is always a certain feeling of anxiety as to whether the highest candidates on the open competition list will be of the right sort. It does not seem to me to be quite according to the eternal fitness of things that the Secretary of State for the Colomes should be subjected to this anxiety, and should be powerless, except in the occasional case of a transfer from some other office, to exercise any discretion in the matter. But, as I have already said, any remarks on this question can now be only of an academic nature. I know that there must be some to whom my view of the case will not commend itself; and my only excuse for adverting to it must be the deep interest that I feel in everything that concerns the welfare of my old office.

I have so far confined myself to the upper division of the office, and regret that space will only admit of a very few words respecting what is termed the second division, or those who enter by a different examination and under different conditions. It cannot be said that

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their position is altogether satisfactory; and it is in fact one of the their position is altogether satisfied the heads of an office have control understanding that their most difficult questions with what their work is of the higher division; and retails of stantly to deal. It is a general the higher division; and, not having a different class from that of the higher division; and, not having passed the higher examination, they are naturally shut off from the passed the higher examination, the higher appointments. But it is inevitable, especially in such a higher appointments. Office that some of them should be a higher appointments. But It some of them should occa. department as the Colonial Office, that some of them should occa. department as the Colomas occasionally be called upon to perform work that, while it can hardly be distinguished from that of the higher division, nevertheless does be distinguished from that of a distinguished from the same advantages; and I am afraid that the consciousness of this has been productive of a growing feeling of discontent. It seems to me, in fact, that some revision of the exist. ing regulations will before long become absolutely necessary. Many of this class in the Colonial Office have served directly under me, and I can unhesitatingly testify to the valuable nature of their services, I should be only too glad to see their position improved, and I trust that it will not be long before some improvement takes place.

The relations between the Colonial Office and the Treasury, although a somewhat delicate question, and one that I approach with some hesitation, is one, nevertheless, that can hardly be ignored in even such a rough sketch as I am attempting of the progress and development of the office. To the ordinary and uninitiated mind it might seem only natural that the Secretary of State, who is responsible for the administration of a great department, should also be held responsible for the expenditure of public money on the service of that department. But this is very far from being the case. By one of those curious anomalies of our administrative system which are beyond the comprehension of the average citizen, he is expected to go on his knees to another department, whose previous acquaintance with the circumstances of the case must in the nature of things be absolutely nil, and submit such representations as may seem to him best calculated to explain the situation and secure a favourable hearing. But whether this will be successful or not is quite another There have been many times within my recollection when I have shared a deep and general feeling of indignation and resentment, not only at the manner in which the representations of the Colonial Office have been treated, but at the tone in which the Treasury letters have been worded. It stands to reason that the Crown Colonies and Protectorates cannot always be expected to pay their own way, especially during the earlier stages of their existence. Financial assistance is bound to be occasionally required in the way of grants-in-aid, subsidies, negotiation of loans, and in various other directions; and the grant or withholding of such assistance at a critical moment may make all the difference as to the future development of the Colony or Protectorate in question. And yet, after the proposed scheme has been laboriously worked out by the man

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after man on the spot'-not invariably an incompetent person-carefully on the spot and criticised by a not altogether incapable staff at the Colonial Office, and approved by the one man actually responsible— Colonial Col the Secretary capable of being 'spotted' as the handiwork of not inflequence comparatively minor official, who has had no possible means of arriving at an impartial opinion on the merits of the case, and whose ignorance of the whole subject has been in all probability profound, to the effect that 'My Lords' did not consider that the proposed expenditure was necessary. It is hardly necessary to say, after this, that the relations between the Colonial Office and the Treasury have at times been somewhat strained. And yet I feel that I cannot lay the entire blame upon the Treasury. It may, I think, be submitted, with all reverence, that there has never been any moral, social, or intellectual superiority about the officials of that department to warrant them in the assumption that they are by nature omniscient, or to justify them, when corresponding with other offices, in adopting the tone of a wise parent admonishing a foolish child. They are recruited from the same class as other Civil servants; they enter the service in precisely the same manner as others; and they are simply no better and no worse. But, rightly or wrongly, it happens that they are undoubtedly the holders of the nation's purse-strings; their work must, I fear, be as a rule dull and monotonous; they have some very disagreeable duties to perform; and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that they should occasionally discharge these duties in a somewhat disagreeable manner. Moreover, no one with money in his pocket, whether his own or someone else's, is as a rule disposed to part with it unless under some pressure. This, after all, is only human nature; and a good deal depends on the manner in which the pressure is brought to bear. It is an unpleasant thing to have to say, but it would be useless to deny that there have been times—happily now passed—when the Colonial Office has been pervaded by an uncomfortable feeling that their chiefs, whether political or permanent, were not always so alive to the importance of the interests either of the office or the general service as to press their legitimate requirements on the Treasury with any great assiduity. And yet even then the worm would sometimes turn; and there have not been wanting occasions, when a perhaps too long-suffering Secretary of State has felt bound to insist on some particularly offensive letter from the Treasury being withdrawn and cancelled. But anyone who has had any experience of official life knows that a good deal more goes to the success or failure of interdepartmental negotiations than formal official letters; and it might fairly therefore be argued from the Treasury point of view that, if the Colonial Office did not care to support an application by the usual and most effective means, they could only expect that the Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennal and eGangotri application should be refused. A case of this kind occurred once wert of Mr. Chamberlain's administration; but the content of the April application should be retused.

during the early part of Mr. Chamberlain's administration; but those during the early part be surprised to learn that it did not occur. who know him will not be surprised to that within a month of his regain, though it was instructive to note that within a month of his regain, the old practices. though it was instructive to now the old practices. But I am things are different now, and that the relation and that the relation are different now. glad to believe that things are different now, and that the relations glad to believe that things are such as should prevent between the permanent heads of both offices are such as should prevent any undue friction in the future. I have left my old office at peace, any undue friction in the future the 'My Lords' of the meace. any undue friction in the recepting the 'My Lords' of the Treasury.

I trust, with all men, not excepting the 'My Lords' of the Treasury. I trust, with all men, not each trust, with all men, not each trust, with all men, not each trust. I have known them behave 'quite decently,' as a schoolboy would be wight have been least expected. I have known them believed that have been least expected, and I bear put it, in cases where this might have been least expected, and I bear no grudge against them now.

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Some attention has been attracted during recent years to the question of the interchange of appointments between members of the California of the Colonial Office at home and members of the Colonial service abroad; and the views of various persons of more or less authority have lately been published in the newspapers. The idea, in the abstract, can hardly fail to commend itself to everyone; but it is a very much more difficult question than is generally supposed. There are, of course, the usual number of well-informed outsiders who see no difficulty at all about it. 'It is as easy as A B C,' they will say; 'make the two services interchangeable and there you are.' This is all very well, but the chances are that they fail to realise what it actually means. To begin with, it probably does not occur to them that the two services are paid from entirely different sources-in the one case from Imperial and in the other from Colonial funds-to say nothing of such minor but none the less important obstacles as Civil Service certificates, pension regulations, etc., which have all got to be considered. The many difficulties in the way have been clearly summarised by Lord Milner, who, while decidedly in favour of the idea, has evidently come to the conclusion that any general scheme is for the present out of the question. But, without going into details, it may be sufficient to point out that the existing conditions on both sides are not sufficiently elastic to admit of any systematic variation of the existing procedure, and that these conditions will have to be extensively altered before any new departure of importance can take place. The question has not failed to attract the attention of various Secretaries of State, who so far, however, have been unable to devise any satisfactory solution of the difficulty. The very few cases that have occurred within my recollection, where it has been found possible to make an arrangement of this kind, have been the result of exceptional circumstances, and cannot therefore be regarded as affording precedents for what might occur in the future. Personally, I confess that to a certain extent I am inclined to agree with the Duke of Marlborough, who has himself had some experience of the Colonial Office, but who has expressed his doubts whether on the whole the

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end would justify the proceedings, and whether the advantages to be end would from an interchange of appointments would really be so derived as is generally imagined. In any case, it seems to me that it great as is great as great as is great as is great as is great as great as is great as great Colonies, for the very reason that they are self-governing. The ex-Colonies, gained in either case would no doubt be most useful and perience Strategy to the parties concerned, but beyond this it could hardly be expected that their individual impressions during a given period would be likely to have any great influence on the subsequent policy of their respective Governments. I am inclined to think, in fact, though it may appear somewhat of a paradox, that a flying visit of a few months, if undertaken with some definite object in view, may be likely to produce as satisfactory results as a more prolonged residence. The case of the Crown Colonies is, of course, somewhat different, and if the difficulties to which I have referred could be got over, and some mutually satisfactory arrangement could be arrived at, it can hardly be doubted that the result would be of more or less advantage to all concerned. The question cannot fail to receive the attention it deserves; and in the meantime further speculation on the subject seems uncalled for.

But it is time for me to bring these fragmentary reminiscences and lucubrations to an end. If I have in any case spoken too plainly or strongly, I ask forgiveness; and my excuse must be my love for the old office where I have spent the best years of my life, and my consciousness that it has not always received the recognition and consideration it has deserved. But it is indeed a satisfaction to me to think that, after many ups and downs, my youthful aspirations have been at last, if somewhat tardily, realised, and that the service I have left is one to which I can feel honestly proud to have belonged. I can indeed imagine no department of State that now holds out greater attractions to those who are prepared to make the most of the advantages offered to them, and the work of which can afford a deeper and more engrossing interest; and it is a further source of satisfaction to me to feel that, both as regards its political and permanent chiefs, I could not have left it, if I may venture to say so, in more sympathetic or more capable hands than it is at present.

W. A. BAILLIE HAMILTON.

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## THE GREAT INQUEST

Is it well with the body politic? To this question the recently published Report of the Poor Law Commission supplies an exhaustive and not too reassuring answer. For some time past cautious men have hesitated to speak confidently on the matter. On the contrary, there has been a growing uneasiness in the public mind as to the economic and social condition of the lower strata of the population, and particularly as to the administration of the laws governing the relief of destitution. In regard to the latter, much criticism, convergent in effect, has proceeded from diverse quarters. Stern economists have complained that the system is woefully extravagant; philanthropists that it is wantonly harsh; skilled administrators, that it is grotesquely unscientific; while social observers have pointed out, more in grief than in anger, that the English Poor Law, once the example and envy of the world, has fallen hopelessly behind the best models afforded by the continental systems.\(^1\)

The whole situation is in truth replete with paradox. During the last half-century wealth has increased with unexampled rapidity, yet millions of the population are in poverty, and nearly one million are actual paupers. Had the increase of wealth been monopolised by the few rich this paradox would be resolved. But according to all the best authorities the reverse is the case.

The rich have become more numerous but not richer individually; the 'poor' are, to some small extent, fewer; and those who remain 'poor' are individually twice as well off on the average as they were fifty years ago. The poor have thus had almost all the benefit of the great material advance of the last fifty years.

The conclusion reached by Sir Robert Giffen in 1887 is, on the whole, confirmed, twenty years later, by the Board of Trade experts employed by the recent Commission.

During the same period prices, particularly in those commodities consumed by wage earners, have fallen. 'The rise of nominal wages has been accompanied by such a fall of wholesale and of retail prices as implies a rise of "real" wages, or wages as measured in commodities,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., Miss Edith Sellers' Foreign Solutions of Poor Law Problems.
<sup>2</sup> Giffen, Economic Enquiries and Studies, vol. i. p. 382; quoted Report, p. 308.

considerably greater than the rise of money wages.' But despite considerably s wealth and the rise of wages, the number of paupers the increase than it ever was, and at least one person in every twentyis greater to population comes, every year, under the operation of the But the most startling feature of the situation remains Poor Daw.

The increase of pauperism is greatest among the class who ought to have benefited most by recent economic developments, who ought wale workers. The ten years ending 1906, as compared with the cycle 1871-80, exhibit a decrease in general pauperism amounting to 3.9 per cent., but an increase in adult male pauperism amounting to no less than 18.4 per cent. This alarming increase is due no doubt to a large variety of causes. Two coincidences are however especially emphasised by the Commissioners. One is the fact that the first of the long series of Workmen's Compensation Acts was passed in 1896. A large number of witnesses pointed out that these Acts have 'made it more and more difficult for a man to obtain work when thrown out in the later years of his working period of life.' The other is the fact that the Local Government Act of 1894 'changed the character of the Poor Law authorities by the abolition of the property qualification for membership of Boards of Guardians and of the ex officio members whose influence had previously been considerable.' The Commissioners hesitate to draw inferences, but the coincidences are sufficiently eloquent. That pauperism should have increased most, or rather only, among adult males during a period when wages have risen and prices have fallen is a phenomenon sufficiently startling to arrest attention.

But paradox does not end here. It might have been expected that after the Elementary Education Act had been in force for a full generation, and when expenditure under this head had reached 20,000,000l, the cost of poor relief would show proportionate signs of diminution. Unhappily it is otherwise. Poor Law expenditure has nearly doubled since the passing of Mr. Forster's Elementary Education Act of 1870. Amounting in 1871-2 to £8,007,403l, it rose in 1905-6 to 14,685,983l, while the rate per head of the population increased during the same period by 1s. 7d. (from 7s.  $0\frac{1}{4}d$ . to 8s.  $7\frac{1}{4}d$ .). Still more disquieting is it to learn that, despite the enormous growth of population, the expenditure on pauperism is only  $7\frac{1}{4}d$ . less per head than it was before the amendment of the old Poor Law in 1834. Thus neither increase of wealth nor diffusion of education has solved the problem of pauperism.

There remains the paradox of unemployment, and connected with it, but distinct from it, the 'new problem'—so styled by the Commissioners of 1909—of 'chronic under-employment.' Never have the economic converted to the control of the

economic causes of unemployment and under-employment been analysed so thoroughly and so relentlessly, so skilfully and so convincingly

3 Report, Part VI. c. i. p. 309.

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as in this Report. But the paradox remains. Despite the fact that as in this Report. But the parents of skilled industries the number in most of the important groups of skilled industries the number in the last twenty to of men employed has increased in the last twenty years far of men employed has increased population, there has never more than proportionately to general population, there has never more than proportionately to general population, there has never more than proportionately to general population, there has never more than proportionately to general population, there has never more than proportionately to general population, there has never more than proportionately to general population. more than proportionately to go thout an appreciable number of theless never been a year 'without an appreciable number of theless never been a workers out of employment.'4 skilled and organised workers out of employment.'4 skilled and organised works (whose recently published work of the discussion) like Mr. H. W. Beverings (Interpolation to the discussion) atti-Unemployment is a notable of the seasonal fluctuations but this disturbing phenomenon partly to the seasonal fluctuations but this disturbing phenomenon partly to the seasonal fluctuations bute this disturbing phenomena to which trade in general is in partly to the cyclical depressions to which trade in general is increasingly liable; partly to the 'loss and lack of industrial quality on the part of the workers themselves,' and most of all perhaps to the demand for 'reserves of labour' which has of late become a marked feature of modern industry. But be the causes what they may it is this phenomenon, more than any other, which differentiated the task set before the recent Royal Commission from that which confrontel their predecessors of 1834.

It is, therefore, clear beyond possibility of dispute, that the prevailing uneasiness and perplexity had some justification in fact, and that Mr. Balfour's government did admirable service to the nation when, with their last breath, they ordered an exhaustive inquiry into the social and economic condition of the people.

It was on the 4th of December 1905 that the King issued a Commission to inquire:

(1) Into the working of the laws relating to the relief of poor persons in the United Kingdom; (2) Into the various means which have been adopted outside of the Poor Laws for meeting distress arising from want of employment, particularly during periods of severe industrial depression; and to consider and report whether any, and if so what, modification of the Poor Laws, or changes in their administration, or fresh legislation for dealing with distress are advisable.

To a reference already wide, the Commissioners have given the most liberal interpretation, with the result that after three years of indefatigable labour they have presented a Report which will indubitably take high rank among the sources of English social history. How far the practical proposals of the Commissioners can with safety be adopted is a matter for patient and prolonged consideration. But, apart from this, Lord George Hamilton and his colleagues deserve and will enjoy the gratitude not merely of their countrymen, but of students of social economics throughout the world. They claim to have accumulated 'a unique mass of information relating to the condition and environment of those who seek public relief or who are unable to maintain themselves out of their own resources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Unemployment, A Problem of Industry. By H. W. Beveridge. 1909.

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claim will be disputed by no one who masters the Report in which claim will be defined the Commissioners are embodied. It is a docuthe conclusion. It is a docu-ment which will not only inform the mind but will search the heart and conscience of the nation.

So much may safely be affirmed of the Report as a whole, or rather of both Reports. For the Majority and Minority have elected to of both two entirely separate Reports. Why they should have done present the sight apparent. On the surface the two Reports have much in common. They agree to a large extent in their diagnosis have much in their diagnosis of the existing situation, and they concur in a large number of detailed of the existing of detailed recommendations, but the more closely they are scrutinised the more clearly do they reveal the fact that they start from different points, that they proceed on diverging lines, and that they reach an entirely distinct conclusion. The Majority Report, signed with notes of individual dissent, by fourteen out of eighteen Commissioners, is hased upon the principle that, though the Poor Law must be amended in drastic and far-reaching fashion, it must still be preserved alike in the interests of the classes which come within its operations and in those of the nation at large. The Minority would sweep it away: blot out, as far as possible, its hateful memory, and distribute the heterogeneous and discrepant functions at present ineffectively performed by it among specialised local authorities.

To the detailed points of agreement and difference between the two Reports I shall recur, but, as this article will concern itself mainly with the conclusions of the Majority, a few words may be said, in

limine, as to that of the Minority.

It is no disrespect to the four dissentients to say that neither individually nor collectively can they claim the authority which attaches to their colleagues in the Majority. Not that they are by any means disposed to hide such light as they possess under a bushel. Out of the 1238 pages of this appalling volume they claim over 500; nor have they neglected other means of giving publicity to their conclusions. It cannot be denied that their case is presented with a plausibility, a lucidity of arrangement, a closeness of reasoning and a literary skill which compel admiration. Moreover their recommendations enjoy the immense argumentative advantage of being built up around one central and dominating idea. As a consequence their scheme of reform possesses a simplicity, a completeness and a logical coherence which is superficially and to some minds irresistibly attractive. But the method has the defects of its qualities. If the fundamental idea be sound, well and good; if not, the whole elaborate superstructure must necessarily collapse. Moreover, if there is one thing as to which all competent critics are agreed in regard to the problems of destitution and unemployment, it is that they are infinitely complex. Simplicity and logic are, therefore, only too likely to engender mistrust.

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One fundamental point both Reports have in common. One fundamental point both and machinery for dealing with agree that the existing methods and machinery for dealing with agree that the existing memory have hopelessly broken down, and destitution and unemployment have hopelessly broken down, and the drastic and thorough. From this conclusion destitution and unemployment. From this conclusion no that reform must be drastic and thorough. From this conclusion no Yesterday that one who masters the Reports can dissent. Yesterday there was a not well; to-day we know that much is in one who masters the reports suspicion that all was not well; to-day we know that much is ill.

picion that all was not were,

Terribly grave and impressive is the warning issued to the nation Terribly grave and improved the Lord George Hamilton by ripe and experienced administrators like Lord George Hamilton by ripe and experienced admitted by ripe and ripe admitted by ripe and ripe admitted by r and Dr. C. S. Loch; by weighty economists like Dr. Smart and Mr. and Dr. C. S. Local, by sober workers in the field of social philan. Phelps; by zealous but sober workers in the field of social philan. Phelps; by Zearous Runn, Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet and Miss Octavia Hill:

It is very unpleasant to record that, notwithstanding our assumed moral and material progress, and notwithstanding the enormous annual expenditure, amounting to nearly sixty millions a year, upon poor relief, education, and public health, we still have a vast army of persons quartered upon us unable to support themselves, and an army which in numbers has recently shown signs of increase rather than decrease. S. . . . 'Land of Hope and Glory' is a popular and patriotic lyric, sung each year with rapture by thousands of voices. The enthusiasm is partly evoked by the beauty of the idea itself, but more by the belief that Great Britain does above other countries merit this eulogium, and that the conditions in existence here are such that the fulfilment of hope and the achieve. ment of glory are more open to the individual than in other and less favoured lands. To certain classes of the community, into whose moral and material condition it has been our duty to inquire, these words are a mockery and a falsehood. To many of them, possibly from their own failure and faults, there is in this life but little hope, and to many more 'glory' or its realisation is an unknown ideal. Our investigations prove the existence in our midst of a class whose condition and environment are a discredit and a peril to the whole com-Each and every section of society has a common duty to perform in combating this evil and contracting its area—a duty which can only be performed by united and untiring effort to convert useless and costly inefficients into self-sustaining and respectable members of the community. No country, however rich, can permanently hold its own in the race of international competition if hampered by an increasing load of this dead weight, or can successive fully perform the rôle of sovereignty beyond the seas if a portion of its over folk at home are sinking below the civilisation and aspirations of its subject races abroad.6

Not less emphatic and trenchant, and even more searching, is the indictment of the existing condition of affairs as drawn by the Minority.

The present position is, in our opinion, as grave as that of 1834, though in its own way. We have, on the one hand, in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland alike, the well-established Destitution Authorities, under ineffective

<sup>5</sup> P. 52. It may be convenient here to point out that pp. 1-670 contain the Report and Summary of recommendations of the Majority; pp. 726-1238 those of the Minority. The reference will be summary of the majority. the Minority. The reference will, therefore, indicate even when it is not otherwise explained whether the view is the explained whether the view is that of the Majority or the Minority. 6 P. 644.

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<sup>7</sup> P. 999.

central control, each pursuing its own policy in its own way: sometimes rigidly central control, clief to persons actually destitute, and giving it in the most restricting has humiliating forms; sometimes launching out into an indiscrimideterrent and unconditional subsidising of mere poverty; sometimes developing nate and uncontained institutions for the treatment, either gratuitously or for costly and palatial institutions for the treatment, either gratuitously or for costly and payment, of practically any applicant of the wage-earning or of the partial payments. On the other hand, we see existing, equally ubiquitous lower middle characteristics, the newer specialised organs of Local Govern-with the Destitution Authority, the Local Health with the Description Authority, the Local Health Authority, the Local Unemployment Anthority, the Local Unemployment Anthority ment—the Local Unemployment Authority, the Local Lunacy Authority, the Local Pension Authority—all attempting to provide for the needs of the poor, according to Authority—acharacter of their distress. . . Athwart the overlapping and the cause of these half a dozen Local Authorities that may be all at work in a single district we watch the growing stream of private charity and voluntary agencies. . . What the nation is confronted with to-day is, as it was in on the one hand, in a minimum of prevention and cure, and on the other in on the one man of the continuance of the other in far-reaching demoralisation of character and the continuance of no small amount of unrelieved destitution.7

Both parties therefore agree that 'something is seriously wrong,' and that the case for drastic and searching reform is overwhelming. On what lines is it to proceed?

The first specific object of combined attack is the 'general mixed workhouse,' and the promiscuous herding together of paupers of all sorts and descriptions, young and old, respectable and vicious, healthy and sick, novices and habitués. At the basis of all the reforms suggested by the Commission is the proper classification of paupers,' and this can be accomplished only by the abolition of the general' workhouse as it now exists. Curiously enough the Commissioners of 1834 were on this point hardly less emphatic than their successors. For reasons, however, which it would take too long to detail the intentions of the Commissioners in regard to this matter were never carried out in anything like their entirety. Dr. Downes, indeed, suggests in his admirable memorandum8 that more has been effected in this direction than is commonly supposed.

Of the indoor poor-exclusive of lunatics in asylums and casuals-more than 38 per cent. were in 1908 already provided for in specialised institutions quite apart from the ordinary workhouse, and the proportion in London was more than 50 per cent. . . . Of all the children in receipt of poor relief not 7 per cent. are housed in a workhouse proper, and there is hardly a union which does not send this remnant out to the public elementary school to mingle with their fellows.

And he adds a not untimely reminder that it is possible to carry a sound principle too far, 'to the verge of hardship or even of tyranny.' It is not indeed denied, in the Report, that many Workhouses are admirably managed. In the country particularly the Workhouse 'is more in the nature of an almshouse for the aged and

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zeal and devotion by means of which an exceptionally good master master the committee is a second master to the committee in the children in the children is a second master to the committee in the children in the children is a second master to the children in zeal and devotion by means of an exceptionally enlightened committee, here and matron, under an exceptionally enlightened committee, here and and matron, under an exceptional in mitigating or even in counter, there, for a brief period, succeed in mitigating or even in counter. there, for a brief period, successful mixed institution. None the acting the evil tendencies of a general mixed matter of the general mixed matter. acting the evil tendencies of a garacting the evil tendencies of the the evil tende is shown to be overwhelming.

It is obvious that a very serious problem has arisen, which must be faced It is obvious that a very server and dealt with. It is that directly a cased to be a true test of destitution, and has large towns the workhouse has ceased to be a true test of destitution, and has become positively attractive to a certain class of able-bodied and even young people. What is more serious still is that while the Guardians undertake the people. What is more serious these people, they have found themselves unable responsibility of maintaining these people, they have found themselves unable unable the responsibility of maintaining these people, they have found themselves unable the responsibility of maintaining these people, they have found themselves unable the responsibility of maintaining these people, they have found themselves unable the responsibility of maintaining these people, they have found themselves unable the responsibility of maintaining these people, they have found themselves unable the responsibility of maintaining these peoples are the responsibility of maintaining these peoples are the responsibility of maintaining the respon to exercise any regenerative influence over them. It is, of course, quite otherwise with the children, who can be subjected to systematic education under conditions which are physically and morally healthy. But the evidence cannot be resisted that, for those past childhood, workhouse life is liable to have an actually deteriorating effect. This is especially true of those who are still quite young when brought into association with degraded characters. It is partly the great size to which some of these institutions have grown which makes it impossible to deal with all classes of inmates in a suitable way. But the difficulty mainly arises out of the attempt to deal in one institution, under one master, with people requiring such very different treatment as the infirm and the able bodied the old and the young, the feeble-minded, epileptic, insane, and those of bad character.10

But the institution is not only grotesquely unscientific and ineffective, but tends to become (as the Majority point out) alarmingly expensive-particularly in London. The total cost per head of indoor paupers has risen in London from 271. 0s. 111d. in 1873-4, to 391. 12s. 41d. in 1903-4. The corresponding figures for the rest of the country outside London is 25l. 14s. 10\(\frac{1}{2}\)d.\(11\)

Miss Sellers, in the admirable work already referred to, shows that our system is both less efficient and more costly than any other in Europe.

No country but England could afford to spend 14,000,000l. a year on poor relief; no city but London could, even if it would, spend 14s. a week each on its workhouse inmates, and nearly 40l. a year on every poor little waif or stray it has to maintain—in Bermondsey State children cost 52l. a year each, and in Poplar 501. In foreign Poor Law departments, our expenditure on poor relief is regarded as quite appalling; the officials there speak of it with bated breath, and wonder what we can possibly do with our 14,000,000l.: how we can manage to spend them in fact, and yet have so little to show for our money.

Both Reports, therefore, agree that the workhouse, as at present understood and administered, must go. Promiscuity must give place to scientific classification, and separate and appropriate treatment must be ment must be provided for seven distinct classes of paupers: the children, the aged and infirm, the sick, the able-bodied, the mothers,

9 P. 728.

10 P. 135.

11 P. 136.

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resent t give treat s: the others, 1909 the vagrants, the epileptic and feeble-minded. But to facilitate the vagrants, two further changes must be made. The area of administration this, two full the two full the two full the administration and the personnel of the administrators must be

Just as in 1834 the 15,500 parochial areas were gradually grouped Just as in Just as in the 643 unions 'which form independent units of administration into the 643 unions it is proposed to substitute for the into the old on with is proposed to substitute for the union the county and county borough, as the new Poor Law area. And with an enlarged area there must be a new authority and a revised machinery. the Boards of Guardians, directly elected by the ratepayers, must The Boards with the workhouses which, in the main, they administer disappear ... Nowhere, as the Report points out, save in our own country is the duty of administering public assistance 'placed in the hands of a body of men directly elected for the purpose.'12 Here again the case for reform is irresistible. The existing system is both costly and inefficient. It is lax where it ought to be deterrent; deterrent where it ought to be encouraging; it is nowhere (save in the case of the children) curative or regenerative, and it lays intolerable burdens upon the ratepayer. For this purpose the ratepayer is largely responsible. Quite extraordinary is the apathy he shows in regard to the election of guardians, with the natural result that the elected guardians, relieved from any 'effective public criticism,' tend to deteriorate in character. In many unions it is true 'procedure is orderly, applicants are treated with courtesy and kindness, guardians weigh carefully the needs of those who come before them, and adapt their treatment to those needs.' On the other hand, 'recent prosecutions of guardians have brought to light the fact that systematic deception, dishonest contracting, and conspiring to defraud the ratepayers, are not inconsistent with popular election.' The root of the evil is to be found

in the absence of any sufficient qualification in those who elect the Boards of Guardians, and in the guardians themselves.

Persons who are not qualified even to vote at a parliamentary or county council election may be elected as guardians on a franchise wider than either the parliamentary or county council franchise. Twelve months' residence in a parish is a sufficient qualification for a person to be elected as a guardian, and provided a man has this qualification he may have been a pauper or a mendicant, and the law will still pronounce him qualified to be elected as a guardian. Moreover, it is technically possible for such a person, who pays no rates himself, to be elected to this position of high responsibility by voters, many of whom themselves pay no rates directly, and have, therefore, no immediate interest in nor knowledge of the amount of expenditure which is placed upon the ratepayers. Or, even worse, the voters may themselves be prospective claimants for relief, and that from a Board which they know will be favourably prejudiced towards their claims: as instance the Board of Guardians who acquiesced in the following view:-

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our mothers, and our sisters and our cousins, and our uncles and our mothers, and our sisters and our soon be sent about our business, author of the state of the our mothers, and our sisters and very soon be sent about our business, and if we did not do it we should very soon be sent about our business.

It seems clear to us that so long as such a state of affairs is even remotely responsible. It seems clear to us that so long as a seem remotely possible the law itself provides no guarantee whatever that responsible and

The results of this state of things are deplorable. There is lack The results of this state of uniformity; relief is given to the wrong grounds; 'cases have been to the of continuity in policy, and rach wrong grounds; 'cases have been brought wrong people, and on the wrong grounds; 'cases have been administed.' wrong people, and on the wrong been brought to our knowledge in which guardians have been administering relief to our knowledge in which guide to those on whom they rely for support in their business as customers to those on whom they rely for support in their business as customers or tenants. Scarcely more creditable is the case of those who seek election as guardians with a view to the patronage which the distribution of the distr tion of relief confers.' Even when relief is given to the right people it is too often inadequate in amount, and ill-adapted to the needs of the case. 'In fine . . . the policy of many Boards of Guardians

is one of parsimony, tempered by patronage.

How is this state of things to be remedied? That directly elected Boards of Guardians must go is the unanimous view of the Commissioners. But at this point unanimity ends, and a serious cleavage of opinion comes into view. The Majority desire to hand over the administration of the Poor Law to a Statutory Committee of the County Council, appointed by the Council and to be known as the Public Assistance Authority. Half the Committee is to be co-opted from outside persons (including women), experienced in the local administration of public assistance or in cognate work, the other half may be appointed from among the members of the Council. The detailed work of relief is to be delegated in each Poor Law union to a Public Assistance Committee. This Committee is to be appointed by the county authority, but to include a certain proportion of persons nominated by the urban and district councils and by the Voluntary Aid Committee (where such exists). All the persons so nominated must have experience of poor relief and similar work, and some of them must be women.

Great stress is laid—and rightly—upon the necessity for 'instruments of high finish and fine temper' in the difficult work of Poor Law administration. The 'Authorities' and 'Committees' are therefore to summon to their aid expert officials, highly educated, well remunerated, specially qualified for their particular work and of greater authority and influence than the clerk or the relieving officer is now supposed to possess.' The adviser of the 'Authority' is to be known as the Director of Public Assistance, the official of the local committees as the Superintendent of Public Assistance. To the latter all the relieving (now to be called assistance) officers are to be responsible.

But the Assistance Authorities are not to stand alone. A special feature of the Majority Report is the immense pains taken to co-

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ordinate organised charity and official poor relief. Side by side, ordinate organical organical poor reflet. Side by side, therefore, Voluntary Aid Council consisting of authority' there therefore, Woluntary Aid Council consisting of trustees of endowed of members of registered voluntary charities, of the Public Assistance Authority and charities, of some charities, of the Public Assistance Authority, and of such persons as members of friendly society and trade associations, clergy and members, &c. Each local assistance committee is similarly to have ministers, and Committee, working in closest harmony and coits volunteers and specially charged with the duty of 'combating operation with it, and specially charged with the duty of 'combating the incipient development of destitution and distress,'

The apex of the whole organisation is to be found in a reorganised and separate division of the Local Government Board, to be known as the Public Assistance Division, and to this Board is to be transferred the Charity (henceforward Charities) Commission, which is to be strengthened in staff, and charged with the registration and general supervision of voluntary charities and Voluntary Aid Councils and

The scheme, it will be seen, is admirably thought out, coherent in structure, and well compacted in all its parts.

The scheme of the Minority starting from a different point reaches a different goal. They trace the origin of the existing chaos to the survival of an antiquated authority charged primarily with the relief of proved 'destitution.' Strongly impressed with the fact that Local Government has within the last thirty years undergone profound modification, and that there have come into being specialised authorities, young, vital, and energetic, and frequently overlapping the function of the old 'destitution' authorities, Mrs. Webb and her friends propose boldly to administer the coup de grâce to the Poor Law; to abolish both the name and the thing; to make the County Council the general authority for relief, and to distribute the different and dissonant functions now performed by the 'destitution authorities' among the existing committees of the County Council. Thus the Education Committee would become responsible for all the children of school age, without distinction between dependent and independent; the Health Committee for the sick, for the aged infirm, and the young mothers and infants; the Asylums Committee for the mentally defective; and the Pensions Committee for the aged pensioners, whether the pensions were derived from Imperial or local funds. In a word, they would 'break up' the Poor Law, distribute its functions, and obliterate, as far as possible, the distinction between pauperism and poverty, between the dependent and independent poor.

To prevent overlapping, to co-ordinate the various forms of public assistance, and to secure that each case should receive appropriate treatment, they would set up a new officer—the Registrar of Public Assistance. This officer would be the pivot of the whole system, and would perform functions in the highest degree responsible.

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Digitized by Arya Sama, roundly him would belong the duty of keeping a register of all persons receiving and surface to sanctioning and surface to the persons receiving a register of all persons receiving a register of a reg him would belong the duty of Receiving and super. assistance of any kind within his district; of sanctioning and super. assistance of any kind within the assistance of any kind within the vising 'home aliment' (outdoor relief); of determining and supervising 'home aliment' (outdoor relief); of determining to which vising 'home aliment' (outdoor committee any 'neglected or marginal cases' should be referred, in accordance with whatever may be the learned, committee any 'neglected of his whatever may be the law, the and of 'assessing, in accordance with whatever may be the law, the and of 'assessing, in accordance charge to be made on individuals liable to pay any part of the cost charge to be made on their dependents, or other classical to the cost of charge to be made on marved to their dependents, or other relations, or other relations, and of recovering the amount to of the service rendered to them and of recovering the amount thus due, according to their means, and of recovering the amount thus due, Under his direction would be placed 'a small and strictly temporary Under his direction would be properly temporary receiving house, where an applicant for relief could be lodged pending

In view of the principles at the root of all their suggestions it is In view of the principal scarcely necessary to add that the Minority entirely repudiate the scarcely necessary to acce idea that 'assistance' should involve the penalty of disfranchisement. The Majority, holding 'generally to the principle that those who either from misfortune or otherwise have failed to manage their own affairs successfully ought not by law to have power to interfere in the manage. ment of the affairs of others,' but recognising that public assistance often assumes a transient form, would only disfranchise those who have received relief for more than three months in the aggregate in any given year.

That the scheme of the Minority is more logical and more simple than that of the Majority has been already admitted. Nor can it be denied that there is some justification for the scorn which Mrs. Webb and her friends pour upon the 'innocent devices of "illusory nomenclature" adopted by the Majority, and their almost morbid wish to alter the names of things, in order to give a flavour of generosity, if not of laxness, to the new Poor Law.' If the Majority are sincere in their affirmation (and none can doubt it) that the principles dominating the spirit of the existing Poor Law are 'both sound and humane,' why alter its designation to 'Public Assistance'? If they 'do not recommend any alteration of the law which would extend the qualifcation for relief to individuals not now entitled to it, or which would bring within the operation of assistance from public funds classes not now legally within its operation,' what is to be gained by the proposed substitution of 'necessitous' for 'destitute'? 'Detention' is an 'infelicitous' term; 'continuous treatment' cannot hurt the feelings of the most susceptible. 'Out-relief' is to become 'Home Assistance,' and so forth. If the change of nomenclature is 'not intended to disguise the fact that those who come within the scope of the operations of the new authority are receiving help at the public expense,' it is difficult to see what purpose is likely to be served by it. Here as elsewhere the Majority seem to have gone to the utmost verge of concession in the hope of conciliating colleagues who were irreconcilably opposed to them. The hope, though generous, was from the outset vain, and many people will regret that the Majority

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is, was [ajority apparently allowed themselves to be allured by it, and that they did apparently repudiate the Socialistic principle with which the Minority Report is from first to last transfused.

For Socialism, however subtly disguised and overlaid, is in fact for Social which gives unity and coherence to the scheme prothe principal to the scheme propounded by Mrs. Webb and her three associates. True, there is to be an attempt to recover the cost of 'assistance.' But does any be an account the attempt would or could be more than formal and perfunctory? No inquiry is to precede be more than the they can afford to pay for it or not is to be the subject of subsequent they can the the whole situation is to be reversed. At present the onus probandi rests upon applicants to show that they present afford to pay; henceforward the onus probandi will be transferred to the public authorities, who will be compelled to prove that they can. If they can pay, they shall, if possible, be made to do so; but, if they cannot, no disagreeable consequences shall ensue; no 'disfranchisement' shall follow; no shame shall attach to them; they shall speak with enemies and friends in the gate, on equal terms. In a word, the sting shall be taken out of pauperism by encouraging all to become paupers.

So far I have attempted to concentrate attention upon three salient features of the Report: the indictment of the existing machinery for Poor Law administration; the schemes for its reconstruction; and the condemnation of the 'general mixed workhouse' and the present methods of indoor relief. A word must be added as to the findings and recommendations of the Commission on the difficult and important question of outdoor relief.

The 'disastrous social failure' of the present administration of Outdoor Relief is emphasised in both Reports; by both it is attributed to three main causes: to the hopeless lack of any uniformity of principle; to the absence of proper supervision over those who receive it; and, above all, to the fact that there is no real investigation into the character of individual cases, with the result that the relief given is frequently inadequate and not seldom excessive. In regard to all these points Majority and Minority are at one.

We have found [write the Majority] a total want of principle and of uniformity in its administration, due, as we think, in part at least, to a lack of sufficient supervision. This want of uniformity does not necessarily arise from a difference in the circumstances of unions, but is generally the result of careless administration. We have been impressed by the inadequacy which often characterises it... and by the absence of thorough knowledge of applicants on the part of Boards of Guardians, and sometimes even of their officers. We have had to record cases in which it was distributed with a complete disregard of sound policy, and, though rarely, on grounds, so far as we could judge, inconsistent with any high standard of administrative honesty. We have found that in

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We find, say the Minority, 'an amazing diversity in the treat. 'We find, say the Minority, ment of similar cases, not only between union and union, but even ment of similar cases, not only between union and union, but even ment of similar cases, not only the control of the Local Government Resident ment of similar cases, not only the control of the Local Government Resident ment of similar cases, not only the control of the Local Government Resident ment of similar cases, not only the control of the Local Government Resident ment of similar cases, not only the control of the Local Government Resident ment of similar cases, not only the control of the Local Government ment of similar cases, not only the control of the control of the control of the Local Government ment of similar cases, not only the control of the Local Government ment o within the same union. The Local Government Board are from the general inspectors of the Local Government Board are from the general inspections. There is no doubt whatever, quoted in support of these contents and in many cases in the said one, 'that a large number of the outdoor paupers are living in many cases in the said one, 'that a large number of the outdoor paupers are living in an environment of filth and immorality, and in many cases I feat an environment of fifth and abettors of these foul, insanitary and they are participants in and abettors of these foul, insanitary and they are participants in and the lack of proper investigation, the degrading conditions.' 15 As to the lack of proper investigation, the

The lack of an ascertainment of resourses does not always result in too little The lack of an ascertamment of the lack of an ascertamment of the being given. We are convinced . . . that outdoor relief is sometimes granted being given. being given. We are convinced... three shillings and five shillings and five shillings and five shillings. Outdoor relief to the extent of three shillings and five shillings a week respec-Outdoor rener to the extens of which the total earnings were in the one tively was granted to two families of which the other fifty one and in the other fifty one and in the one case forty shillings and ninepence and in the other fifty-one and sixpence per

But it is unnecessary to multiply evidence in an undefended indictment. It is on all hands admitted that the present system of outdoor relief has broken down not less completely and hopelessly than the administration of the general workhouse. What is to be the remedy? Neither party recommends the abolition of outdoor relief, but the Majority obviously leans upon the hope that it will become gradually unnecessary owing to an extension of the sphere and the better organisation of the machinery of voluntary agencies. To this solution the Minority is inflexibly opposed. They hold, with their colleagues, that the present system is open to the gravest criticism. They show that the large sum of nearly four million sterling per annum 'is being dispensed without central inspection or control, in doles and allowances awarded upon no uniform principle,' and that a large proportion of it is 'a subsidy to insanitary, to disorderly, or even to vicious habits of life.' But they believe that to substitute 'organised charity' would result not in diminution but in aggravation of the evil. On this point they quote much evidence, of which the following is a sample:

. In these three villages, in which a relatively well-administered charity is 'doing the work of the guardians,' and the Poor Law is practically non-existent, we have exactly the same complaints as those made against a lax Poor Law. It 'does away with thrift'; it 'creates a great tendency to laziness and dependence'; 'it is difficult to get work done in the parish: men prefer to lost about, and there is plenty of drinking going on '; 'it makes the people careless, lazy and unthrifty'; 'there is no demand at all for small holdings or land for allotments, while there is allotments, while there is a growing demand in all the adjoining parishes, yet

P. 618.

14 P. 749.

15 P. 151.

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you could not find a more discontented lot of people in any parish in England.' 16

The question of 'organised charity' is unquestionably pregnant with difficulties, and the solution really depends on the personal equation. difficulties, and the personal equation.

Can you attract to the service of voluntary agencies a sufficient number Can you are the problem of out relief in the problem out relief in the problem out relief in the proble of high-printed men and women? If you can, the problem of out-relief is solved. You will women:
be able to guarantee the exhaustive inquiries, the constant supervision, be able to said the individualised treatment for lack of which out-relief has failed and the past, and in the absence of which organised charity will assuredly fail in the future. If you cannot, it will be difficult to resist the confail in the Minority, that 'voluntary charity, in so far as it exists in the form of doles and allowances to persons in their homes, has all the disastrous characteristics of a laxly administered Poor Law. But, after all, the distance which separates the parties is in this case less wide than in others. The Majority admit that outdoor relief is too deeply rooted in our institutions to be summarily abolished: the Minority insist that 'it should be a cardinal principle of public administration that the utmost use should, under proper conditions. he made of voluntary agencies and of the personal service of men and women of good will.' The difference is obviously one of degree rather than of principle.

No attempt has been made in this paper to deal exhaustively with the Reports of the Royal Commission. Within the ordinary limitshowever generously extended—it would be impossible to do so. In particular no allusion has been made to those sections of the Reports which deal with 'distress due to unemployment,' and the relief of the able-bodied. I omit all reference to the subject not because I underrate, in any way, its importance, but because it demands an article to itself. Nothing short of a series of articles could, in truth, do justice to the contents of this voluminous and immensely interesting Report. To the statesman, to the economist, and to the philanthropist it will for a generation to come afford an inexhaustible mine of infor-As to the conclusions propounded a final judgment cannot be formed and should not be pronounced until we have before us the statistical and other appendices to which there is frequent reference in the body of the Report, and the ipsissima verba of the multitudinous witnesses examined.

In the meantime even a hasty perusal suggests one or two reflections. The first is an appreciation of the distance we have travelled The Act of 1834 represented one of the most conspicuous triumphs of Benthamite Liberalism. The action of the State was to be restricted within the narrowest possible limits; the principle of the right to work' implicit in Elizabethan legislation was emphatically

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repudiated; no one was to be permitted to die of starvation, but repudiated; no one was to be properties of a misfortune than a crime, and the pauperism was regarded as less of a misfortune than a crime, and the pauperism was regarded as less ... lot of the pauper was not to be rendered in any way more eligible than lovest class. Thus, and the that of the independent labour nation rescued from disaster, social and economic, threatened, and nation rescued from disaster, by the reckless administration of nation rescued from disaster, by the reckless administration of outdoor indeed rendered imminent, by the reckless administration of outdoor

The Report of 1909, despite an obvious desire to avoid hysterical The Report of 1909, despite, indeed, studious sobriety of expression, is marked emphasis, despite, indeed, studious sobriety of expression, is marked emphasis, despite, indeed, bedden to those which emanate from every page—particularly, of course, on those which emanate from the general principle from on every page—particularly, the Minority—by a frank acceptance of the general principle of State has large and state has large the Minority—by a frank acceptant that the State has large and expand. ing responsibilities for the social and economic welfare not merely of its paupers but of its poor. Not the relief of proved destitution, but 'help, prevention, cure, instruction,' are to be the ideals at which, henceforward, the organisation of 'Public Assistance' is to aim,

A second conclusion which emerges is the increasing complexity of social problems, and, still more, their increasing interdependence, The moment you tackle one problem you stumble across a dozen inextricably interwoven with it. Thus you cannot touch the question of unemployment without raising the whole problem of elementary and technical education; an investigation of the conditions of outrelief leads at once to a discussion of 'Housing' and 'Sanitation' and 'Locomotion.'

A third reflection, constantly obtruding itself, is the far-reaching significance of the Local Government Act of 1888, and still more of The keynotes of the latter Act were the Education Act of 1902. the concentration of authorities, the simplification of areas, the negation of the principle of ad hoc election, and, above all, the utilisation of highly trained expert advice. All these principles reappear in these Reports, and are emphasised no less by the Socialist Minority than by the Moderate Majority. Thus the Education Committee of the County Council is to have its counterpart in the Public Assistance Authority, and the Director of Education will find a colleague in the 'Director' or the 'Registrar' of Public Assistance. This constitutes a conspicuous triumph for the prescience of Mr. Balfour, and affords another illustration of that characteristic association of amateur and expert to which Principal Lowell of Harvard has lately ascribed the smooth working of the English Constitution.17

Other reflections suggest themselves which I venture, for brevity's sake, to couch partly in the interrogative, partly in the appellant form.

Granting that the case against the administration of the Poor Law is irresistible, is it certain that the Law itself is equally at fault? An increase in property of the carried state of the carried sta increase in pauperism there has certainly been, and a still more serious

<sup>17</sup> The Government of England, by A. L. Lowell, 1908.

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The Reports suggest a thousand questions to which they provide few answers. Convincing answers may in due course be forthcoming, but, in the meantime, the questions may well give us pause. And it is for a 'pause' that I would earnestly plead. It may be that we shall be compelled to readjust the focus of our outlook upon the social and economic situation. But give us time to do it, and time to consider whether it must be done. Vacare considerationi was the sage advice of an ancient Father. It cannot be inapplicable when, on the strength of the revelations of a Report which it will take years to digest, we are invited to plunge into a social revolution.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

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## THE DEFAMERS OF SHAKESPEARE

## II

The famous First Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays undoubtedly contains some preliminary matter which has occasioned a good deal of discussion, and the difficulties, such as they are, presented by the Dedication to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, and the Preface 'to the great variety of Readers' are eagerly laid hold of by all classes of Baconians for the purpose of their case. Both these documents are signed by Shakespeare's former fellow-players, Hemminge and Condell. It is extremely likely, though but a matter of guess-work, that Ben Jonson lent a hand in the composition of the Preface, as Malone long ago suggested. He certainly knew the man who was author of the plays as well as any, but what he wrote (if he was the writer) is endorsed and adopted as their own by Hemminge and Condell. The storm-centre of the trouble is the following passage:

It had bene a thing, we confess, worthie to have been wished, that the author himself had lived to have set forth, and overseen his own writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his friends, the office of their care and paine, to have collected and published them; and so to have publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with divers stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them: even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them: Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that we have scarse received from him a blot in his papers.

Upon this apparently simple piece of English prose some strange constructions have been put, and amongst others who, to my mind, have misread its meaning are the editors of the Cambridge edition. They say:

The natural inference to be drawn from this statement is that all the separate editions of Shakespeare's plays were 'stolen,' 'surreptitious,' and 'imperfect, and that all those published in the Folio were printed from the author's own manuscripts. But it can be proved to demonstration that several of the plays in the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by William G. Clark, M.A., and John Glover, M.A. Cambridge, 1863.

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Folio were printed from earlier quarto editions, and that in other cases the Folio were printed from a better manuscript, than the Folio quarto is more correctly printed, or from a better manuscript, than the Folio and therefore of higher authority. . . . As the 'setters forth's quarto is more correctly plant, or from a better manuscript, than the Folio text, and therefore of higher authority. . . . As the 'setters forth' are thus text, and of a 'suggestio falsi' in one point, it is not improbable. text, and therefore guilty of the like in another. Some of the place convicted of a sugar of the like in another. Some of the plays may have been may have been guilty of the like in another. Some of the plays may have been may have from Shakespeare's own manuscripts, but from may have been guilty have been guilty have been shakespeare's own manuscripts, but from transcripts made printed not from Shakespeare's own manuscripts, but from transcripts made printed not from the use of the theatre. And this hypothesis will account for from them for the use of the plays—errors too gross to be from them for the form them for the form them for strange errors found in some of the plays—errors too gross to be accounted for strange pagligence of a printer, especially if the original strange errors found a printer, especially if the original manuscript was as by the negligence of a printer, especially if the original manuscript was as by the negligenee and Condell described it to have been. . . . It is probunblotted as Hemminge and Condell described it to have been. . . . It is probunblotted as decention arose not from deliberate design on the able that this deception arose not from deliberate design on the part of Hemminge able that this deception, as having been Shakespeare's friends and fellows, we like and condell—whom, as having been but partly, at least from and Condent and rellows, we like to think of as honourable men—but partly, at least, from want of practice in to think of as and from the wish rather to write a smart preface in praise of the composition, and from the gates clearly and simply. On the December 10 state the facts clearly and simply. book than to state the facts clearly and simply. Or the Preface may have been book than by some literary man in the employment of the publishers, and merely written by some signed by the players.

Now, in the first place, the player-editors do not say that all the separate editions were 'stolen, surreptitious, and imperfect.' Their words are, 'you were abus'd with divers stolne and surreptitious copies,' i.e. with some, or certain, unauthorised copies, and they go on to inform the reader that 'even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them.'

In the next place, there is no reference whatever to any manuscript—unblotted or otherwise—furnished to the editors by Shakespeare himself for the purposes of this Folio edition. Shakespeare was dead seven years when the Preface was published, and the players actually express their regret that the author had not lived 'to have set forth, and overseen his own writings,' a sentence that absolutely negatives the idea of his having prepared any such manuscript. Besides, they would not speak of having 'collected' his writings, if he had supplied them with the copy.2 The obvious meaning of the last portion of the Preface, if read carefully, is that it is a concluding tribute, of a perfectly general nature, to the wonderful rapidity in composition of the man they knew so well when he was their working playwright, and in whose 'papers,' as he from time to time supplied them with plays, there was scarcely a 'blot.' If, as the Cambridge editors would have us believe, the players suggested that the plays were printed from the author's own manuscripts, these manuscripts could only have been copies, and there would have been no special merit in their being without blots. It matters little whether the phraseology of this Preface came from Jonson's pen, or from some other. The facts were manifestly supplied by Shakespeare's fellow players,

Those who wish to understand the full meaning of 'the care and paine' involved in 'collecting' the material for the First Folio should read Dr. Sidney Lee's most admirable results. most admirable Introduction to his Facsimile Reproduction of that volume, London, 1902.

and the interpretation I put upon the concluding paragraphs is the only and the interpretation I put upon th one consistent with what Johnson speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing: 'I remember in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in reference to the author's lightning speed in writing in the speed in t in reference to the autnor's light as an honour to Shakspere, that, in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line,

There seems therefore to be no justification for attributing double. There seems therefore to be the state of the dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors; but the anti-Shakespearian of course dealing to the Folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as a fine folio editor and the fine folio editors are considered as dealing to the Fono europs, seizes with avidity on such words as 'suggestio falsi 'and 'deception', seizes with avidity on such words as 'suggestio falsi 'and 'deception', seizes with avidity on such worthodox party, and revels triumphantly through many pages in showing that the issue of this great first edition was accompanied by mystery and mendacity. So blinded indeed is Mr. Greenwood at having any Shakespearian authorities on his side touching this point, that he does not see, or give much attention to, a much more important statement of fact which is contained in the same Preface, and which it is absolutely impossible to construe in any but the one way. That is, that the author was dead at the date of its publication; while we know that Bacon was alive, and lived for some years after the appearance of the Folio. Even Mr. Greenwood's well-worn deus ex machina, 'it is not inconsistent with "Shakespeare" being a nom de plume,' comes on the scene here in rather a shamefaced fashion, thrusting a deliberate lie into the mouth of Ben Jonson and the many others who were concerned in the production of the poet's collected plays-if Bacon was really the author.4

But there is much more in this volume; and the portrait engraved by Droeshout and Jonson's lines in reference to it are dwelt on with confidence by Baconians. Here, again, is a further mystery, they say, and they abuse the portrait and laugh at what Jonson has written about it. Opinions may differ as to the engraving being a work of art, but it should at least be remembered that it was an early effort of quite a young engraver who never came to any eminence after, and it is extremely likely that the picture from which it was engraved was a representation of Shakespeare dressed for a part in some play, in which his personal identity would be to some extent concealed. The only direct contemporary evidence we have on the question of likeness is contained in Jonson's own lines; and he, whether a

Further confirmation is supplied by the poem addressed to Shakespeare by Leonard Digges in the Folio of 1640, where occur the lines:.

> First, that he was a poet, none would doubt That heard the applause of what he sees set out Imprinted; where thou hast (I will not say, Reader, his works, for to contrive a play, To him was none), the pattern of all wit, Art without art, unparalleled as yet.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> If Mr. Greenwood does not think that Bacon was the author, the fact that the hor was dead in 1622 should be used to b author was dead in 1623 should limit the field of his search for the missing, modest man.

competent judge or not, seemed satisfied with the face, though ending with a suggestion to the reader to competent is suggestion to the reader to Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

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Mr. Greenwood boldly tells us that Jonson was writing 'with Mr. Green was writing 'with his tongue in his cheek,' knowing that the enlightened few would his tongue in the this criticism had an esoteric meaning! The wonder recognise that his criticism had an esoteric meaning! The wonder recognise one on his side, more daring than the rest, does not is that some the portrait really represents Bacon, masquerading tell us that the portrait he had worm are the rest, does not tell us that the playwright's costume he had worn successfully for so many in the play what is really surprising, on the assumption that the plays years. years. White there should have been any portrait at all. As the portrait is there, however, we can only conclude—if Bacon was the author—that he too was satisfied with the likeness of his actor alter ego; and so the arguments which Baconians rest upon its nature fall to the ground.

But honest Ben goes on for the further confounding of Shakespeare's defamers—we can almost hear them crying with Will Kempe, 'O, that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow '-and he heads his next lines:

To the Memory of my Beloved, THE AUTHOR MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE: And What he hath left us.

and addresses him in these lines as

Soul of the Age! The Applause! delight! and wonder of our Stage! &c.;

while his last verses describe him as 'sweet Swan of Avon.' Nothing suggestive of 'esoteric meaning' here at any rate, and if anyone be anxious to learn how the last advocate of the heretical body explains away these simple sentences, and care to see a vivid picture of militant anti-Shakespearianism confounded in a bottomless quagmire of incomprehensible circumlocution, he will peruse with what patience he can command pages 471 to 499 of The Shakespeare Problem Re-stated, and sum up his views, if he remembers old Holofernes, by saying, He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument.' 5

The Dedication of the First Folio which is addressed to 'William Earle of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlaine 'and the Earle of Montgomery, contains the words:

But since your L.L. [i.e. Lordships] have been pleas'd to think these trifles something, heretofore; and have prosequited both them and their author living, with living, with so much favour: we hope . . . you will use the same indulgence toward them. toward them, you have done unto their parent. . . . For, so much were your

<sup>5</sup> Leve's Labour's Lost, v. 1.

L.L. likings of the severall parts, when they were acted, as before they were

Here then, again, if the heretical contention be well founded, we Here then, again, if the introduced, one of them being the patron have two noble conspirators introduced, one of them being the patron have two noble conspirators income acted and wrote. Can anyone of the company for which Shakespeare acted and wrote. Can anyone of the company for which blacker been more familiar with the internal we may ask, be imagined to have been more familiar with the internal we may ask, be imagined to had affairs of the stage at the time, outside the dramatists and players, than affairs of the stage at the time, of the Lord Chamberlain? Did these two gentlemen accept a lying that? Or is it the unlikely case that the the Lord Chamberlain: Or is it the unlikely case that they had shown 'much favour' and 'indulgence' to Bacon, whose works they now allow, under the sanction of their names, to go before the world as written by William Shakespeare, and with the unnecessary addition of a portrait which was not Bacon's? Bacon, it should be remembered was at the time (1623) in dire disgrace, and anxious, we may well believe, that no additional charges of dishonesty or deception should be raised against him. If he was the author, the success of the volume would in no sense have depended upon it being dedicated to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery. He might easily have found other as distinguished names to grace its introduction. But, fool and dolt that he was, if there be any consistency whatever in the teachings of the heretical school, he must needs, even in his hour of degradation, put his head into the lion's mouth, and at the time of all others when he had every earthly reason to play the part of a 'concealed poet,' broadly advertise the fact that here too he had been practising deception and that for over a period of thirty years! There was no necessity whatever for dedicating his volume to anyone, and still less for dedicating it to one who must have known that he was either a liar or a greater deceiver than he was then known to be.6

Two other references to Shakespeare in connection with the First Folio should be mentioned here. Leonard Digges heads his lines, 'To the Memorie of the deceased Author, Maister W. Shakespeare,' and goes on:

Shake-speare, at length thy pious fellowes give The world thy Works.

He then refers to the Author's 'Stratford Monument.' Then there is Hugh Holland with a sonnet, 'Upon the Lines and Life of the Famous Scenicke Poet, Master William Shakespeare.' Of these two mourners for the dead playwright, Digges, it will be noticed, identifies Shakespeare as both author and actor ('thy pious fellowes,' &c.) and as buried at Stratford. So awkward a witness against the pretensions of the usurper has, of course, to be removed, and the process of his

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One cannot help remarking the curious morality which underlies Mr. Greenwood's ory of the story de plants theory of the nom de plume. It fails to distinguish between concealing one's identify (from modesty or other motives) under a pseudonym and annexing for the purpose of such concealment the power and annexing for the purpose of such concealment the power and annexing for the purpose of such concealment the power and annexing for the purpose of such concealment the power and annexing for the purpose of such concealment the power and annexing for the purpose of such concealment the power and annexing for the purpose of such concealment the such conceal of such concealment the name of a living person who happened to be an author at the time.

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removal is interestingly characteristic of the special counsel last left removal is interest. He discovers that Digges wrote another set of in charge of the case. He discovers that Digges wrote another set of in charge of the cared in the 1640 edition of the Folio; and, forsooth, verses which appeared in the 1640 edition of the Folio; and, forsooth, verses which appeared the finds a difficulty where there is no difficulty in these later because he calmly tells us that 'this Digges' (like Rep. 1 because he must be that 'this Digges' (like Ben Jonson) 'was verses, he calmly tells us that 'this Digges' (like Ben Jonson) 'was verses, he canny verses, he canny with his tongue in his cheek,' or else 'had no conception of writing with his tongue in his cheek,' or else 'had no conception of writing with the was talking about.' In other words, a certain witness makes what he was takes what he was takes an affidavit at a certain date containing allegations in reference to an affidavit at the authorship of a certain volume. Several years afterwards, the the authors makes another affidavit, in no sense contradicting same within the earlier one, but happening to contain a phrase or two descriptive the earner one, such counsel learned in the law professes he cannot of the author's art which counsel learned in the law professes he cannot of the author of And on such grounds the contents of the previous affidavit are to be rejected as unworthy of belief! The Grave-digger in Hamlet himself would, I think, hold such an argument bad, even under the latitudinarian canons of interpretation sanctioned by 'Crowner's quest law.'

Yet in spite of such direct testimony as the First Folio contains, and brushing aside as valueless a large number of other references from contemporary sources, the late Judge Webb and many more of the anti-Shakespearian crusaders confidently assert that not one of these witnesses 'can be adduced as attesting the responsibility of the player for the works which are associated with his name.'

Here, as in many other branches of their theory, the Poet's defamers can only get over the strong and simple facts by resorting to such curious and illogical forms of argumentation that the mystery which they find hanging over the publication of the First Folio becomes as nothing compared with the more than mysterious methods by which they endeavour to explain it.

Some forty pages of Mr. Greenwood's work are devoted to what he calls 'Shakespeare Allusions and Illusions' (chap. x1.), and here, faced as it were with a stone wall of documentary evidence, he simply excels himself as the jaunty advocate of a hopeless cause. The chapter is necessarily concerned with the crowded allusions to Shakespeare and his writings which are collected in Dr. Ingleby's Century of Prayse and Furnivall's Three Hundred Fresh Allusions to Shakespeare. reference to the contents of these works, he says:

What we require is evidence to establish the identity of the player with the Poet and dramatist; to prove that the player was the author of the plays and Poems. That is the proposition to be established, and that the allusions fail, as it appears to me, to prove. At any rate, they do not disprove the theory that the true authorship was hidden under a pseudonym.7

While this article was being written, another work by Mr. Greenwood has been blished anticle was being written, another work by Mr. Greenwood has been Published, entitled In re Shakespeare, Beeching v. Greenwood: Rejoinder on behalf of the Defendant in the Shakespeare, Beeching v. Greenwood: the Defendant, in which, referring to the above passage, the author has the following

When Mr. Greenwood tells us that Greene's well-known allusion When Mr. Greenwood tens to the only Shake-scene' suggests a ranting actor rather than a to the the words are descriptive of 'an imto 'the only Shake-scene bugs are descriptive of 'an impostor,' play-writer, and that the words are descriptive of 'an impostor,' play-writer, and that the include and the circumstances in which he seems to misread both the property it was written. There would have been no occasion for Greene to warn his gentlemen colleagues against anyone who could be so dewarn his gentlemen concague. So described. Then, again, when dealing with Chettle's Kind-hart's Dream application for Greene's angre and the sound applications of the sound applications. scribed. Then, again, when a pology for Greene's angry utterances, (1592) and his no less known apology for Greene's angry utterances, (1592) and his no less known of the state of Mr. Greenwood does not be the disclaims all personal responsibility for Greene's insulting sentences, and in reference to one of those who took them offensively he adds a very generous expression of regret:

because myselfe have seen his demeanour no less civil, than he excellent in the qualitie he professes; besides, divers of worship have reported his uprighteous. ness of dealing, which argues his honesty; and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art.

The wording of Chettle's Preface is not as clear to us to-day as it was to his contemporaries, who must have known exactly what he meant, but the vast majority of Shakespearian scholars have, with I think, good reason, taken the last-quoted words to refer to Shakespeare and to no other, believing them to have been made with a direct reference to Greene's description of the

upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his 'tiger's heart wrant in a player's hide ' supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes Factotum is, in his own conceit, the only Shake-scene in a country.

How Chettle's words, 'excellent in the qualitie he professes,' which obviously refer to an actor's calling,8 can be supposed, as the late Mr. Fleay thought, to allude to Marlowe, who was then at the height of his career as a playwright, is something difficult to understand. Of course it is all-important to Mr. Greenwood's case to show that there is no identification of actor and writer here; but the adjective 'dishonest,' which he thinks fit to apply to the almost unanimous body of eminent Shakespearians who state that Chettle's

note: 'Observe, to "establish the identity"—not the fact that some contemporaries believed it.' Personally, I have been up till now under the impression that when, say, half-a-dozen unprejudiced witnesses said they saw the man in the dook committing an account. mitting an assault, they did establish his identity. If Mr. Greenwood's view of the law of evidence be correct, there must be a huge number of innocent persons segregated from their friends segregated from 'their friends and their relations' owing to the antiquated notions of our criminal judges. our criminal judges.

Mr. Greenwood endeavours to show that the word 'quality,' which was at the time commonly used to designate the profession of an actor, was also used of other professions as well. He cited and professions as well. He cites cases where it is used of an outlaw's occupation and of a printer's, but none to a of a printer's, but none to show that it was ever employed in reference to a playwright's. playwright's.

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language describes Shakespeare, is so far from what is expected in language described that it can hardly carry immediate conviction those amongst his audience who know least upon literary controvers, satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even those satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to even the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to the satisfied that he has unhorsed his constant to the satisfied that the satisfied even those and that he has unhorsed his opponents in this Anyhow, satisfied that he great unknown has apponents in this

Anyhow, Sattle Anyhow, Sattle Anyhow, Sattle Champion of the great unknown proceeds, in a manner encounter, this champion of the great unknown proceeds, in a manner that of ancient Pistol himself, to administer the court encounter, this change of ancient Pistol himself, to administer the coup de grâce by worthy of ancient Ring's Counsel (Mr. Castle). worthy of another a King's Counsel (Mr. Castle), accustomed to proinforming us the construction and interpretation of informing us the construction and interpretation of documents, has nounce on the same effect.' One would expressed himself very decidedly to the same effect.' One would expressed minds one would expressed that people were not aware that exactly 50 per cent. of the imagine that port imagine that port cent. of the king's Counsel who express themselves very decidedly on the con-King's countries which come before our judges every day struction with a decision which shows their interpretation to have been erroneous. With all respect to my learned friend, I would suggest that the true meaning of a purely literary passage is not best arrived at by construing it as statutes and legal documents are construed, but rather by making the words in question grammatically bear a sense that fits in, without violence, with such knowledge as we have of the circumstances in which they were written.

But Greene was not the only dramatist whose jealousy was stirred at seeing the dawning light of a new sun in the playwright actor from Stratford. Ben Jonson himself also recognised a rival in him -a dangerous rival, too, who overrode the cut-and-dried conventionalities and the too artificial restrictions of the anæmic classical drama of the day, and who wrote plays to please the people-though Jonson expressed his feelings in the matter in more measured terms than Greene. He, perhaps, had not forgotten the kindness that Shakespeare, as gossip tells us, had shown him early in his own career, and so softened his own comments into a charge of 'wanting art' and being in need of the brake.' Unlike Greene, however, old Ben did not die unrepentant, and the big generosity of an honest heart broke out at the end: 'I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any'; and no greater tribute of personal admiration for a friend has ever fallen from human lips.

But what of some other of the so-called 'Allusions and Illusions'? We find in an old play, The Return from Parnassus, acted at Cambridge in December 1601 or January 1602, an extremely interesting and not unimportant passage put into the mouth of the actor Kempe, who, it should be borne in mind, was a fellow-player

with Shakespeare.

Kempe.—Few of the university pen plaies well; they smell too much of that writer Ovid and that writer Metamorphosis, and talke too much of Proserpina

Suffaminandus erat,' a phrase which Mr. Greenwood, seemingly forgetful of his Latin, for his own purposes renders 'he ought to be shut up'; i.e., as he explains in his last rolling own purposes renders 'he ought to be shut up'; i.e., as he explains in his last volume, 'when his tongue was loosed among companions—at a tavern, for instance!

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and Juppiter. Why here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all downe, are too. O that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow, he brought and Juppiter. Why here's our renow state of the state of and Ben Jonson too. O that Ben Jonson too. O

Rational students of Shakespeare have seen in these words and supremacy at the time, but with the Rational students of blackers at the time, but with this view allusion to his confessed supremacy at the time, but with this view allusion to his confessed superior the passage as merely a Mr. Greenwood will not away, regarding the passage as merely a Mr. Greenwood will not all your as merely a sarcastic piece of ridicule levelled at ignorant players before a cultisarcastic piece of randome is. He seems, indeed, to assume (although he does not say so) that the play was specially written for (although he does not say 27)
Cambridge University, and was never intended to be performed else. Cambridge University, and where, otherwise this portion of his comment would have no force whatever. He goes on :

I do not think it has ever been pointed out how absurd is this criticism of Will Kempe's, if it is to be taken as a eulogium of Shakespeare. For what, according to Kempe, is the objection to the University pens? That they 'smell too much of Ovid and that writer Metamorphosis, and talke too much of Proserpina and Juppiter.' But this criticism if it applies to anybody applies in an eminent degree to Shakespeare himself. Who so saturated with Ovid, the Metamor. phoses especially, as Shakespeare? Who talks, all out of season, of Proserpina and Jupiter, if not the writer who makes his 'Queen of Curds and cream,' brought up in a Bohemian grange, as Judge Webb says, parade his knowledge of the Greek Mythology by exclaiming:

> 'O, Proserpina, For the flowers now which frighted thou let'st fall From Dis's wagon '?

And yet, for all this, the absurdity of Kempe's criticism is not quite so apparent when we call to mind that, according to all the highest authorities, the play from which the lines just quoted are taken, viz. The Winter's Tale, had not been written at the time, and the only other reference to Proserpina in all Shakespeare occurs in Troilus and Cressida, which was not even entered at Stationers' Hall until after the performance of The Return from Parnassus-facts which furnish us with yet another instance of the value of interpreting literary documents rather by the light of contemporaneous events than au pied de la lettre.

Here is the general conclusion arrived at by Mr. Greenwood from the references contained in the trilogy, the third play of which was The Return from Parnassus, which as an example of a lame and impotent conclusion in support of a hopeless case it would not be easy to match.

The only thing of real importance in these allusions is this, that the Cambridge dramatist makes Kempe and Burbage speak of 'our fellow Shakespeare' as an author. But when we record the author. But when we remember the feud which always existed between the scholars and the players in the scholars and the players in those times, and appreciate the fact that the scholar playwright is satirising the release playwright is satirising the players, we shall, I think, see that the significance

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ridge as an the holar cance to be attached to this utterance is, after all, not very great. It is quite consistonth the theory that Shakespeare was a mask name. to be attached to the theory that Shakespeare was a mask name.

And on the strength of such reasoning as this we are to believe And on the Shakespeare were written by some other writer. that the plays of Shakespeare and his well-known allusions to Shakespeare and his well-known allusions to Shakespeare and his

the plays of State of Hereford (in 1610) and John Davies of Hereford (in 1610) The well-kill John Davies of Hereford (in 1610) are dealt with Meres (in 1598) and way. The first we are told 1 Meres (in 1990) are dealt with in the same off-hand way. The first, we are told, does not 'negative in the same off-hand way. The first, we are told, does not 'negative in the same of the the hypothesis whatever to show that Meres had any personal acquaintance with the author.'

On the second, in which Shakespeare is called 'our English Terence,' the comment is: 'Hardly the sort of language which we should expect

to be addressed to the immortal bard '!

In the face of such comments upon evidence which can have but one meaning, it is useless to pursue anti-Shakespearian criticism upon the many other contemporary allusions which have still survived—and the marvel is that there are so many after the lapse of three hundred years. The strange feature of these comments is that the makers of them cannot see that the parrot-like iteration of some unmeaning phrase is a different thing from logical argument—that the eternal wresting of simple English into something it does not express to ordinary minds is not the surest way to convince persons who have some knowledge of their native tongue, even as written in Shakespeare's day; and that to describe the plain tales of hostile witnesses as the unreliable evidence of persons who speak 'with their tongues in their cheek,' is, after all, the kind of thing that has turned the whole Shakespearian world against them, and justified the occasionally cutting remarks which have been made upon their incomprehensible methods of controversy, and their lack of the more customary principles of literary discussion. They are apt to forget, too, at such times as they complain of the more strongly worded of their opponents' criticisms, that it is they who are the aggressors, and that those who began the attack were not signalised in the literary world as the possessors of such commanding knowledge connected with either Shakespeare or Bacon as would be likely to recommend their views to those whose lives had been devoted to a lengthy and exhaustive study of the subject in all its bearings. It is unfortunately true, as they persistently point out, that such men as Lord Penzance in England, Judge Webb in Ireland, and Judge Holmes in the United States, are amongst those who have been denounced for lending their names, honoured though they may have been in judicial circles, to a 'foolish craze' in reference to a subject connected in no way with their professional calling. one enlightening fact to the sum total of our Shakespearian know-So far from ever having contributed even ledge, each of these upholders of heretical pretensions has been found to identify himself with views which only too plainly advertised the

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narrowness of his acquaintance with the subject on which he wrote, of Science and the Royal Society 41 If the French Academy of School to stamp out with a seeming necessary in the eighteenth century to stamp out with a seeming necessary in the eighteenth of fanatics who then believed discourtesy the ignorant attempts of fanatics who then believed contrary to all scientific principles, that they could square the circle and trisect an angle, it was in the interests of science and not to and trisect an angle, it was and so, when to-day the men, to whose retard it, that they did so. And so, when to-day the men, to whose retard it, that they did so. study of the literature of Shakespeare's and Bacon's age the whole world is indebted for all it knows of both these eminent writers, stand resolutely together in deriding the tenets of a new school, and unite resolutely together in delications of such arguments as they continue to urge, it is not to be wondered at if some of the profoundest students of these subjects, such as Dr. Sidney Lee and the late Professor Colling follow the example so successfully set by academies of science more than a hundred years ago, by expressing their convictions in language calculated to put an end to so incomprehensible a contention.

It is anything but a pleasant feature of this foolish controversy that a writer so eminent amongst Shakespearians as Dr. Sidney Lee should be singled out for a measure of unrestrained abuse by Baconians at large, owing to his consistent refusal to listen to their so-called proofs. The inconsequential methods of argument which beset them in other directions prevent them in his case from seeing that he is perhaps as much entitled to an opinion on matters connected with Shakespeare as any writer of the day, author that he is of many valuable works which are recognised as of permanent authority by literary men all through the world. It is to such students that the layman who loves his Shakespeare looks for guidance when a small section of English-speaking persons combine in somewhat un-English ways to put England's poet from off his pedestal, and set up in his place one to whose unhappy life another chapter of deception is added by the very process by which they seek to crown him with the laurels stolen from a gentler brow. The fact that Dr. Lee has dealt collectively and not personally with his opponents should have earned for him a larger measure of their respect when replying to his general

10 In A Judicial Summing-up (1902), the late Lord Penzance, endeavouring to show the impossibility of Shakespeare having been an English scholar, informs us that 'the first English Grammar was not published until 1586, after Shakespeare's education, if such it may be called, was over.' One wonders where Bacon and the other great writers of our Augustine age can have learned their English. The school curriculum of the poet's day included a good deal that Lord Penzance does not seem to have been sware of to have been aware of; for instance, Bacon himself protests that Logic and Rhetoric are studies more smiled. are studies more suited for graduates than for the children who 'usually study them.'
See Foster Watson The Province of the children who 'usually study them.' See Foster Watson, The English Grammar, Schools to 1660 (Cambridge, 1908). is evident.' says the located and the second state of the located state of the second state is evident,' says the learned Judge, 'that much learning was impossible, for the necessary books did not over the says that much learning was impossible, and not necessary books did not exist,' and again, 'History, the history of his land, had not been compiled in his 19hol. been compiled in his [Shakespeare's] day.' And yet we know where almost every scrap of history made use a practically scrap of history made use of in the plays is taken from, and that, too, practically verbatim, historical errors and all taken from and that, too gractically verbatim, historical errors and all taken from and that, too gractically verbatim, historical errors and all taken from and that, too gractically the second sec verbatim, historical errors and all. See Shakspere's Holinshed, by W. G. Boswell-Stone, 1896. pril

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condemnation of Baconianism. Mr. Greenwood, at any rate, is to condemnation of be congratulated on the ample apology which he has lately made for be congratulated on the ample apology which he has lately made for be congratulated on the ample apology which he has lately made for be congratulated on the ample apology which he has lately made for observations in his main work which, as open to misinterpretation, would have been better left unwritten.

No ordinary reader of Shakespeare's works can fail to be struck No ordinary and ever-recurring legal phraseology with which by the copious and only are law terms from the color with which by the copical Not only are law terms frequently employed with they are into the scenes are tolerand intensity an almost professional correctness, to give colour and intensity an almost proces, but whole scenes are taken up with allusions to his sensors on purely legal matters, as in The Merchant of to or assumed the grave scene in Hamlet, not to mention Venice, Henry V., and the grave scene in Hamlet, not to mention Venuce, How to mention other plays. So profound, indeed, is the knowledge displayed all through that no less an authority on the subject than Lord Campbell has told us that 'to Shakespeare's law, lavishly as he propounds it, there can neither be demurrer, nor bill of exceptions, nor writ of error.' To this marked feature of the works, more than to any other, one might perhaps with justice attribute the very origin of the whole Baconian theory. The point is naturally of extreme importance in the eyes of those whose only knowledge of the literature of the period is confined to Shakespeare's writings; but that importance shrinks rapidly to insignificance after a course of reading through the general dramatic literature of the time, in which, as a matter of fact, legal similes and allusions are found to occur with about the same frequency as in Shakespeare's works. So strong, indeed, is the legal colouring of all stage writing at the time that one is forced to believe that law talk must have been more common amongst laymen in those days, and especially amongst laymen of a playgoing disposition, than it has ever been during any period since. There are indications besides that some critics were getting tired of all this legal jargon—Dekker, for instance, who writes:

There is another ordinary, at which your London usurer, your stale bachelor, and your thrifty attorney do resort; the price, three pence; the rooms as full of company as a jail. . . . If they chance to discourse, it is of nothing but statutes, bonds, recognizances, fines, recoveries, audits, rents, subsidies, sureties, enclosures, liveries, indictments, outlawries, feoffments, judgments, commissions, bankrupts, amercements, and of such horrible matter.—Gull's Horn Book, 1609. Tourneur also:

There are old men at the present,
That are so poison'd with th' affectation
Of law-words, having had many suits canvass'd,
That their common talk is nothing but barb'rous
Latin: They cannot so much as pray, but
In law, that their sins may be remov'd, with
A writ of error, and their souls fetch'd up
To heaven with a certiorari.—Revenger's Tragedy.

There is therefore no more difficulty in Shakespeare's case touching his knowledge of law than in the case of any other playwright of his

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Perhaps the difficulty is rather less in his case than in others, age. Perhaps the difficulty is a second all through his life many as we know that he had from early days and all through his life many which the majorital opportunities of learning in a practical way which the majority of opportunities of learning in the property of his contemporaries do not seem to have had. It is curious to that Ford and Middleton, who both it his contemporaries do not be note in this connexion that Ford and Middleton, who both studied note in this connexion to have been less given to using the studied note in this connexion that a law professionally, seem to have been less given to using law terms contemporaries.

n any of their laymen content.

The Baconian naturally takes hold more particularly of the The Bacoman naturally of the prominent instances of Shakespeare's legal erudition, the late Judge Webb, for example, telling us that 'The discussion of the Law Salique Webb, for example, telling as the learning of a lawyer, and the conclusion (Henry V. I. ii.) displays the learning of a lawyer, and the conclusion that the Salique law was not devised for the realm of France is identical with the conclusion which is indicated in the Apophthegms of Bacon, —and the argument, like many others on the Baconian side, is both reasonable and convincing to persons who possess only a superficial acquaintance with the plays. One has only, however, to turn to Holinshed's Chronicles to see the whole of this dry and somewhat unpoetical passage given word for word as Shakespeare used it,

It should be remembered that recent investigations of Shakespeare's law allusions do not tend to confirm Lord Campbell's sweeping asser. tion as to his invariable accuracy, a good many legal writers having pointed out cases where it is manifest that the dramatist has fallen into errors which Bacon could not have made. The subject, which is too wide for adequate treatment here, has been well handled by Judge Charles Allen, amongst others, in a work that seems little known in this country, though duly entered in the Bibliography in all the later editions of Mr. Lee's Life of Shakespeare. 11

Of minor points to be considered, a few may be mentioned here. There is an argument, for instance, based on the illegible nature of Shakespeare's handwriting, as shown by the signatures which are still extant, to suggest that he could not have written any continuous It may be said at once that such examples are not always a criterion by which one can judge the cursive powers of the same hand when used in other writings, nor does bad writing keep one from authorship. Macaulay's hand, his biographer tells us, was all but illegible: Pascal's was 'presque illisible.' 12

Another point in connexion with the will is that it contains no mention of either books or manuscripts, a fact that to some minds justifies the assertion that Shakespeare was possessed of no literary

Notes on the Bacon-Shakespeare Question, Boston and New York, 1900.

<sup>12</sup> A very remarkable pamphlet has recently appeared by Fräulein Thumblet Live (Leipzig Otto William) Kintzel (Leipzig, Otto Wigand), which goes far towards showing that Shakespeare's will (which is still extent) will (which is still extant) was written entirely in his own handwriting, and not by a notary or clerk as hes placed with the control of the notary or clerk, as has always been assumed to be the case. Her conclusions are based upon a minute companion. based upon a minute comparison of each letter that occurs in the existing signatures with the same letter as written in the with the same letter as written in the body of the will. See The Illustrated London News, February 13, 1909, where News, February 13, 1909, where some striking examples of identity are reproduced.

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materials when he died. The omission may, however, be accounted materials when he accounted many ways without taking it to be an argument in favour of for in many ways other, and a reference to the wills of call for in many way

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Bacon or some other, and a reference to the wills of other writers of Bacon or some conditions, will show that Shakespeare's case was by no eminence in all ages. Perhaps the most remarkable income. eminence in an analysis enjoyee one. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of such means a singular one. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of such means a pino is to be found in the case of Petrarch. an omission is the most noted bibliophiles of his time, and almost all his books were the most noted bibliophiles of his time, and almost all his books were the most noted in his own hand; but the only volume he mentions in his annotated in his own hand; will is a Prayer-book.

Closely interwoven with the last point is the mystery—for it closely into the mystery—tor it seems to be nothing less—in which Shakespeare's last years are His retirement to Stratford at the very zenith of his dramatic capabilities, and when he was still a young man, is a fact that has tormented many minds. But more tormenting still is the further fact that, so far as we know, from the day he left London until he died he never concerned himself again with the writing of a poem or a play, and never even took any definite step towards the preservation of the amazing literary creations of his extraordinary mind. The anti-Shakespearians are profoundly shocked at this sudden change from world's poet to country gentleman; and, judged by modern standards, there would seem to be more justification for their attitude to this strange feature of his life than for many of their more groundless contentions. Yet, unaccountable though it may all seem to be, it is hardly a reason for attributing his writings to some other author. We are apt perhaps in our wondering to forget that no single scrap of evidence of a direct kind has come down to us through the centuries, to help us to look behind the veil that hangs here between us and the truth. Of indirect evidence we have someas in the players' Preface to the First Folio, though this at best is vague. More convincing to modern minds is Heywood's Address to the Reader in his English Traveller (1633):

True it is that my plays are not exposed unto the world in volumes, to bear the title of Works (as others): one reason is that many of them by shifting and change of companies have been negligently lost. Others of them are still retained in the hands of some actors, who think it against their peculiar profit to have them come in print, and a third, that it never was any great ambition in me to be in this kind voluminously read.

If such a writer as Heywood can take this view of his productions giving us at the same time a strong and interesting sidelight on the fate of dramatic MSS. in his time—one need not wonder unduly at the insouciance of a greater than he in a like case, though many of us may not profess rightly to understand it. One, however, should be quoted here who did understand it, Dr. Dowden, our greatest Shakespearian, whose unerring insight into the underlying realities of such work as Shakespeare's was gives us step by step, from the internal evidence furnished by the plays themselves, practically the complete

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation. He shows us how the literary career of him who wrote them. He shows us how the poet's life seems to give the lie to all the wild tales of his earlier doings; and while others, such as Greene and Peele and Marlowe, had squandered the turbulent life of London, Shakespeare had while others, such as Greene that their strength in the turbulent life of London, Shakespeare husbanded their strength in the turbulent life did not bring satisfaction to k: their strength in the turbulent has been strength. The theatrical life did not bring satisfaction to him, yet his strength. The theatrice.

nevertheless . . . he compelled the lower and provisional life of player and playwright to become the servant of his higher life. Even when he had become a prosperous country gentleman he was not when he had become a part was not ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will be ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will be ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will be ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will be ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will be ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will be ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will be ashamed of the days when he lived by public means, but in his will be ashamed of the days when he lived by public means are as a shamed of the days when he lived by public means are as a shamed of the days when he lived by public means are as a shamed of the days will be a shamed of the days will ashamed of the days who remembers his 'Fellowes, John Hemynges, Richard Burbage, and Henry Cundell.'

After exhibiting (i.e. in Timon of Athens, written probably not long before The After exhibiting (s.e. in The Interest) the absolute ruin of a life and of a soul, Shakspere closed the wonderful Tempest) the absolute ruin of a life and of a soul, Shakspere closed the wonderful Tempest) the absolute run of the exhibiting the noblest elevation of character, series of his dramatic writings by exhibiting the noblest elevation of character, the most admirable attainment of heart, of intellect, of will, which our present life admits, in the person of Prospero. What more was left for Shakspere to say? Is it so very strange that he accepted as a good possession the calm energy of his Stratford life, having at last wholly liberated his mind? ... He broke his magic staff; he drowned his book deeper than ever plummet sounded; he went back, serenely looking down upon all human life, yet refusing his share in none of it, to his Dukedom at Stratford resolved to do Duke's work, such as it is, well.13

Some remarkable evidence in favour of Shakespeare's authorship is found in the fact that provincial life, language, and manners, more particularly those of Warwickshire and the adjoining counties, are for ever cropping up all through the plays, introduced in and out of season with a persistence which would have been inconceivable had Bacon or some such other writer been the author. Who but Shakespeare would have introduced a troupe of Midland villagers to play a tragedy before the Duke of such a place as Athens? In the Induction to A Midsummer Night's Dream, too, the chief characters are all from Stratford. A family of the name of Sly resided there in the poet's Christopher himself is 'old Sly's son of Burton Heath,' and Barton on the Heath is a few miles from Stratford. Stephen Sly and Joan Sly are both mentioned in Stratford Records.

'I beseech you, Sir,' says Davy to his master, Shallow (2 Henry IV. V. i.), 'to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the Hill': Wincot being the local pronunciation of Wilnecote, a Warwickshire town, while the name Perkes was well known in the neighbourhood of Stratford, and the family became allied to the Poet. The men-servants in Petruchio's Italian country house, with the single exception of Grumio, bear thoroughly English names. The three serving-men of Aufidius in Coriolanus are rustics of provincial England in their language and their thoughts, and their weapons of office, as in the case of Petruchio's retainers, are cudgels.

<sup>13</sup> Shakspere: his Mind and Art. A work not so much as mentioned in The Shakespeare Problem Re-stated !

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Chamberlains of Stratford in 1585-6 was Bardolph, and his name Chamberlains of the Corporation records in company with the Poet's figures of William Fluellen. When Justice Silence talks of the corporation of the Poet's and William Fluellen. fgures often in the Poet's When Justice Silence talks of 'goodman father and William Fluellen. When Justice Silence talks of 'goodman father and Rarson,' he knows the correct way to pronounce Decision of the Poet's talks of talks father and william father and william the correct way to pronounce Barcheston, a Puff of Barson, he knows the correct way to pronounce Barcheston, a Puff of Barson. The three soldiers in Henry W. T. Puff of Barson, a Profit of Barson, a The three soldiers in Henry V., John Bates, village near Stratford. Williams, all hear surrous John Bates, village near Court and Michael Williams, all bear surnames belonging Alexander Court he Poet's day, and it is not a little remarkable that to Stratford at the Poet's day, and it is not a little remarkable that to Strationa at Chronicle Historie on which this play was founded the in the original Chronicle Historie on which this play was founded the in the original value of Shakespeare's characters were soldiers are there, but without names. Jacques, too, and many three solutions of Shakespeare's characters, were common at the time other names of Shakespeare's Characters, were common at the time other names of Stratford. In 3 Henry VI. IV. ii., the action is laid in in and around by a stand in Warwickshire, and shortly after at Coventry; and the towns mentioned in these scenes in connexion with the movements of the army display a most accurate topographical knowledge. in distant Pentapolis two fishermen are introduced spouting Midland proverbs. Mr. George R. French's Shakespeariana Genealogica 14 has long been the standard authority on such topics, but the Baconian does not seem to be aware of its existence. The author sums up his views as follows:

The allusions to persons and places belonging to Warwickshire, to its fruits and plants, its birds and flowers, its proverbs and quaint phrases, all prove the strong attachment of Shakespeare to his native county. 15

Another valuable work on a similar subject, Mr. Justice Madden's Diary of Master William Silence, is passed over, all but unmentioned. by Mr. Greenwood. The only quotation from it-apparently at second hand—is unconnected with its main subject, the extraordinary frequency and absolute accuracy of use in Shakespeare of terms, metaphors, and phrases taken from the language of the chase. Many pages might be devoted to this most interesting complexion of the poet's work, more especially because so many passages are shown to he simply unintelligible without a knowledge of hunting terms as used in Shakespeare's day, and as interwoven by him in the most natural way to add strength and colouring to the ever-varying texture of his phraseology. So consistent is their employment all through, and so definite besides are the local allusions, that, as the learned judge tells us, if Shakespeare's name had been completely lost one could reconstruct from the writings themselves the man of Stratford and show him to have been their author.

An attempt has been made to show that Bacon, too, made frequent use of such language in his works; but the comparatively few instances discovered by Judge Webb, which are mostly of an everyday character,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Macmillan & Co., 1869.

Macmillan's Magazine, January 1905, contains an excellent article, 'Shake-are's Boore', he distributed a large number of speare's Boors,' by George Bartram, in which are collected a large number of Midlandiana. Midlandisms, introduced in the Plays.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chemical Polyage are entirely lacking in the elements of convincing familiarity with

Looking at the Baconian case, then, in the broadest aspect, one flimsy tags of forced interpretation, one Looking at the Bacoman case, sees that it is of mere flimsy tags of forced interpretation, nere sees that it is of obvious and simply phrased sentences, nere sees that it is of mere mindy and simply phrased sentences, of unlicensed readings of obvious and simply phrased sentences, of un. unlicensed readings of obvious the sentences, of unwarranted innuendo against Shakespeare and those who knew him warranted innuendo agames and of theories for which no evidence can be produced, that the and of theories for which according to the pious conchildish conspiracy is concocted which, according to the pious conchildish conspiracy is concerned as a superposition of the pious conchildish conspiracy is concocted which, according to the pious conchildish conspiracy is concocted which, according to the pious conchildish conspiracy is concessions, was hatched over three centuries ago, involving countless persons of every rank in its unmeaning meshes, for the purpose of shielding Lord Verulam or some other from the contamination associated with the stage, and the hurtful suggestion of being mistaken for the creator of Venus and Adonis, Hamlet, Macbeth, As You Like It, and King Lear. Through the whole of Shakespeare's career we are to believe that all the notable people, from Elizabeth and James downwards, who patronised poetry and the drama; that all the authors with whom Shakespeare worked, his rivals first, but later on his ardent worshippers; that all the actors and others connected with the playhouse whose lives were in a measure closely interwoven with his own; that the publishers who filched his name to sell their wares and the piratical printers who traded in shorthand copies of his work; that the groundlings and the well-to-do who crowded to the theatre when his plays were drawing the town; that the persons to whom his unrivalled Sonnets were addressed, the noblemen to whom his first poems were dedicated, and the 'incomparable paire' who stood sponsors after his death to his collected works, his many friends in London, his fellow-townsmen in Stratford, and, more than all, the rival companies of players whose diminished takings at their own doors cuttingly reminded them that a more attractive playwright had sprung into existence to torment them—that these, one and all, were so little interested in the astounding nature of his doings that they never asked themselves the question: Who is this William Shakespeare? They did not do so: and for the best of reasons. They knew the man, 'as he lived,' from the day he first came to the door of the playhouse until the day he went from amongst them, with the wealth his intellect had produced, back to the rustic town that was, as all knew, his birthplace. They had conversed with him as a man, and not as the shadow of some skulking and erudite scholastic; they had felt the wondrous fascination of his incomparable and untaught powers; they marked his rapid rise, they criticised his work, when there was need to criticise, with all the acidity that is born of jealousy and self-protection; but the man whose censure had perhaps touched him most atoned in generous regret for words that may have hurt, by a sentence that brims with truth and will stamp for over the will stamp for ever the genuine and childlike honesty of Ben Jonson:

'I loved the many and childlike honesty of Ben Johnson: 'I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as

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or butcher's boy.

A perchance moments—as perchance when old John Shakespeare died—he was Hamlet, mourning for the had loved; or again, maybe, when Death had when old John Shaher ragain, maybe, when Death had robbed him father he had loved; or again, maybe, when Death had robbed him father he had love his sorrow found utterance in such words as of his only boy, his sorrow found utterance in such words as Constance speaks:

Grief fills the room up of my absent child, Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me; Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words, Remembers me of all his gracious parts, Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form 16 . . .

To those who shared his brilliancy when the sack flowed, he was Falstaff, Touchstone, Jacques, or Launce, as the case might be, or his fate would have been swift and dismal. To those who shared his studies, he was the deep thinker, the world poet, the philosopher, the picker up of unconsidered trifles from the classics or elsewhere, the unerring delineator of character and master of dramatic incident, or the town would soon have rung with the silly imposture which had been foisted upon it in his name. The men who met and knew the man Shakespeare were aware, as we to-day are aware, that the creation of such works as his is far from being the monopoly of those born in the purple of aristocracy, or reared in the schools of university erudition. Of no such origin, as the world's history shows, have been the naturally gifted beings whose actions have shaped the destinies of nations or whose penmanship has lent an enduring distinction to the literature of their race.

> Plebeiæ Deciorum animæ, plebeia fuerunt Nomina.17

If there be any genuine mystery surrounding Shakespeare, it is the mere mystery of the existence, at any period or in any rank of life, of such a mortal as Shakespeare was. Would it not be well to treat that mystery as the poet himself has treated the insoluble problems of the origin of evil upon earth? He has given us Iago, unsurpassed in fiendishness; he leaves Cordelia lying strangled across the breast of Lear; but, as Dr. Dowden 18 tells us, he refuses to answer such questions as you may go on to ask, careless of the little rules that shape poetical justice. 'Shakespeare prefers to let you remain in the solemn presence of a mystery. He does not invite you into his little church or his little library brilliantly illuminated by philosophical or theological rushlights. remain in the vital air. And the great night is overhead. You remain in the darkness.

EDWARD SULLIVAN.

16 King John, III. iv.

17 Juvenal, Sat. viii.

18 Op. cit.

## NATIONAL AFFORESTATION

FOUR-AND-TWENTY years ago the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to consider the condition of British forestry, and to inquire whether, 'by the establishment of a forest school, or other. wise, our woodlands could be rendered more remunerative.' The Committee reported strongly in favour of the establishment of a Board of Forestry, and of a forest school in each of the three kingdoms, and expressed the opinion 'that some considerable proportion of the timber now imported, to the value of 16,000,000l., might, under more skilful management, be raised at home . . . This subject, they added, 'is one of great importance and well worthy of early consideration.' This Report slumbered peacefully in its pigeon-hole for fifteen years, till 1902, when the Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society succeeded in persuading the Board of Agriculture to appoint a Departmental Committee with practically the same reference as to the Select This second Committee fully endorsed the recommenda-Committee. tions of its predecessor, adding some urgent paragraphs dealing especially with the increasing scarcity and price of coniferous timber and the effect of economic forestry as a source of employment in thinlypeopled districts.

A third Committee was appointed to inquire into the prospects of afforestation in Ireland, and reported last year in favour of the State acquiring 300,000 acres of growing wood in that country, and 700,000 acres of unplanted land. All three Committees dwelt with emphasis in their Reports on the advantage to be expected from the establishment of systematic forestry by providing employment as

a check upon rural depopulation.

This appears to have been the chief consideration inducing the present Government to lend an ear to the repeated warnings about a failing timber supply. They took the somewhat unusual and puzzling course of directing the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, which issued its first Report in 1907, to suspend its inquiry upon the inroads of the sea, a purely local mischief, and to apply themselves to inquiring 'whether, in connexion with reclaimed lands or otherwise, it is desirable to make an experiment in afforestation as a means of increasing employment during periods of depression in the labour market, and

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it 50, by what authority and under what conditions such experiment should be conducted. Great are the virtues of that phrase 'or otherwise.' Fortunately Great are the Guest's colleagues have availed themselves to the full extent Mr. Guest's conteague. The Report, which is signed by all the nineteen of its elasticity. will certainly not disappoint those persons. of its elasticity. Will certainly not disappoint those persons who, for commissioners, have been disquieted by the world's register. Commissioners, that the disquieted by the world's rapidly increasmany years pass, and timber, the disappearance of accessible forests, ing consumption of timber, the disappearance of accessible forests, ing consumption in prices and the equally persistent neglect of the the persistent like present and potential—of the British Isles, both forest resources—present landowners

by the State and by private landowners. It is not surprising to find no reference in the Report to reclaimed lt is not surplied to reclaimed from the sea—such land being usually land—that is, land reclaimed for tree planting. the reverse of suitable for tree planting; but under the shield of the reverse, the Commissioners have prepared the details of a scheme of such magnitude as to raise apprehension lest it should scare away our rulers from forestry enterprise on any scale whatever. Doubtless in framing this scheme the Commissioners desired to bring forcibly to the Government and the public a knowledge of the extent of the dormant and neglected resources of the country. It would be exceedingly unfortunate if they were understood to declare that it must be the scheme, the whole scheme, and nothing but the scheme. have prepared a plan representing the utmost—the maximum—that can be profitably undertaken, but there is nothing in their Report unfavourable to State forestry being undertaken on a less ambitious scale.

The principal recommendations of the Commission may be summarised as follows: Commissioners are to be appointed charged with the duty of carrying out a national scheme of afforestation. equipped with compulsory powers for the acquisition of such land as may be required, the owners receiving the 'full value in all the circumstances of each particular case. The Treasury is to grant the Commissioners an annual free loan for the necessary period, that is, until

the plantations become self-supporting.'

The extent of mountain and heathland, and poor tillage land that is considered more fit for sylviculture than for agriculture is estimated by the Royal Commission at 6,000,000 acres in Scotland, 2,500,000 acres in England and Wales, and 500,000 in Ireland, equal to 9,000,000 acres in the United Kingdom, leaving out of account all land exclusively devoted to sport or of a greater altitude than 1500 feet. This area of 9,000,000 acres it is proposed that the State should acquire and plant at the rate of 150,000 acres per annum, the total estimated outlay involved amounting at the end of eighty years to upwards of 400,000,000l., more than half the National Debt!

The annual deficit on the transaction rises from 90,000l. in the first year to 3,131,2501. in the fortieth year. In the forty-first and up to the sixtieth year the forest becomes practically self-supporting; in the sixty-first year and

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Further calculation shows that the value of the property would then be to see that the cost of its creation.

The average annual revenue after the forest has attained maturity The average annual revenue and is in full productive rotation represents a yield of 31. 16s. 6d. on the Committee of the Comm and is in full productive to the excess of accumulated charges over receipts. The Commissioners the excess of accumulated charges over receipts. also present an alternative scheme for dealing with only 6,000,000 also present an atternative and revenue are proportionately less

In every detail of the forecast, your Commissioners have aimed at under. In every detail of the forecast, Joseph and at under estimating rather than overestimating the receipts, while the opposite course estimating rather than overestimating items of expenditure. estimating rather than overestimating items of expenditure. We have has been taken in dearing when has been taken in dearing the have endeavoured to include all contingencies that can be reasonably anticipated and the estimates have been based on the present prices of timber.

It will occur to anybody acquainted with Continental systems to ask why the Commissioners, in preparing a scheme for the affores. tation of 9,000,000 acres on a rotation of eighty years, should recom. mend that 150,000 acres, or one sixtieth of the entire area, should be dealt with annually. The orthodox and preferable course, ensuring regularity of yield and revenue, would be to deal with only 112,500 acres or one eightieth part. The reason which led to this departure from approved practice seems inadequate, namely 'that the "unemployed" problem is so insistent on receiving public attention as to justify some departure from the theoretical ideal.' The result must be a serious diminution in the revenue for twenty years after the 140th year.

It is certainly remarkable that all the nineteen gentlemen composing the Commission should have been so nearly of a mind as to sign a common Report, especially one submitting such an heroic enterprise as that which they advocate. Complete unanimity in so large a Commission is rare indeed, and requires a very strong case on the evidence to ensure it. It is true that a single note of partial dissent has been uttered by one of the Commissioners. Mr. Stanley Wilson, although signing the report, has appended a memorandum expressing his opinion that the financial estimate of his colleagues is too sanguine. He considers that they have under rated the cost involved in the utilisation for forestry of unemployed labour and the risks from fire, insect and other pests, gales, &c. On the first point it is not unlikely that he may prove to be right; I will refer to it later. As to the second, it should be remembered that there is abundant evidence, both historical and geological, to prove that 2000 years ago the greater part of these islands below the 1500 feet was dense forest from sea to sea, and that if gales and snowstorms are more destructive than they were of yore, that is not owing to any characteristics. owing to any change in the climate of the North Atlantic, but to the depudation of the f denudation of the face of the country which has been stripped of is

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British woodland, such as it is, consists chiefly natural protection. British woodland, such as it is, consists chiefly of belts and clumps, in which the trees have almost invariably suffered of belts and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, causing them to grow wide from premature and excessive thinning, c

As to the fires and insect pests, although the risk from them ought As to the More and the Continent does not prevent forestry being a very remunerative industry. Dr. Schlich laid before the Commission the balance sheet for 1904 of the State forests of Saxony, which extend to 429,300 acres. showed a gross revenue of 34s. an acre, from which 12s. an acre has to be deducted for maintenance, leaving a net profit of 22s. Dr. Schlich chose Saxony as an example because, physically and economically, it resembles the United Kingdom more closely than does any other of the German States; but he might have quoted higher profits earned in Würtemberg and some other States. The State forests of the German Empire, covering about 9,848,000 acres, yielded during the five years 1877-81 an average net income of 4,280,000l., equal to 8s. 6d. per acre. Being worked in regular rotation, and yielding to the acre each year no more than the equivalent of the national annual increment, these forests ensured to the management full advantage from the general rise in timber prices (they have advanced about 50 per cent. in the Prussian State forests since 1880), so that in the quinquennium 1892-6 the average annual net profits had risen to 5,416,600l. or 11s. an acre. But these State forests represent only 32.9 per cent. of the whole woodland area in the German Empire. Taking State and private forests together, the average net annual profit works out at only 6s. 8d. an acre. This may seem nothing very magnificent, unless it is remembered that by far the greater part of the forest area in Germany is either mountain or sandy waste, either useless for any other purpose than woodland or incapable of yielding a grazing rent of more than, at most, 1s. or 2s. per acre. The returns of the Board of Agriculture show an estimate of about 3,000,000 acres under woodland of sorts in the United Kingdom. Were it possible to compile a balance sheet of the management of this area, it would infallibly show an enormous deficit; whereas, were it under economic treatment lke the German forests, there are no physical or other causes to

Nor can we look to the existing State forests of Great Britain for better economic results than those of private woodland management. In the Annual Report of the Office of Woods and Forests for

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bigitized by Aiya Sums, the figures given under the head of 'Royal Forests, the sear 1907-8, the figures given under the head of 'Royal Forests, are as follows:—

Revenue	23,904		ö		£ s.	d.
Expenditure Net loss	1,267	14	6	••	25,171 17	6
	25,171	17	6		25,171 17	

It is to be noted that there are included in the revenue upwards of land and houses, and 7007 received It is to be noted that the land and houses, and 700l. received for New Forest. Also that Windson P. 7000l. representing rene of shooting licences in the New Forest. Also that Windsor Park and shooting licences in the account, the gross revenue that and in the account, the gross revenue that and in the account. Forest are not included in the account, the gross revenue from that Forest are not included in domain being only 6543l. earned by an expenditure of 30,563l., bringing out a deficit of over 24,000l. Of the revenue earned, 3718l. represents rent of land and houses. On the other hand, in the expenditure are included such items as 36601. for building a chaplain's house 7431. for food for deer, game and stock, and a host of other charges which have no relation to forestry.

No unfavourable reflection can be made upon the Commissioners of Woods and Forests because of this unsatisfactory result. They have administered the State forests in the past according to the instructions given them by Parliament—namely, as a mixture of picnic ground, common grazing, and landscape gardening. It is satisfactory to note a reform in management since Mr. Stafford Howard became Senior Commissioner. Not only have some of the Crown woods been put under a regular working plan, but land has been acquired in Argyllshire and in Wales for conversion into forest. The grants hitherto made to a few educational institutions were of little practical value without access to any woodland, where the lessons learnt in laboratory and lecture room could be enforced by demonstration.

There is one point in the Commissioners' scheme which it is not easy to understand. Upon what basis of growth and values have they founded their estimate of 17,411,000l. as the equalised annual revenue from 9,000,000 acres of forest? That means a net profit of nearly 2. per acre per annum over the whole area, whereas the highest return from any German State forest is 25s. 4d. in Würtemberg, and the lowest 4s. 10d. in Oldenburg. Professor Schlich, indeed, considers that, owing to the difference in climate, the production of timber in these islands will be more rapid than in Saxony,' and adds that, whereas the revenue from Saxony forests represents 21 per cent. on capital valuation, 'personally I am satisfied that we could count on 3 to 3 per cent. return.' This seems to leave out of account the adverse fact that a considerable proportion of the 9,000,000 acres to be planted lies above the 1000 lies above the 1000 feet level, where tree growth is far slower than it is below that height. In fact, those who have experience in Scottish planting will probably hesitate to admit that forestry can be under taken with the click. taken with the slightest prospect of profit at a greater elevation than 1000, or at most 1200 feet.

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Again, Continental foresters enjoy one constant source of revenue 1909 Again, Continuous and Calculate in this country—namely, firewood.

upon which we cannot calculate in this country—namely, firewood. upon which we cannot be upon the upon which we cannot be upon the upon which we cannot be upon the The Commissioners commanded by timber in this country, forgetting, it the higher prices commanded arguments in favour of or it the higher price of the chief arguments in favour of afforestation apparently, that one of timber at a reasonable figure. apparently, the price of timber at a reasonable figure. Over far the is to keep the price, wood is the universal fuel. is to keep the part of Europe, wood is the universal fuel; every stick in the greater part of Europe, but in this country ileast in the greater part of the greater part of the greater part of the forest is worked up into faggots; but in this country 'lop and top' counts forest is timber sales, and in most countries it is a sales, and it is a sales, and it is a sales, and a sales forest is worked are for nothing in timber sales, and in most counties it is burnt as waste.

perhaps the recommendation of the Commissioners that powers Pernaps and powers should be conferred upon the Forestry authority to acquire land should be compulsorily is that to which strongest objection will be taken, and it must be admitted that the natural repugnance of the citizen to expropriation is not unreasonable. But the principle has long since been admitted and constantly acted upon that private rights may be bought up compulsorily for the public good. Railway construction, school buildings, burial grounds, military camps, small holdings, all require that the individual shall give way where the interest of the Community can be shown to require it. Professor Schlich has strongly criticised this proposal in a letter to the Times (22nd of February 1909). He perceives 'every probability of private proprietors participating on a liberal scale in the work of afforestation, rather than see their land expropriated.' Speaking as a landowner I must confess myself utterly unable to share his confidence in this matter. Very few indeed are the landowners who could afford to lock up the requisite capital for the space of two or three generations, and those few who could do so lack the power of insuring continuous good management on the part of their successors. Other deterrents from private forestry enterprise are the rating of immature growing woods; death duties which may have to be paid two or three times before the crop is ripe for the axe; perhaps greatest of all, the uncertain political future before private ownership of land, which is at once the most visible and vulnerable form of property. Here is no question of eviction; the Forest Commissioners would be very different from what we have learnt to regard as the typical Civil Servants if they were to exercise their powers in an arbitrary, inconsiderate or tyrannical manner. Without those powers, they would be unable to carry out any scheme, on whatever scale, of national afforestation; but it is improbable that they would often have to use them.

The Commission considered carefully a co-operative scheme, recommended by Lord Lovat, whereby the State and the private owner should become co-partners, the former providing the capital, the latter the land, profits to be shared pro rata of the value of their respective contributions. The proposal is not free from the objections to all forms of dual ownership, which has landed us in a pretty mess in Ireland, and the inequality of the partnership in this case would be enhanced

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by the exemption of one partner from death duties to which the other by the exemption of one parents. For it must be borne in mind would be liable at recurrent intervals. For it must be borne in mind would be liable at recurrent intervals. would be liable at recurrent method that in matters of forestry everything must be undertaken with a view

one may feel unable to share to the full with the Commissioners of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of the financial result of forestry as an interest of the financial result of th One may feel unable to be the financial result of forestry as an invest-their sanguine estimate of the financial result of sanguine estimates of the financial result of sanguine es ment, and hesitate before embarking upon such a vast scheme as they have the case the case they have the case the case they have the case the case they have the case they have the case they have the case ment, and hesitate below convinced by the case they have made recommend, and yet feel fully convinced by the case they have made out for afforestation of areas sufficiently large and continuous to out for afforestation of areas low as possible and to ensure the

The case rests upon two main considerations. (1) The rapidly The case resus apoli increasing consumption of timber coupled with the disappearance of accessible forest; (2) the value of afforestation as a source of employ. ment, and a check upon rural depopulation.

(1) Much stress was laid by the Committees of 1885 and 1902 upon the prospect of a dearth of timber and its consequent effect upon the trade and manufactures of the United Kingdom. The Committee of 1902 were of opinion that 'the world is rapidly approaching a shortage, if not an actual dearth, in its supply of coniferous timber, which constitutes between 80 and 90 per cent. of the total British timber imports. This warning is repeated in the Report of the Royal Commission.

The very serious shortage of the world's timber supply, to which we must apparently look forward, would appear to place the United Kingdom, which has benefited so richly from the exploitation of natural forests, under some obligation to replenish the stock by methodical afforestation if posterity is not to be gravely hampered by the shortage of a raw material necessary to its industries.

There is, indeed, not a single important industry in this country that does not depend upon an abundant and reasonably cheap supply of timber. So long as foreign forests could meet these requirements, it was a matter of no moment to the British manufacturer or mine owner that he was consuming imported material which, under proper management, might be produced at home; but the rapid industrial expansion of certain countries, notably the United States and the German Empire, has not only cut off the supplies formerly derived from their forests, but has brought them into the timber market as purchasers in competition with ourselves. Twenty years ago the United States could send us as much timber as we cared to take from them; but in 1892 the American Secretary of Agriculture warned the Government in his Annual Report that 'the white pine forests which, a few years ago seemed so great that to attempt an accurate estimate of them was deemed too difficult an undertaking, have since then become reduced to such small proportions that the end of the whole supply, both in Canada and the both in Canada and the United States, is now plainly in view. end, in the United States at least, came even more swiftly than the Minister foresaw and f Minister foresaw, and for the last ten years they have been importing timber from Canada and the last ten years they have been importing Both timber from Canada of the average annual value of 2,600,000l. Both

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porting Both the American and the Canadian Governments have now taken alarm—the American adopted regulations against reckless lumbering, the the first having under consideration measures for checking the inordinate second having under forests by American pulp mills.

Similarly the German Empire, formerly one of our sure sources of supply, cannot now meet its own requirements from the native forests, although these are more successfully managed than any in the world although these are for the estimated value of 22,000,000l. per annum. I and produce timber of the estimated value of 22,000,000l. per annum. I are present Sweden and Western France are the chief European

At present sweden supply of coniferous timber, the French imports consources of our supply of pit wood from the Landes, formerly a sisting almost exclusively of pit wood from the Landes, formerly a malarial desert of 1,500,000 acres, now, thanks to the timely foresight of the French Government, a thriving pine forest, yielding an annual revenue of 600,000l. to 800,000l. a year. This supply is not likely to fail, but the prospect in Sweden is affected by what took place when the British duties on imported timber were reduced in 1842 to 30s. a load for sawn wood, and 24s. for hewn, further reduced in 1851 to 10s. and 7s. 6d. a load respectively, and abolished altogether in 1866.

This gave so great a stimulus to the Swedish lumber and sawmilling industries as to cause reckless felling and destruction of the most accessible forests, the effect whereof is now being felt, and will probably reduce the output for twenty years to come.

The extent to which the United Kingdom has come to rely upon foreign imports of timber, and the progressive rate of our consumption during a period of twenty years, may be seen in the following tables compiled from the Statistical Abstract:—

## A.—QUANTITIES OF WOOD AND TIMBER IMPORTED. (A load of Timber—40 to 50 cubic feet—1 ton.)

				and the	
Wood and Timber	1886	1905	Increase	Decrease	Percentage
Hewn:-	Loads	T ?-	T	7 2-	
Fir .	1,388,278	Loads	Loads	Loads	86.9
Oak		2,596,078	1,207,800		
Teak	95,178	145,663	50,485		53.0
	40,895	60,976	20,081		49.1
Unenumerated	58,411	53,834		4.577	7.8
SAWN OR SPLIT :-		,,,,,,			
Fir .					
Unenumerated	3,554,769	5,797,922	2,243,153		63.1
STAVES .	231,017	188,604		42,413	18.3
Wood P	130,717	119,182		11,535	8.8
Wood Pulp	117,683	578,012	460 240		391.2
FURNITURE VI	111,000	578,012	460,349		331 4
FURNITURE WOODS:	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons	
	48,732	95,548	46,816		96.0
Unenumerated	50,717		THE RESERVE OF THE PERSON NAMED IN		391.2
	50,111	197,111	146,394		991.7

Dye-woods, tanning materials, wood-pulp boards and some other forest products are not included in this return.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Nisbet states that the imports of timber into the German Empire average 4,500,000 tons annually, valued at nearly 15,000,000*l*. (*The Forester*, vol. i. p. 84, 1905).

B.—Declared Value of Wood and Timber Import

Wood and Timber	1886	1905	Increase in 20 years	-
HEWN:— Fir	$\pounds$ 2,191,254 540,242 498,257 192,483	£ 3,495,523 875,875 876 654 225,753	£ 1,304,269 335,633 378,397 33,270	Increase per cent.  59.5 62.1 75.9
SAWN OR SPLIT:— Fir Unenumerated . STAVES WOOD PULP	7,813,046 392,446 532,117 724,955	14,469,574 785,756 553,092 2,759,627	6,656,528 393,310 20,975 2,034,672	85·1 100·2 3·9 280·6
FURNITURE WOODS:— Mahogany Unenumerated .	402,935 407,562	820,995 1,170,785	418,060 763,236	103·7 187·2
Total	13,695,297	26,033,647	12,338,350	90.0

In three classes only has there been a decrease in the quantity imported, namely, unenumerated hewn wood, 7.8 per cent., unenumerated sawn wood, 18:3 per cent., and staves 8:8 per cent., but even in these the rise of value has been enough to cause an increase in the amount paid for the diminished quantity of 17.2, 100.2, and 39 per cent. respectively. The returns for 1907, a year of great industrial activity, will doubtless show a considerable advance, both in quantity and value, of timber imports. The coal trade was booming in that year, and the amount of hewn fir swallowed up annually by coal mines as prop-wood is enormous. It vexes one to perceive that the British Government and landowners have not only sacrificed by want of foresight the profit which they might have secured as producers, but have to pay far more dearly as consumers in competition with other industrial communities. The two classes of timber which bulk most largely in our imports-hewn and sawn fir-are just those which all experts agree in declaring could be most readily grown in the United Kingdom:-

Your Commissioners (runs the Report) find that the comparative neglect and failure of sylviculture in the United Kingdom is not in any sense to be attributed to natural or inherent disadvantages of soil or climate, but that on the contrary the conditions which prevail in these islands are favourable to the production of high-class timber if scientific methods of afforestation be pursued. . . . Even at present prices, sylviculture should prove a safe and remunerative investment; but when the highly probable advance in the value of timber is considered, it does not seem unduly optimistic to expect that enhanced profits will accrue.

The possibility of growing timber for profit in this country is regarded by many persons with scepticism, even by those who do not contest the universal opinion of Continental experts that our climate and great

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egarded contest ad great portions of our soil are admirably adapted for tree growth.2 They point portions of our son as where landowners have fine timber to dispose to the numerous cases where for it, and they overlook of and cannot get a decent price for it, and they overlook or disregard of and cannot get a decoration and the obvious reasons for this, namely irregularity of quantity and the obvious reasons the supply and the want of business connection. the obvious reasons and the want of business connection between pro-quality in the supply and the want of business connection between proquality in the super. The landowner who wants to dispose one year ducer and constant tons of mixed hard and soft wood, and another year of several thousand tons of mixed hard and soft wood, and another year of several incomes, may have nothing to offer for sale in the third year, of fifty large oaks, may have nothing to offer for sale in the third year, of fifty large out., and in the fourth year comes into market with twenty acres of mature and in the locky indeed if he can command a good market which larch, will be lucky indeed if he can command a good market which larch, will be market which he has been at no pains to deserve. No farm, no factory, no productive he has been as in productive industry of any kind, could be run at a profit with such an utter absence of system as prevails in most private woodlands. knowing exactly what he wants, goes where experience tells him he is sure to get it, both as regards quantity and uniform quality. As these requisites can only be ensured in the produce either of virgin forest or in forest managed on a regular working plan of rotation, he naturally looks to foreign sources of supply.

Undoubtedly, although the British Isles are capable of producing timber of as high a quality as any other part of the world, that which comes into the market is far inferior to that which is grown in foreign countries. Ten years ago, or thereby (I forget the exact date), I was allowed to deal with this matter in the pages of this Review, and to refer to the mischievous tradition which encouraged the growth of branches instead of bole, producing coarse, knotted wood instead of clean long planks. Good timber can only be grown in close canopy, which kills off side branches, checks undue width of annual growth-rings, and by keeping down ground herbage, encourages the accumulation of forest soil. But close canopy is not ideal game cover, for which dense undergrowth can only be secured by thinning out the trees to an extent which ruins them as a crop. This was all very well in the days when it took 2200 mature oaks, the more crooked the better, to build a single one of Nelson's 'seventy-fours,' but it is a sad waste of fine material now that our battleships are all built of iron. Modern cover-shooting is such a thoroughly artificial affair, depending not upon the natural stock of game, but upon thousands of hand-reared pheasants, that it requires no superhuman craft to adapt it to the conditions of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Even Mr. H. J. Elwes, who has pronounced profitable forestry to be out of the question in the United Kingdom ('gambling in futures' is the term he applies to it) bears testimony to its capabilities for producing fine timber. In the introduction to the splendid work upon British trees which he is in course of producing in collaboration with Dr. Henry, the authors state that 'after having seen the trees of every country in Europe, of nearly all the States of North America, of Canada, Japan, tains a greater number of fine trees from the temperate regions of the world than any other country.'

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well-grown forest. Indeed it was from Germany, the home of well-grown forest. Indeed to scientific forestry, that the late Prince Consort imported the system of the system and the system of the system scientific forestry, that the late. Given a few advantageons of battue, now all prevalent in this country. Given a few advantageons of battue, hirds over the guns in artistic style, and it is of battue, now all prevalent in the guns in artistic style, and it is only a constant of the game to those points. At Holy a 'ends' to put the birds over the game to those points. At Holkham, question of skill how to bring the game to those points. At Holkham, question of skill how to bring the grant of the skill how to bring the skill have the s that Mecca of low-ground sport, place—the hill called Scarborough—for successive rises throughout place—the hill called Scarborough—for successive rises through miles of successive rises through place—the hill called Scarborough—for successive rises through miles of successive rises through place—the hill called Scarborough—for successive rises through miles of successive rises and the successive rises are successive ris place—the hill canculated bears and through miles of surrounding the day, the pheasants being manœuvred through miles of surrounding

Fortunately, the modern fashion of cover-shooting tends to dis-Fortunately, the models to discourage ground game, except in enclosed warren. 'Ground game,' beg been the cause of immore all game,' say the Commissioners, 'has been the cause of immense destruction say the Commissioners, and thus it has, in a measure, directly brought about that condition of understocking which is so inimical to the growth of good timber and to the successful results of forestry. Nor is it possible, in the presence of even a moderate head of ground game, to secure natural regeneration of woodlands, the young seedling trees being nibbled over almost as soon as they appear above

ground.'

This is far from stating the whole mischief caused by rabbits. The presence of these insatiable rodents entails a serious increase in the initial outlay of planting owing to the necessity for wire netting, To enclose a square block of sixty-four acres takes 2240 yards of 14-inch mesh, 42 inches wide, with 6 inches turned under the sod and larch posts to carry it. If this can be done for 6d.a running yard (it certainly cannot be done for less), the cost of the whole fence will be 56l., and this figure will be indefinitely increased where the enclosure is of irregular shape. as must often be the case. For instance, if the rectangle is twice as long as it is broad, it will require 2805 yards of netting, costing 701. 2s. 6d. Moreover, the smaller the area the greater the proportionate cost of enclosing it. A square of a single acre in extent takes 280 yards of netting = 7l.; four acres in a square take 560 yards = 14l. or 70s. an acre; 1024 acres in a square take 8960 yards = 224l., or 4s. 41d. an acre, and so on. Assuredly rabbits, even in moderate numbers, are the chief hindrance to forestry in this country, and, where they abound, they are absolutely prohibitive of profitable tree growth.

Complaints are often heard about the effect of railway rates upon the traffic in home-grown timber, and railway companies are hitterly blamed for making preferential charges in favour of foreign timber. Such difference must always exist between regular and spasmodic traffic. The imports of foreign timber being regular in amount, in the ports of consignment and in their destination, the railway companies know posts panies know pretty accurately how much rolling stock will be required for the traffic and They are able, therefore, to for the traffic and at what periods. undertake the transport at rates far lower than they could accept for casual loads from casual loads from wayside stations, where, perhaps, there is no crand

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of other appliance for dealing with weighty timber. This difficulty or other appliance be british forests yielding a regular annual fall of would disappear were British forests yielding a regular annual fall of Another circumstance affecting the comit fixed amount. Another circumstance affecting the carriage rates of fixed amount. And a consideration, namely, that British timber, timber usually escapes consideration, namely, that British timber, timber usuany count, is far more troublesome to handle than foreign being in the round, is consigned either squared or in plant. being in the formula the confident common planks or balks. (2) Having before us the confident assurance of three Forestry

(2) Having to the afforestation of large restation Committees and the committees are no physical or climatic impediments to the afforestation of large areas within these dimatic impediate the financial prospect of such an undertaking is so islands, and that the financial prospect of such an undertaking is so islands, and the state in proceeding with it, there remains for favourable as to justify the State in proceeding with it, there remains for favourable as to social effect of the enterprise and the extent to which it may be expected to provide employment, permanent or temporary.

According to Continental experience, it appears that in established forest under rotation of eighty years, where the whole of the felling is performed by the regular forest staff, one man is employed throughout the year for every seventy-five acres. Add to this the subsidiary industries created by mature forest—carting, sawmilling, and the like—estimated by Professor Schlich as requiring the labour of three or four times the number of the forest staff, and there is employment in the proportion of one man to every eighteen acres of forest. It was estimated in 1906 that about 8,000,000l. was paid annually in salaries and wages for the administration, formation and preservation of German forests, representing the maintenance of about 200,000 families or about 1,000,000 souls, and that in working up the raw material yielded by the forests, wages were earned annually to the amount of 30,000,000l., maintaining about 600,000 families or three million souls.

The United Kingdom imports from Germany wood-pulp paper material and paper manufactured from wood to the value of between 8,000,000l. and 10,000,000l. per annum. All this might, under proper system, be produced in the British Isles. There are, or were not long ago, two or three pulping mills or cellulose factories in this country, but they have to import the soft wood required in that industry, for the simple reason that there are no woodlands in Britain managed on such a system as to ensure the miller a regular supply of raw material. Dr. Nisbet, writing in 1903, has described the genesis and growth of this great industry on the Continent :-

The first wood-pulp factory was started in Saxony about 1854, and the first cellulose factory about 1874. There are now in Germany alone, to say nothing of Austria, Sweden, and Norway, over 600 pulp-mills, using nearly 36.000,000 36,000,000 cubic feet of wood per annum, and seventy-one cellulose factories, consuming about 30,000,000 cubic feet. And these are comparatively new industries industries, capable of enormous expansion, and likely in time to raise the price of the soften of the softer woods suited for the trade—willow, poplar, birch, lime, and the

<sup>3</sup> The Forester, vol. i. p. 84.

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After all, considering that both the present generation and the next about to be as After all, considering that been much of the forest about to be created must have passed away before much of the forest about to be created the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern to us is what important the matter of most concern the matter of most concer must have passed away before most concern to us is what immediate is productive,4 the matter of most concern to us is what immediate is productive, the matter of matter of matter of the productive, the matter of matter of the demand for labour may be anticipated from afforestation. Upon that demand for labour may be anticipated from afforestation. Upon that demand for labour may be under the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the Commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commissioners were guided by professional and other evidence point the commission of planting requires on an area. point the Commissioners were guite of planting requires on an average the before them that the operation of planting requires on an average the before them that the operation of the permanent employment in an average the labour of twelve men upon every hundred acres during the planting months, and the permanent employment in the permanent employment. labour of twelve men upon season of five or six months, and the permanent employment of one season of five or six months, Suppose, therefore, that the Decrees of the planting the planting season of five or six months, and the permanent employment of one man to every hundred acres. Suppose, therefore, that the Department of one of Woods and Forests were to undertake the planting of their newly. of Woods and roles with acquired estate of Inverliever at the rate of only 1000 acres per annum acquired estate of Inverliever at the local population? High what would be the effect upon the local population? Hitherto it may be assumed that these 12,500 acres afforded employment for, say, seven or eight shepherds and three gamekeepers, ten or eleven men in all Henceforward the temporary labour of 120 men would be required during six months, from October to March, and the permanent services of ten men throughout the year upon every 1000 acres planted, At the end of thirteen years, after the whole area had been planted, 130 woodmen would be permanently employed instead of the ten or eleven who were formerly occupied in tending sheep and game. In short, the class of land which is to be dealt with would support, if under forest, ten or twelve times the population which derives a living from it in its present condition.

So much for the effect of forestry as a source of permanent or periodical employment; but the question presents itself at onceto what can the extra or temporary hands turn when their six months employment ceases in spring, and what amount of training do they require for the work allotted to them in the forest? The answer is found in the natural and intimate association which has been formed in several countries between forestry and small holdings. In Lord Lovat's Inverness-shire woods, for instance, extending to about 10,000 acres, much of the work is done by crofters paying 4l. or 5l. of annual rent. It is notorious that life can only be sustained on the average Highland croft at a level of bare subsistence, unless the crofter can supple ment his means by fishing, acting as gillie to sportsmen, or by labour on a neighbour's larger farm. Given these aids, the croft is an inestimable boon, the locus of a comfortable and happy home; without them, it is impossible to wring a decent living out of a few acres of arable ground and common grazing, as has been abundantly proved in the present year by the extent to which the general crofter population

The most rapid return from plantation known to the writer is that from eight es at Taymount, which were at the state of th acres at Taymount, which was planted, far too thinly, with Douglas fir in 1860. In 1900 the owner received an offer of 1600% for the trees, 1796 in number, equal to 200% an acre. 2001. an acre.

<sup>5</sup> The Corporation of Manchester plant annually 100 to 120 acres at Thirlmers, ploying twenty men; the Corporation of Manchester plant annually 100 to 120 acres at Thirlmers, employing twenty men; the Corporation of Leeds accomplish 100 to 150 acres with staff of twelve to fifteen men

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Thirlmere, cres with s of the Highlands and the peasantry of Ireland have claimed and received old age pensions. For an example of the stimulus given to small holdings by forest

For all to small employment, we may turn once more to Germany :-It is almost a universal rule in Germany (said Professor Schlich in his evi-It is almost a the are no permanent forest workmen, only the protective staff dence) that there are no the forest. The work in the dence) that there are of the forest. The work . . . in the greater part of to look after and take care of the forest. The work . . . in the greater part of to look after and take one in winter, and by the same men as cultivate the land—the country is done in where, some have one acre, some five, some with the land—the land in large, some have one acre, some five, some with the land—the land in large, some have one acre, some five, some with the land—the land in large, some large la the country is tone have one acre, some five, some up to ten, which they small holders; some have winter comes round and those in summer, and when winter comes round and those in summer. small holders, some, and when winter comes round and there is nothing to cultivate in summer, and when winter comes round and there is nothing to do in the fields they work in the forest.

Similar evidence came from other witnesses. Mr. Frith said that on the forestry demonstration area recently acquired by the State in On the land of the men employed were small holders.

All this is very encouraging in connexion with the problem of small holdings; indeed the key to their success seems to consist in the provision of suitable winter employment for the holder; but it scarcely touches the existing difficulty of the unemployed. Even were the Government able and willing to start afforestation on a large scale immediately, it would be impossible to find work for more than a very small percentage of those whose necessity weighs so heavily upon the community in times of depressed trade. In the first place there is no means of lodging thousands of men in the regions which it is proposed to plant; in the second place it would be unreasonable to expect anything but disappointment from setting city hands, untrained and uninured to exposure, to an unfamiliar kind of work in the bleakest parts of the country at the most inclement season of the year. hardy agricultural labourers, accustomed to spade and other outdoor work, require two or three weeks' instruction and close supervision before they can be trusted in the delicate though simple operation of planting, upon the right execution of which the whole future of the forest depends.

Moreover, supposing it were possible to utilise the out-of-works in times of slack trade, how would their places be filled when industrial revival recalled them to their city homes? If the State forest is to justify itself, it must be run on business lines, and cannot be subjected to the irregularity inseparable from casual labour. Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., struck the true note when he advocated extension of State forests 'not only to meet periods of temporary distress due to unemployment, but work which would permanently enlarge the area of employment.' The special value of forestry on a large and systematic scale is that it calls for most labour in winter, when field labour is at its lowest and work is normally scarce, quite independently of the general condition of trade. This applies with special force to Ireland, the evidence of Mr. Doran, Chief Land Inspector

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of the Congested Districts Board, being very convincing on this point. of the Congested Districts Dource,
He stated that out of some 220,000 agricultural labourers in Ireland,

The stated that out of some 220,000 agricultural labourers in Ireland,

The stated that out of some 220,000 agricultural labourers in Ireland, He stated that out of some 220, at least 24,000 migrate every year to England to seek employment at least 24,000 migrate small agricultural holdings which control is the stated that out of some 220, and a stated that out of so at least 24,000 migrate every year.

Most of these labourers have small agricultural holdings which occupy the garring and summer—the very class adapted to Most of these labourers have since the very class adapted for work them during the spring and summer—the very class adapted for work them during the spring and summer the during the spring and summer them during the spring and summer the spring and summer them during the spring and summer them during the spring and summer them during the spring and summer the spring and summer them during the spring and summer the spring and summer them during the spring and summer the spring and summer them during the spring and summer have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a comparatively have been compelled to devise relief works of 'a compelled to devise rel have been compened to describe the State had possessed forest land in that useless character, whereas if the State had possessed forest land in that useless character, whereas it can most other countries for the country, which is better adapted than most other countries for the production of timber, this chronically surplus labour might have been put to good account by enriching the land for generations to come.

Unfortunately a most ill-advised and disastrous experiment in Untortunately a most forestry was begun by the Congested Districts Board in 1891. An area of 960 acres in Connemara on the barren windswept seaboard of the Atlantic having been handed over to the Board by the Irish Land Commission, planting operations were vigorously started. Any experienced forester could have foretold the result. In 1895, out of two million coniferous trees and half a million hard woods planted nearly all were dead or dying except the worthless Austrian and mountain pines. In 1898, after 10,500l. had been spent on the forest of Knockboy, operations were suspended, and sceptics in British

forestry were strengthened in their incredulity.

It is difficult to believe that the Report of the Royal Commission, endorsing, as it does fully, the conclusions reached by every preceding inquiry, can fail of effect in moving the Government to this great undertaking, even if something short of the full scheme put forward be the measure of their confidence. The two main inducements to action are to be found in the actual contraction in the available foreign supply, threatening the prosperity of our principal industries, nay, the very existence of some of them, and the expediency of providing rural employment of the most desirable kind as a counter-agency to the townward movement of the population. If any further justification for the enterprise be required, it may be found in the argument of the Commissioners that 'Money expended in afforestation differs in kind from other calls on the national purse. It is a productive investment of capital. . . No stronger justification for proceeding by loan than a reproductive outlay exists.'

HERBERT MAXWELL.

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## SOME PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE

All in a moment overwhelmed and fallen.—MILTON.

A rew observations made on the spot concerning the effect produced on human beings by the recent disastrous disturbances of earth and sea may not be without interest from a psychological standpoint at

the present time.

If it be true that wine reveals truth, no less does terror draw aside the veil of human conventionalism to show the true character of The greater the terror the more evident men and women beneath. are the signs betraying individual characteristics; because insincerity (which is also a distorted form of self-protection) being laid aside, the real human being stands out as Nature made him. At least, so it appeared to me during the days which succeeded the catastrophe which razed Messina and Reggio to the ground and destroyed the many other towns and villages of Sicily and Calabria.

The events of the fateful 28th of December in the small and wellknown hill-town of Sicily, where I was at the time, may be briefly

At 5.20, when the morning was yet dark except for the brilliancy of many stars in a cloudless sky, and when the inhabitants were sleeping after the Christmas merrymaking, a violent upheaval of the earth, accompanied by a dull rumbling, awoke me. That was followed immediately by a convulsive shaking, which made me realise what a rat must feel when in the mouth of a terrier. I wondered how long that shaking would last. The first thought of those who live in 'earthquake countries' is as to the duration and force of a shock, and whether it be wiser to take refuge in the open air. It seemed as if that trembling would never end. It lasted half a minute, though the instruments in the Messina Observatory, which were not destroyed, recorded thirty-five seconds as the duration of the greatest shock. Elsewhere in Sicily it was less. Then the roar of many waters was heard. It was the advance and receding of the seismic waves which added devastation to that of the earthquake.

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Shouts, wailings, imprecations, desperate cries of terror and of Shouts, wailings, imprecation, appeal to the saints, accompanied by the barking of dogs, came appeal to the saints, accompanied from all quarters of the town appeal to the saints, accompanies of the town, the from below and resounded from all quarters of the town. The from below and resounced indescribable uproar. The still night suddenly became one of indescribable uproar. As if by still night suddenly became one magic windows were illuminated as the electric lights were turned sleepers. The clamour continued as on by the awakened sleepers. The clamour continued as shock on by the awakened specificated themselves from the houses

A cry of 'San Pancrazio' was raised; and a crowd of awestricken A cry of San Lancrame people hurried, lanterns in hand, to the church of their patron saint

There, filling the church to overflowing, they prostrated them. There, mining the character them. selves before the image whose help they had come to invoke. Humility and penitence, tearful supplication and agonised fear, were marked on anxious faces dimly illuminated by the few hastily lighted candles on the altar. Outside in the arched court the people also knelt, calling aloud for protection, muttering audible prayers accompanied by sobs.

The east reddened with the dawn. The earth shook at intervals, Later, more of the population, headed by the town band, hurried to the church. By common consent it was agreed that the saint should be taken to the town to assure greater protection by his presence, It was then daylight.

Amid the clanging of bells, shouts of the people, and solemn music, the large figure of San Pancrazio was carried shoulder high by many willing bearers from the sanctuary into the ante-court, and thence up the steep path to the arched gateway of the town.

The populace filled the streets; the slight balconies were perilously packed; the band played lustily; and the huge procession, gathering in numbers as it went, passed from one end of the town to the other. It was a moment of exhilaration which lasted but a short time.

In the small space between two castellated gateways, the image was lifted from the shoulders of its supporters and placed on the ground. The many who helped to carry the heavy shrine wiped their foreheads hot with exertion.

The little piazza was crowded. Locomotion was difficult. All elbowed their way towards the saint, who, seated on his gilded throne and clad in gorgeous vestments with a jewelled mitre on his head and a crozier in his left hand, while the right was raised in the act of blessing, received homage from the faithful.

Now that the music and the shouts of enthusiasm had ceased, the faces of the crowd became again sad and full of concern. A silence fell upon the multitude. The danger had been so recent and alarming that terror resumed easy sway. Priests in biretta and camicia: aged women in the danger had been so too and camicia aged women in the danger had been so too and alarming that terror resumed easy sway. camicia; aged women with faces scored with lines; old men supported on stiels. ported on sticks; women and girls in bright-coloured dresses and April
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an earth-shock, to be the calamity appeared to draw people together. It was a brother—the calamity appeared to draw people together. Solitude unbearable. hood of grief. Companionship was essential. Solitude unbearable. They communicated their woe by expressive gestures, as is their wont, they communicated their woe by expressive gestures, as is their wont, mot by words. Words were inadequate to convey the depth of their not by words. That silence of a garrulous and laughter-loving people despair. That silence of a garrulous and laughter-loving people measured the 'deep mysterious fear' which pervaded all minds. The strident voices of the women were hushed. Ragged urchins were mute, and wandered aimlessly about, their tricks and their games forgotten. Even the whining beggars omitted to ask for alms—the money collected that day was to propitiate the saint and not for them. An undefined yet overpowering sense of the dreadful was abroad; it deepened as the hours passed. Had they known the fate which had befallen Messina and Calabria, with the loss of kinsfolk and friends, cries and lamentation would have broken that silence. But the direful knowledge was yet to come.

Then the procession was re-formed. As the saint was raised once more on the shoulders of his half-hundred bearers and wended his way to his temporary abode in the mother church, patereroes roared, bells clanged, men cheered, and the throng pushed forward eagerly to serve as escort and guard of honour. The saint entered the big church through the west door. The building, in spite of danger from the continuous shocks of earthquake, was crowded from end to end. The congregation rose as the procession went in. The sacred burden was deposited before the high altar ablaze with the light of many tapers. The organ took up the music as the band ceased; the religious function began

What has been related was the visible result of the earthquake in men's minds. But it seemed to me there was more of interest beneath the surface. It is certain that all who had had a share in the alarm of the morning had undergone a change wrought by a shock so sudden and severe. How had it affected them? That was my thought when I looked at the upturned faces of the congregation as they listened rapturously to the discourse of the gentle and intellectual young priest who addressed the multitude from the pulpit.

How had it affected him? I can imagine that pity was the fore-most feeling in his mind—pity for the sorely-distressed and panic-

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stricken souls about him, with gratitude for a merciful escape from the

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But that was a theme scarcely touched upon as he spoke. True training, he sought rather to impress up. But that was a tneme south of the sought rather to impress upon the to his calling and training, he sought rather to impress upon the to his calling and training, in people the teaching of the Church and a proper observance of its It was an address to the poor and lowly. Pointing to the precepts. It was an audicus sacred figure of the saint before the altar, he told them in eloquent sacred figure of the saint before the altar, he told them in eloquent words that the disaster was a direct visitation of Heaven for their and doubt of it. The following desired There could be no doubt of it. The following day was marked in the calendar as the name-day, or festa, of the saint. No preparation had been made to honour him. Though the town was rich and prosperous they had neglected him for some years. The preacher blamed them for their laxity. He called upon them to cease from their neglect; from swearing; from lying; from thieving; in order to merit his protection. He ended by proclaiming a solem feast-day to be held later in less troublous times as a sure means of securing the saint's favours and propitiating his wrath.

It was a moment well chosen for such a theme. That it was not distasteful was evidenced by the eagerness with which the very poor, also, put their pence into the collecting bags assiduously circulated throughout the church for the cost of the coming festa.

His words produced the effect intended by the preacher. Assured of the protection of the saint, the haggard look of apprehension, that startled look in the eyes, which I had noticed earlier in the day, softened. Courage returned as loud evvivas for the saint echoed through the building at the preacher's call.

In times of disaster the Southern Italians, who may have been led astray from, or are indifferent in regard to, religious observances, become very devout. When the cholera epidemic ravaged Sicily; when Vesuvius was in eruption more recently; and now in this much graver calamity, the churches were, as they are now, crowded with worshippers, returned once more to the fold in ecstasies of devotion and contrition.

Later, when the church had emptied of all but a very few, I noticed that one very old woman remained at the side of the enthroned saint I watched her. She could have had nothing to lose by the earthquake, because she probably possessed nothing but the few rags which covered her and the stick on which she leant so heavily. But her tears and her sobs, and the ardent kisses impressed on the gilded slipper of the saint might have indicated dread for the loss of countless treasures. Was she fearful that her beloved paese might be destroyed! that the few suffering years which remained might be denied her! Or was it the fear of the unknown and the terrible which assailed her! I imagine it was the last. But whatever it was, she alone of the many worshippers of the worshippers of the morning remained in supplication at the feet of him who from her all lives him who from her childhood she had learnt to believe was her inter-

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Another attracted my attention, and she also a woman. Another attracted as a seat. Her eyes, staring and expressionnotionless and speechless on a seat. Her eyes, staring and expressionpotionless and special eyes of a corpse, were fixed on the face of the less like the unclosed eyes of a removed any visible sense of the

less like the unclosed had removed any visible sense of alarm and spint. all signs of life.

almost all signs of life.

Fear, in fact, reigned supreme on all sides, and increased as the Fear, in last, the disaster became known. It manifested itself in greatness of the disaster became known. It manifested itself in greatness of the individual. It generally took some different ways according to the individual. It generally took some One man was moved to tears at the sight of the form of Egonal. The signs of the universal destruction at Messina. Yet his chief lamentation was universal debut God had deprived the land of that peace and wella complaint the himself had so greatly delighted. Another, and he being in which he himself had so greatly delighted. Another, and he a public functionary, refused to attend to his duties because some remote property of his had been slightly injured. So complete was the demoralisation no work was done for a week after the earthquake, although no damage had been caused in the town itself. The great violence of the shock of earthquake alone had produced the panic.

Groups of idlers, talking in subdued tones, paraded the streets. They had been there all day. They would be there all night. Few would risk sleeping under a roof. Tales of warning and premonition of the disaster were many. Predictions of wise women were recalled. Dreams were related below the breath. 'The death-fires had danced at night'-the ignis fatuus had been seen the evening before. It had floated over the sea, where it hovered in a long serpent-like form of glowing vapour, weird and unearthly. It had risen to the hills until near the little cemetery of the town where, lingering a short time, it disappeared, to be seen no more.1

Towards evening vague rumours concerning the fate of Messina were in circulation. Nobody could tell from what source they came. The idea that the city of a hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants had been destroyed was scouted. Men smiled and would not believe it. It was the usual exaggeration of the vivid Southern imagination.

At nightfall, however, a man, dazed, terror-stricken and nearly naked, came. He had run along the railway line, a distance of twenty miles or more. He had fainted on the way for want of food. He was followed by two others shortly. They confirmed what the first-comer had related: that Messina had been entirely wiped out in half a minute's time; that the population was buried beneath the fallen

Until then men and women had thought but of their own troubles: the panic of the early morning and the great danger they had run. Now the conversation in the streets turned to the graver topic, and

This curious phenomenon, of electric origin, was seen by a friend, who related the occurrence to me.

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stupefied wonder took the place of fear. From that time Death at the been the dread master of eastern Sicily. stupefied wonder took the place stupefied wonder took the place eloquent has been the dread master of eastern Sicily. Measing eloquent, has been the dread master of eastern Sicily. Measing eloquent, has been the dread master of eastern Sicily. Measing eloquent' has been the discharge of woe unpreced in doubt and perplexity. Then all lands as a faithful message of woe unpreced non è più.' It was nist which it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was borne to all lands as a faithful message of woe unprecedented it was a faithful message of work and the same of the precedent it was a faithful message of work and the same of the sa it was borne to all lanus as a summer than the Beautiful, exists no longer of the Messina non è più. Messina, 'the Beautiful,' exists no longer of the hideousness of what is the hideousness of which 'Messina non è piu. Hessina, No words can paint in true colours the hideousness of what she is No words can paint in the state of the state of which she and her people to-day, of the first hours of trial through which she and her people re just passed.

The poet <sup>2</sup> must have pictured some such scene when he wrote:

An universal horror Struck through my eyes, and chilled my very heart: The cheerful day was everywhere shut out With care, and left a more than midnight darkness Such as might e'en be felt.

But not even the mightier pen of a Euripides could describe adequately the hideous and far-reaching torment of those who have suffered by those awful throes of Nature.

It is well to pass over, without further comment, the episodes of heartrending mental anguish and bodily injury; the sufferings from thirst and hunger; the isolation and abandonment of the first days; the terror of continued shocks; the raging fires; the nakedness; the hopeless searchings for missing relatives; the shrieks and lingering tortures of the thousands beneath the fallen masonry to whom help never came, which other pens have described.

'Messina non è più.' The long line of stately palaces which looked upon the harbour and the lilac mountains of Calabria are now but mounds of lime dust and broken stone, of beams and broken tiles. Where a façade stands, it stands in mockery to cover the ruin within, because back and side and inner walls lie in heaps to the level of first floor windows. The broad quay has sunk several feet. Where boxes of fragrant fruits and bales of silk and merchandise once were seen, the sea leaps over stones displaced. Whole streets have disappeared; and did one wish to seek where a friend had lived and now has died, nothing remains to guide him to the spot.

Nature has been capricious in her modes of destruction. A solitary house remains erect where all else has fallen. But its walls are rent with broad fissures, which widen with each fresh movement of the earth and it is but a make-believe to beguile the onlooker. Here, the front has fallen, leaving the building with rooms exposed like a doll's house with open door. The rooms are undisturbed and furnished, as of old, with a breakfast-table laid in one; beds and furniture are interested. niture are intact in others, with mirrors on the walls, the doors ajar through which the occupants had endeavoured to escape. There, slender and giant columns of masonry stand upright, or lean against

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1 looked now but en tiles. within, of first-Where ce were ave disand now

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opposite walls tilted over bodily. Below are fragments of what the contained. Pianos half buried, chairs, tables over houses contained broken mirrors; and it is sad and solemn to look steads, pictures and broken which some poor victims bedsteads, pictures and solemn to look the mattresses upon which some poor victims had met their upon in cleaning peacefully. The havor is fearers upon the matter of the poor victims had met their fate when sleeping peacefully. The havoc is fearsome; the destrucfate when sleeping I the houses of two stories remain as possible, if tion complete. Only the houses of two stories remain as possible, if risky, habitations in the future.

Perhaps the most remarkable, and the most pitiful of the ruins, Perhaps the Duomo or Cathedral, which has stood so many cenare those of the second so many centuries, now to be overthrown. The monster monoliths of granite with gilded capitals, which once were the columns of Neptune's with grand or wholly covered by the painted woodwork Temple at Faro, lie half or wholly covered by the painted woodwork Temple as I among which are fragments of marble tombs and inlaid altars, golden figures of angels and sculptured saints—a mountain of ruined masonry many feet high and open to the sky. The beautifully carved pulpit has been hurled to the ground, together with the pillar which supported it, with the mosaic and frescoes, with the arches and cornices, which made the Duomo so rich a treasure

One thing alone remains of the ancient glory—the colossal figure of Christ in mosaic in the dome of the apse at the east end. It is still there, with serene countenance and hand uplifted in the act of blessing, as for five hundred years or more it has remained, gazing benignly on the passing generations of worshippers. The calmness of that majestic, lifelike figure was startling. I turned from it resentfully. 'How can a blessing rest on such awful destruction as this?' I exclaimed involuntarily. Then it was suggested that that benediction might reach beyond the church, beyond the fallen walls of the ruined city, a message of peace and consolation in their hour of need to souls in sore anguish of mind and body; and I was glad that the apse had not been destroyed.

Not only did the earth claim its many victims. The sea also added its terrors to the calamity. In a manner it was more far-reaching in its destruction, for where the earthquake sought and destroyed the living only, the seismic waves swept over the English cemetery, razing its walls to the ground, demolishing the tombs and marble monuments of the dead.

To the villages of the Messina littoral the sea brought, perhaps, greater ruin than the earth. A wall of water, in some places ten feet, in others thirty feet high, rushed inland with terrific force, and devastated groves and gardens, roads and houses. Crowds on the quays and shores were swept away and drowned. Lemon trees and big bushes of cactus-pear were torn up by the roots and scattered in dire confusion. Boats on the beach were lifted and carried a distance of two hundred yards, where they yet remain scattered in the fields and streets, or jammed in the narrow doorways through which the receding

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waters rushed. Houses were either washed away or fell in a pile of waters rushed. Houses were carried out to sea, others remained masonry. If many victims were carried out to sea, others remained masonry. The lamentation of the surviving village masonry. If many victims were the surviving villagers, for the surviving v beneath the stones. The land beneath the stones. The land beneath the stones and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of reach of succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of the succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of the succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of the succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of the succour, was piteous and heartrending many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour, was piteous and heart many days out of the succour One woman, who had lost her only son, had recovered a portion of his ruins of her small house. These she handled to One woman, who had lost her small house. These she handled foodly, clothes from the ruins of her small house. These she handled foodly, clothes from the rums of not be clothes from the rums of the rums of not be clothes from the rums of the rums or put them about her sacrately the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears surely the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears accompanies to the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears accompanies to the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies tears are accompanies to the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies to the lowest depth of mental when laughter accompanies to the laug

A few steps from her a man sat on the pile of stones and dust A few steps from her. Beside himself with grief, he addressed which had been his home. Beside himself with grief, he addressed which had been his notice the sea has not got them, they are here, the heap of rubbish: 'If the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them, they are here, the sea has not got them. here beneath my feet,' he said. He referred, no doubt, to his wife and three children who had been borne away by the waves. Another incident is related. A man, who had escaped with the rest of his family, returned hurriedly to look for a missing child. The bed on which the latter had slept was there, though the back wall of the house had fallen. In place of the child he found a live fish where the infant had been lying. Nature seems to have been grotesque as well as cruel

The immediate and almost universal effect that the earthquake had on those who escaped death was of stupefaction, almost of mental paralysis. They were stunned. Their power of judication of the catastrophe was suspended. Lamentation was infrequently heard except when caused by physical suffering. Tears were rarely seen, Men recounted how they had lost wife, mother, brothers, sisters, children, and all their possessions with no apparent concern. They told their tales of woe as if they themselves had been disinterested spectators of another's loss. Some even spoke with a smile on their lips. Anyone who does not know the Sicilian and his remarkable regard for family ties might have been inclined to attribute that composure to callousness. He would have been wrong. For the time being, the minds of the people had been mercifully deadened. They had not realised. Therein Nature had shown tardy pity.

In one of my visits to the stricken villages I offered a seat in the motor-car to an official. He had gone out from Messina in search of lost relatives. He told me he had escaped miraculously from his falling house, by which his wife had been buried and killed and his daughter horribly mutilated. He could get no news of his son at school at Reggio; he was certain he too was dead. But no sign of sorrow, nor even of mental disturbance, was apparent as he spoke. Beyond a strange perfunctoriness in his actions during the hour of more he was with me (he willingly lent a hand to extricating the car from the sand of the seashore on which it had been driven in the hope of reaching Messina, the road being impassable owing to faller walls). I saw no sign of the walls), I saw no sign of the despair which would follow later.

Another man told me with man told me, with eagerness and satisfaction, how he had escaped

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of mental and dust addressed are here, wife and Another st of his e bed on the house he infant as cruel rthquake of mental n of the ly heard ely seen. s, sisters, n. They nterested on their markable oute that

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after three days of imprisonment below the ruins of the house where after three days of his family had met their death. He had had nothing to others of his family had no recollection of the passing of time. others of his ranks of the passing of time. Indeed, when eat; he thought he had been buried a few hours. eat; he had he had been buried a few hours only. He had rescued he thought with his bleeding fingers until he'l. rescued he thought with his bleeding fingers until he had groped near scraped at the débris with his bleeding fingers until he had groped near scraped at the surface to make his cries heard. He, too, uttered no enough to the surface to make his cries heard. He, too, uttered no enough to the surface on the surface of the surface which was not altogether unpleasant. Such examples of impassibility which was not determined. Yet in the eyes of those who lived through that dreadare WILLIOUT CHARLES THE ACT OF T witness of the terror which was theirs. The awakening will be terrible. It is difficult to account for the almost complete, if temporary,

absence of the emotion usual on occasions of calamity in people who are naturally easily moved. A Sicilian is not infrequently moved to tears, and by little provocation. A small contretemps is apt to upset the even tenour of his easy-going existence. The trivial illness of a relative, the unexplained absence of a friend, will fill him with apprehension and arouse plaintive comment. But to-day, when he is the sufferer by one of the gravest calamities in the history of the world. he is placid, calm, and resigned.

This is interesting psychologically. That coldness is largely due to the inability of the human brain to appreciate events at their true value. Perception has been dulled by the awful suddenness, as well as by the stunning severity of the blow. There has been also the association or sharing with others, engendering a sense of companionship in misfortune, which forbids one individual to exalt his sorrow over that of others. As suffering is measured by comparison, so is grief kept within bounds in the presence of other grief. Thus the appeal for commiseration which a stricken heart makes on ordinary occasions becomes futile; self-restraint follows as a matter of course, and resignation is its outward manifestation.

But though this may be so in great measure, the onlooker cannot fail to attribute some of that same remarkable resignation to a more lofty cause. Many examples of a noble heroism, passive as well as active, have been noticed. And though Sicily, with her proximity to the East, has not escaped the influence of the Oriental philosophy of 'Che sarà sarà,' which is the native's constant solace in moments of adversity (' Come vuole Dio,' is often his final résumé of a distasteful matter), the fibre of true men and the courage of martyrs have not been wanting in these days of bitter trial.

It has been asked: What has been done to alleviate the woe into which this eastern point of Sicily and Southern Calabria have been plunged? And it is a natural question, since the liberality of the civilised world has been outpoured for that purpose.

Has the nation which now rules the destiny of those regions seized this splendid opportunity of well-doing, and by prompt action and efficacious aid materially diminished the suffering? Has it eather efficacious aid materiany unitarity and by restoring respect for authority and by restoring

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These queries will be variously answered, because, as is usual in politics and personal ambition have entered in These queries will be varied and personal ambition have entered the Southern Italy, politics and personal ambition have entered the Southern Italy, ponties and are endeavouring to reap to their advantage. 'field of suffering,' and are endeavouring to reap to their advantage. 'field of suffering, and true Christian charity of the King.

The single-hearted devotion and true Christian charity of the King. The single-hearted devotes and Queen of Italy might well have served as examples to all. The period of general election is at heart of the Ring and Queen of Italy might well have served as examples to all. They and Queen of Italy might have not so served. The period of general election is at hand, and have not so served. The period of general election is at hand, and have not so served. The property of the temptation has been too great to deter men from selfish considerathe temptation has been transported to the temptation has been transported to the temptation has been transported to the temptation of the temptation has been transported to the temptation of the temptation has been transported to the temptation has be first prompt assistance was not forthcoming (except from British and Russian ships), as it was not, it may be urged that to be unprepared for so unlooked-for and immense a catastrophe is not a matter for wonder. Most of the local authorities had been either killed or wounded; others had fled. Communication of all kinds had been wounded; The public service in Sicily is unhappily beset with so many unnecessary restrictions, and responsibility weighs so heavily on the minds of all save a few courageous officials, that sudden emergency is followed by vexatious delays and confusion. These were not wanting at Messina and in Calabria. Had it been otherwise many lives might have been saved.

Socialists (who are noisy, if comparatively few in number, and who have their own objects in view) maintain that the proclamation of martial law in the Messina province, which vetoed the return of fugitives to search for and rescue relatives buried beneath the ruins. was a grave error. It is certainly a question whether that stringent order, given with a just view to protect the property of the citizens from the miscreants who, like jackals, descended upon the city to despoil the dead and dying, was a wise one at a time when private endeavour could have greatly assisted public effort to save the many whose cries for help were heard and had to be disregarded for want of men to dig. What was the loss of treasure compared to the loss of human lives? This is a question which Socialists put cogently and effectively. And it is one which may have its serious political importance in the future.

I have referred to the great importance attaching to family ties in Sicily. Northern countries are scarcely aware of the Southerner's love for his relatives. It is a culte, a sacred possession which we do not fully realise. To offend one member is to offend the whole family. It may be a relic of those days, not very remote, when to stand by one another in troublous times was necessary to existence. Or it may be, as is more probable, the natural love of kith and kin, a recognition of blood relative paramount, and he who ignores them or obstructs the performance of the duties which they demand becomes an object for detestation.

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scepted if its Southern provinces are to advance rapidly in the paths accepted if its Southern P accepted if its Southern P accepted it its social well-being, the real union of hearts, the true which lead to social well-being, is yet awaited. If the which lead to social the peoples, is yet awaited. If that desirable welding rot heen reached, the fault is not to be sought welding together of the fault is not to be sought only in the end has not been read and discontent which have always been part South. Civilian character are still active. And anything South. The anterest are still active. And anything which hurts of the Sicilian character are still active. And anything which hurts of the Sichlan character purse, or injures their cherished ideals, their pride, touches their purse, or injures their cherished ideals, their pride, today their pride, today discontent. Socialists maintain that Sicily, adds to the increasing discontent the further results of the sicily, adds to the more always neglected, will never forget the further neglect of which she always neglected, has been the victim to-day. It is a threat which, perhaps, will be has been the its springs from a dangerous source—a sense of grave ignored. But it springs from a dangerous source—a sense of grave ignored. But which may have its further development, no matter personal injury, or wrongly founded. The distrust of Sicilians in whether lightly to be deplored. It is fostered by those who desire to overthrow the present Government at all costs. In no way is that distrust shown more than in the openly expressed doubt that the vast sums of money contributed by foreign nations will not go directly to the relief of the sufferers by the earthquake, will not be employed for the sole purpose for which they were sent to Italy. is, of course, inconceivable that such should be so when the names of those who are acting in Rome as trustees for the open-handed charity of the world are considered. Those names alone should be a guarantee for the faithful performance of a solemn international obligation. is useless to point out in Sicily that none can desire the money either to be delayed or diverted from reaching the sufferers who are still in the direct want. Unsatisfactory distribution of former funds is referred to; and the delay now attending the arrival of effectual succour in the afflicted districts (except the aid administered by private initiative), notwithstanding the immense sums hoarded in Rome, is pointed to as a valid reason for that distrust.

They complain of the erection of public offices at Messina before habitations are provided for the homeless. Bureaucracy flourishes in face of death and destitution, they say. Unfortunately, bureaucracy does reign supreme in Italy. It is the modern hydra, and no Hercules has yet appeared to sever the many heads from its ubiquitous body. Italy has yet to learn that if public money now spent in paying incompetent clerks to do superfluous writing were applied to developing its resources, the country would benefit greatly. But the same might be said of other countries

It is pleasant to turn from recriminations to the countless acts of acknowledged kindness and devotion to the afflicted. The cities and towns of Sicily (those of Italy were not behind in the work of charity) opened their doors to their suffering fellow-countrymen with a generosity that was as large-hearted as it was spontaneous. Catania alone received twenty thousand refugees; has housed them, and is still caring for them, though at a cost of great self-sacrifice. All, from the richest to the poorest, vied with one another to clothe, feed and

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comfort them. Orphans have been adopted or otherwise provided to. comfort them. Orphans have led the way pre-eminently; for it must be that the presence in their midst of so many interest. In this work Sicilians have the presence in their midst of so many indigent be remembered that the presence in their midst of so many indigent be remembered that the present problem in which the vital persons constitutes a serious sociological problem in which the vital persons charitable themselves are involved. persons constitutes a serious solution interests of the charitable themselves are involved. Employment is almost is almost interests of the charitable themselves are involved. Employment is by no means plentiful. Trade is bad. Commerce is almost at a Therefore, the flooding of the labour market at such a moment is attended with serious complications and fears.

Though the daily press has ceased from publishing the harrowing Though the daily proced to suppose that the details of the catastrophe, it would be wrong to suppose that the details of the catasorophe, suffering has diminished greatly. It is true that those who were suffering has diffinitional states and suffering has diffinitely ended their left to die beneath the fallen masonry have mercifully ended their

agony. To them

All is ended now, the hope and the fear, and the sorrow; All the aching of heart, the restless unsatisfied longing, All the dull deep pain, and constant anguish of patience.

Nevertheless there are many survivors whose lot is scarcely better. Indeed it may be questioned whether some of these, maimed, homeless, destitute of family, deprived of all their possessions, and with their future a blank, are much better off than those to whom 'the feathered death had quickly flown 'on the fateful night of the disaster. Others there are who are still living in open or scantily covered boats, drawn inland for safety, or in huts of badly joined boards; some, indeed, are sleeping in the open air notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, with no change of raiment and with scanty food. Misery is still supreme, though some kind folk endeavour to mitigate the distress.

'Death all eloquent' has reigned, is reigning still in that island of sweet-scented groves and luscious fruits, where many have found repose for mind and body amid flowers and genial sunshine. Yet it has been always a land of joyful resurrection whose return to life has been sung from time immemorial in its poetry and its legends. True to tradition, Messina and its villages, with Reggio and the Calabrian towns beyond the narrow streak of sparkling sea, will rise again. The Sicilian's love for his birthplace will take him back as soon as he may return. The cities will be rebuilt with the courage and determination which are his own. Here, again, the Oriental belief in fate is seen — 'Che sarà sarà.' If another earthquake is to come, come it will, 10 matter where man may dwell!

But those who were present; those who have suffered when the sullen anger of the 'deathful earth' wrought universal horror; those who have looked 'on the dreadful thing 'and lived; can never in hrighten do not be dreadful thing 'and lived; can never in hrighten do not be dreadful thing 'and lived; can never in hrighten do not be dreadful thing 'and lived; can never in hrighten do not be dreadful thing 'and lived; can never in hrighten do not be dreadful thing 'and lived; can never in his high the never in his house in his hous in brighter days be quite as they were before, nor be entirely free from the remembrance of that sense of littleness before a greater Presence, which was perhaps the first as it is the abiding feeling following in the train of the overwhelming disaster.

ALEXANDER NELSON HOOD.

1909

THE NEW ERA IN ECONOMIC HISTORY

NEARLY a quarter of a century ago, in the pages of this Review, NEARLY a quantity of our trade with more I drew attention to the increasing difficulty of our trade with more I drew appendix, because of a fall in the gold price of silver unprecedented in the history of that metal. My paper was entitled, Is Free Trade Compatible with the Fall in Silver? 'I It seemed to me the reply must inevitably be negative. Silver falls; it is the currency which eight hundred millions of people exchange for the gold with which they purchase our goods. The Chinaman who used to buy a bill of exchange on London by paying twenty taels has now to give some forty-seven taels for the same gold bill; how, then, shall we keep his custom, pending a process of price and wage adjustment, indefinitely protracted, and which, after a quarter of a century, has not as yet made any real progress at all? In 1885 these entirely novel conditions of exchange had been puzzling our traders for already twelve years, and it seemed abundantly clear that the economic basis of the 'Manchester School' was being stealthily undermined; that free trade, or free exchanges, predicated fixed exchanges, and that while British exports to Asia were being greatly hampered, with each further fall in silver the exports which Asia sold us, for our gold, exchanged for more and more silver. In this way there was being created within Asia, by the fall in silver, mill after mill and factory after factory, which gave employment to yellow labour in industries hitherto controlled by white labour. Thus, as Asia exported more and imported less she drew the balance owing to her in silver, a 'commodity' with us, but with her a money metal. With this metal she established industries and paid wages. A few years later that ardent Free-trader, the late Professor Emile de Laveleye, wrote to me, 'Failing the restoration of silver the world will revert to Protection.' Since then, in every corner of the universe, the symptoms have shown them-

After my proofs were sent in the title was altered (September 1885).

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Report of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, December 1888: 'We are led to the conclusion that the principal cause which has enabled the Bombay spinners to supersede those of Lancashire in exporting yarn to China and Japan is the great fall in Eastern exchange since 1873. . . . It appears that the geographical advantage enjoyed ky the enjoyed by the Bombay spinner has been lessening whilst his power to compete with Lancashire has been increasing.'

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Every month of delay in monetary reform does not only a temporary but a permanent injury to the trade of all countries having a gold standard, as, though the eventual righting of the silver question may check the further establishment of mills in Japan and China, those already erected will remain keen competitors of the mills and factories of Lancashire and the West, and there will be great difficulty in ever again getting back the trade now being diverted.

Already under the influence of cheap silver a large proportion of the trade east of the Suez Canal is finding for itself new channels, which will gradually be closed to Western competition, and we foresee that further persistence in the present monetary policy of Great Britain may entail an injury to the manufactures and industries of the West the extent of which is incalculable.

What we have done in emasculating our own productive powers is beyond all words prodigious! For a thousand years the Asiatic has been converting his profits and savings into silver, until his continent has become saturated with it. In amounts inconceivable it repre sents in two hundred million homes the mechanism whereby they can buy that which we wish to sell; and yet we of the Occident have so legislated that a Hong Kong bill on London which formerly cost twenty dollars, to-day costs forty-eight, and all the while our professors sit dumb! Well did Napoleon say, 'The economists are an accursed breed; there is no nation so powerful but they can destroy it.' The pre-requisite of free exchange is fixed exchange; in the last eighteen months we have had the greatest catastrophe in Eastern exchange in all human history, and yet not a professor moves in his chair. The entire phenomenon has remained unnoticed. Where are the successors to Francis A. Walker and Jevons, to McCulloch and De Laveleye, to Cairnes and the younger Mill? There have been in all the history of the precious metals just two, and only two, catastrophic breaks in the price of silver: the earthquake of 1893 and that of the

<sup>3</sup> May 1894.

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The former was predicted at the Brussels Monetary Conpast year. The local hardly remind you that the Brussels Monetary Conference, by Baron Alfred de Rothschild, in these memorable words: Gentlemen, I need hardly remind you that the stock of silver in the world

Gentlemen, I need thousands of millions, and if this Conference breaks up is estimated at some thousands of millions, and if this Conference breaks up is estimated at some results there may be a depreciation in the value of which a modity frightful to contemplate, and out of which a without arriving as defined to contemplate, and out of which a monetary panic that commodity frightful to contemplate, and out of which a monetary panic that commonly fright that commonly fright ensue, the far-spreading effect of which it is impossible to foretell.

Within six months every bank, but one, in Australia had closed Within six while one-third of the railway mileage in America had its doors, while one-third of receivers. In the control of the railway mileage in America had passed into the hands of receivers. In the summer of 1894 it was passed like to be much with the late Professor Francis Walker of my priviles walker of Yale, whose formative influence in economics may perhaps outrank even Mill; he, too, referred the cataclysm of the previous year to the great fall in silver; the facts, he held, did not admit of argument. He said of the disaster: 'It has dislocated the effective demand of eight hundred million people for our goods, and it uproots Western industries to replant them in the East.' This distinguished economist, whose books, translated into seven languages, are now classics in our schools, concluded a short speech, at an informal dinner given by Sir William Houldsworth, with these words:

I regard this problem of silver as far more than any mere problem of finance : I believe that with its right settlement is bound up the very progress of civilisation for the Western nations.

And in spite of our dumb professors the question of silver must presently invade our schools, for it is the Yellow Peril itself. In a recent letter to the writer Senator Teller stated the novel conditions of industrial competition in the smallest compass:

Five gold dollars (or one sovereign) used to purchase three taels only, and three taels then paid the wages for one day to twenty-five Chinese mill-hands; while to day five gold dollars buy eight taels, and eight taels pay a day's wage to not twenty-five but sixty Chinese mill-hands: such is the nature of the protest against cheapened silver which sums up our silver philosophy.

There is no industry safe if, with gold prices and wages rising fast, we are to continue to sell silver to China at two shillings an ounce. Said Mr. Kopsch, of Shanghai:

Silver-paid Chinese labour has driven every European sailor and fireman from the decks and stokeholds of foreign vessels plying on the coast of China, and the premium paid by gold countries to silver labour will as certainly crush the efforts of the machinist to reap the profit of his toil in the East, just as it has vanquished the seaman.

Briefly the position is this. The immense production of gold from the mines is depreciating our Western currencies. To discover any such rise of prices as occurred between 1896 and 1907 we should have to have to revert to the reign of James the First. In 1896 sixty-one

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sovereigns would purchase as much as eighty purchased in 1907, sovereigns would purchase as and it is quite certain that the conditions of gold supply are such and it is quite crossed the threshold of the new era of interest and it is quite certain that the threshold of the new era of rising that we have scarcely crossed the threshold of the new era of rising prices. In the second quarter of the seventeenth century, because of the inflation of our currencies by the treasure trove of the mines of the inflation of our current of the mines of Bolivia and Peru, the value of an average acre of English land of Bolivia and Peru, the value rose from half a crown to twelve shillings per quarter to over thirty. a week, wheat from eight shillings per quarter to over thirty. Adam a week, wheat from eight of Nations of this great fall in the value of

The discovery of the abundant mines of America seems to have been the The discovery of the abundance of silver in proportion to that of corn sole cause of the diminution in the value of silver in proportion to that of corn It is accounted for, accordingly, in the same manner by everybody, and there never has been any dispute either about the fact or about the cause of it,

It is almost inevitable that there is in waiting for the next genera. tion a rise of prices hardly less sensational, because of the excessive abundance of the new gold. It seems but the other day that writers on currency were balancing their budget with a yearly product of only eighteen millions; 5 this year the production will be quite ninety millions. The yield of the mines doubled between 1886 and 1896, and again doubled between 1896 and 1906; and from the uttermost parts of the earth come fresh announcements of important discoveries, and of chemical and mechanical inventions, which secure profitable results from lower and lower grades of ore. But in the case of the white metal the position is quite different. The production of silver shows no considerable increase; alternately starved and surfeited by the vacillating policies of successive Finance Ministers, the 'managed,' and terribly mismanaged, currency of India, which was formerly the conduit through which silver flowed into China and the Malay States, disallows any real advance of silver prices in China. Every authority agrees that, except in a few cities and in treaty ports, the purchasing power of the tael, now at twelve to the sovereign, is still what it was when it exchanged at five to the sovereign. What, then, will happen if our gold prices double during the next fifty years and silver prices remain comparatively immobile? Clearly Oriental exports, magne tised by our great rise of prices, will be thrown upon us in greater and greater volume, and will more and more displace white labour in the West. In 1898 the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce passed the following resolution:

That in due course the products of Asiatic cheap labour will prove far more injurious to the interests of the wage-earners in gold-standard countries than the presence of Chinese coolies, and that unless silver is remonetised, protective measures will have to be a superior not silver in the coolies, and that unless silver is remonetised, protective measures will have to be a superior not since the coolies. measures will have to be adopted to exclude from gold-standard countries not Oriental labourers only but a subsidised Oriental labourers only, but all those manufactures also which are subsidised by premiums (premiums on a labourers on a labour by premiums (premiums on gold in Asiatic currencies).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sauerbeck's Index Number, 1896, 61; 1907, 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1874, 18,150,000*l*.

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Russia, countries with paper currencies where the ourrency. The characters with paper currencies where the premium America and Russia, countries with paper currencies where the premium America and later of the part of the part

on gold nucuus. The ex-change difficulty in the case of Asia is not less, but is much greater, change amounts, change disastrous to white men.

of such a nature is the economic crisis through which the West is Of such a wonder that we are agnostic or infidel! What wonder passing. What wonder has gone overboard with passing. What wonder that free exchange has gone overboard with wrecked exchanges, that the 'open door 'in Asia is a door that more and more opens only outwards!

#### II

The great silver issue has slumbered now for fifteen years, and had it been possible to maintain a steady level of gold prices in the face of the floods of new gold, it need never have returned from dreamland to plague the new century. But 1933 may find gold prices again shrinking, and with China equipped with railways and with a respectable currency system, her wages and prices, as also those in British India, may be rapidly advancing; thus the racial danger of the present competition, fostered by rising gold prices and falling silver exchanges, may have been averted. There is also the prospect of an immense and most beneficent absorption of silver by Africa, as to which I will refer later.

The method of supporting and raising Eastern exchange might be as follows:—In 1888, after sitting for two years, a Royal Commission on the Currency issued its report. The evidence, read to-day, is of extreme value and interest. Of the witnesses examined few now survive; they were for the most part merchants and bankers who, already men of affairs and experience in 1873, knew the extraordinary convenience of that accidental fixed exchange with which they had pursued their trades. The Royal Commission split up, as we should expect, into two camps. The monometallists signed Part II., the bimetallists Part III. Part II., paragraph 137, reads as follows:

We think that the best suggestion in relief of the tension of the existing situation is to be found in the issue of small notes based on silver. These might become the substitutes for the half-sovereign, and if they came into general use they would afford a remedy for those difficulties in relation to that coin to which public attention has been prominently called.

Twenty-shilling silver notes might also be issued. If these were put into circulation they would probably pass largely into use without any alteration of the law of legal tender. The Government might issue these upon condition of retaining all retaining silver capable of being coined into an equal number of shillings. market thus opened for silver might check the decline in price of the metal, besides and besides producing an economy in the use of gold. (Signed: Herschell, C. W. Fremantle, T. H. Farrer, Leonard H. Courtney.)

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In Part III., paragraph 36, the Bimetallists say:

We have indicated what appears to us to be the only permanent solution of the relative value of value We have indicated what appears to an experiment solution of the difficulties arising from the recent changes in the relative value of the and the only solution which will protect this and other constitutions. the difficulties arising from the recent precious metals, and the only solution which will protect this and other countries of the future. At the same time we approve the recommendations of the recommendation of the reco precious metals, and the only solution. At the same time we approve the recountries against the risks of the future. At the same time we approve the recommendation of the risks of the future. (Signed: Louis Mallet, Arthur James D. 11. against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future against the risks of the future. At the scale against the risks of the future against the risks of th

In 1891 Mr. Goschen, at that time Chancellor of the Exchequer, went to Leeds, and he made an impassioned appeal, if such an adjective applies to one by nature so cautious and critical; he displayed, how. applies to one by havered, how ever, a really desperate anxiety as to the state of our gold reserve.

I have also considered the question of the issue of ten-shilling notes against I have also considered the first silver. That is a measure which has been recommended by a part of the Royal silver. That is a measure which has been recommended by a part of the Royal Commission, and there are no economic objections to such a course. The half-sovereigns are circulated. Commission, and there are he sovereigns are circulated in enormous sovereign is a very expensive coin, and half-sovereigns are circulated in enormous masses. I am told that in the payment of wages notes for ten shillings would be extremely agreeable, as avoiding a great deal of carriage and a great deal of

We Silver men were much disturbed by this speech, and the Chancellor received our deputation at the Treasury a few days later, introduced, if I remember rightly, by Sir William Houldsworth, member for Manchester. I have the notes of the objections I raised, which pointed out that if, as he proposed, he brought in and impounded the halfsovereign, a full legal-tender coin, buying it with a non-legal-tender four-half-crown note, he would contract the volume of our standard money by some 30 per cent., and induce, as was indeed his purpose, a further fall of prices; because it is the legal-tender money, the money which can be drawn abroad through the action of the exchanges, which supports prices, and not the non-meltable pocket-money. Under cover of this fall of prices he would have turned the exchanges in our favour, would have protected in its cradle stage his second gold reserve, the impounded half-sovereign, while the better exchanges were bringing us also gold from abroad. It was a very clever, perhaps even a sound proposal, but we thought that the farmer and merchant were being sacrificed in that year of semi-panic to better secure the banks I have since come to see that there are crises—and such was the crisis of 1890—when finance must be nursed to protect trade. As a rule it is the other way; sound trade secures safety to exchange, and thus to It was quite evident that the vehement opposition we offered had impressed the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and hard on our heels, as I have only lately learned, came yet another deputation, small, but very important, which included Sir Robert Giffen. The protest of this deputation as to his silver-secured token notes was not

6 Only Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Birch dissented.

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less emphatic than ours. Mr. Goschen himself—I may say it with all less emphatic than about currency and exchange than Sir Robert respect knew more about one, and he should I this Robert respect knew instruction rolled into one, and he should, I think, have and but with many fine, rather superfine qualities, have and all our department many fine, rather superfine, qualities he did not persevered; but with many fine, rather superfine, qualities he did not much decision. In any case, less than twolves persevered, but the London Chamber of Commerce 1 possess much the London Chamber of Commerce he withdrew the in addressing the proposal in these words: small note proposal in these words:

You will observe that I have made no allusion to the ten-shilling notes. You will observe to the ten-shilling notes.

(Hear, hear.) I took such pains as I could to ascertain whether ten-shilling (Hear, hear.) I they would be acceptable to the community, and the result I arrived at was notes would be extremely unpopular in most parts of the country, but this—that they would be extremely unpopular in most parts of the country, but this—that they would value the ten-shilling notes not entirely on that in Lancashire . . . they would value the ten-shilling notes not entirely on that in Landson to the note itself, but because of it being some recognition of the principle of silver performing a larger part in the currency.

The Chancellor in this matter had strayed into a zone swept by two These note issues, by raising the Eastern exchanges, and thus securing the prosperity for the time being of Lancashire, would have disbanded the Bimetallic League. We at that time were full of confidence and hope; not until two years later were we to find our Waterloo, and again at Brussels. But, more important still, Mr. Goschen was under the guns of 'the business man'! Chancellor, a greater mind still, had learned that lesson. years earlier Mr. Robert Lowe wrote:

It seems strange to say so, but it is nevertheless true that there is nowhere so much difficulty in obtaining a fair hearing as in matters of finance a little out of the usual course. The parson, as is natural, prefers his old mumpsimus to your new sumpsimus. The lawyer often listens with impatience to the notions of an account more enlightened than that in which his code was framed; but for thorough, unreasoning, and dogged obstruction commend me to a thriving and highly respected man of business, especially if the business be inherited. By that single fact he becomes an oracle. Why should he waste his time in thinking when the balance at his bankers testifies for him that he is entirely master of the mysteries of his profession? Why tire his eyes with reading when he is already master of all that has and all that can be said on the subject? To try to impart to such a person a new idea is a sort of insult; for it implies that there is something left for him to learn, which, as the mathematicians say, is absurd. If it be difficult to argue with the master of twenty legions, it is equally vain to argue with the master of twenty clerks. If you doubt this, look at the reception which the currency question received from persons who are engaged in actual business. They professed they did not understand it, which was, no doubt, perfectly true; but, not understanding it, they were equally sure it was wrong. The proposal was no novelty; it was only a novelty to them.

Thus, then, there was put to sleep in the willing arms of London's Chamber the almost unanimous proposal of a Royal Commission, of which proposal the greatest authority on exchange finance of our time said, 'there are no economic objections.' The man had come but not The question of the gold reserve both in London and New - 2nd of December, 1891.

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York overshadows to-day all others in importance. If gold were hoth countries against the issue of 'Goschen better York overshadows to-day and purchased in both countries against the issue of 'Goschen were circulated, as Mr. Goschen thought possible possible to the countries of the countries against the issue of 'Goschen were circulated, as Mr. Goschen thought possible to the countries of t purchased in both countries again and if these were circulated, as Mr. Goschen thought possible, to a pound per capita, a 'war-chest' in Washington and if these were circulated, as 'war-chest' in Washington of maximum of a pound per capita, a 'war-chest' in Washington of un-earmarked gold, and in Lord of maximum of a pound per capacity, in washington of five hundred million dollars of un-earmarked gold, and in London of the two common of th five hundred million domais of the forty million sovereigns, might go far to protect the two communities.

The silver purchased to forty million sovereigns, might go The silver purchased to secure against extreme speculative excesses. The silver purchased to secure against extreme speculative checks against extreme would amount to nearly a thousand million ounces, and under conwould amount to nearly a ditions of such demand the rates of exchange with Asia would be ditions of such demand the rates of exchange with Asia would be ditions of such demand the difference of the half-sovereign would be with a retained by the half-sovereign would be with a retained by early purchases of the half-sovereign would be with a note for ten early purchases of the silver in a shilling being now worth only fourpence, the shillings; the silver in a shilling being now worth only fourpence, the shillings; the silver in a shilling in a shill both at Washington and Westminster, that this measure of safety for trade and finance is quite past praying for. In England the bankers will never agree with the merchants; while in America, I am told on all hands, that no Secretary of the Treasury could withstand the determination of Wall Street to raid the new cash reserve. But both in America and in England, and particularly, I am assured, in Germany, there is a rapidly growing recognition of the disaster which has followed the silver slump of 1907-8, and in both countries, or in all three, it would now be possible to attract the public ear if the proposed small note currency would both liquidate the cost of some great national undertaking, giving a huge profit to the revenue, and at the same time patch up the rate of Eastern exchange, and so stimulate our export trades as to bring back employment to our workers. Such great national undertakings there are at the present time: in England oldage pensions, and in America the Panama Canal. If we earmarked the profits of the proposed small note issues as to which 'there are no economic objections,' for these national objects, their carriage, both in Great Britain and America, would seem a national duty. The pension payments lend themselves perfectly to the proposed note currency; they cannot be paid in standard money, and if the Treasury were to issue to the post-offices throughout the country 'crown notes' the public convenience would be subserved, and the profit at the present price of silver would be the entire difference between twenty. three and a half pence and sixty-six pence on each five-shilling pension paid. 10 The profit is so enormous that the note issue should be treated very liberally. It should be a beautiful note, and should be burned, never reissued. To enlarge the field of currency for these notes the halfsovereigns, wasteful coins with a large friction surface, should be

In 1907 the Government of India purchased eighty million ounces of silver out of a production of 150 mills total production of 150 million ounces, of which the silversmiths take fifty; but in 1908 that Government purchased eighty million ounces, of which the silversmiths take fifty; but in 1908 that Government purchased a merely nominal amount, and silver accordingly fell more than 8d. an owner. fell more than 8d. an ounce.

<sup>10</sup> The mint issue price is 66 pence per ounce.

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gradually collected as they come into the post-offices; and it might be gradually contected the pound note issues in Scotland and Ireland, in well also to reduce the pound note issues in Scotland and Ireland, in well also to reduce void, to be filled by the crown notes. Probably in a this way creating a would obtain, as in every other contracts. this way creating the custom would obtain, as in every other country enjoying few years the currency, of carrying more crown notes. few years the country enjoying more crown notes and less gold;

a small-paper the gold now in our pockets and tills would gravitate to thus much of the search, which was the chief aim of Mr. Goschen's proposal. I hope the reader follows that the proposed notes are not legal

I hope the level in no respect differ from sixpences, shillings, or halftenders; that sixpences, shillings, and half-crowns already circulate crowns, that 2 is a real control of the area of the ar amount of some twenty-five millions sterling; and that the only reason the Mint does not coin more small change is, that the people will not overweight their pockets. Not only, then, are there no economic objections to this most profitable note issue, but there are great incidental advantages: it would be very convenient for remittance, saving bankers the annoyance of myriads of very small cheques and their ledger and pass-book entries, while taking the place of small money orders, and thus saving the time of the public and of the Post Office staff; again, to the extent they increased the gold reserves, so also would they increase the loanable capital, and thus the profits of the banks. In times of crisis and panic, too, a large volume of this currency, unlike gold not exportable, but remaining in the pockets and tills of the citizens, would do money's work, when gold had gone into hiding. Had the United States in the panic of 1907 possessed five hundred million dollars of these fractional currency notes her sufferings would have been greatly mitigated, and her drain on our gold reduced.

In the preparation of this paper the chief difficulty remains, and I propose to shirk it, to the extremest limit possible. That is the more perfect way for one who, like the writer, regards the work of England in India as perhaps civilisation's brightest page of all.

But there has been a blunder, amounting to one of the great accidents of history, and its consequences both to China and India, and also to the West, have been monumental. I refer, of course, to the closing of the mints and the establishment in India of a so-called 'gold standard.'

If the 'Goschen plan' was workable without reference to the present 'managed' currency of India I would omit all reference to India; but the first effect of silver purchases by two great nations, or three, on the scale contemplated would be to bring silver sharply to forty-three pence an ounce, at which point the artificial rupee of the Government of India goes to the melting-pot. The Secretary of State for India dominates Eastern exchange from the Victoria Nyanza to Vladivostock, from Borneo to the 'Roof of the World'; never was such an autocracy as his. And if he still sells his rupee bills for bills for sixteenpence, then, when silver has touched forty-three pence per ounce, by no conceivable means can silver rise farther, or the per ounce, by no concervation advance beyond that point. That is a rechange to-day. But if he will agree to reonen I. rates of exchange with china an axiom of exchange to-day. But if he will agree to reopen India's an axiom of exchange to-tag.

mints when the bullion price of silver reaches forty-three pence, then the while to persevere through that sad and supplies the sad and supplies th mints when the bullion price becomes worth while to persevere through that sad and sun-baked becomes worth were lead to the green oasis of higher and becomes worth while to person desert, which may yet lead to the green oasis of higher exchanges

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with amazement: No honest rupee for India; the rise in exchange with amazement. It also so that the rise in exchange would kill our export trades.' 11 Such is the official view of free exchange India's export trades live because of an india's for India. She is to continue to buy ninepenners. for India. India. to continue to buy ninepennyworth of silver, token currency; she is to continue to buy ninepennyworth of silver, token currency, token currency, which is token currency, token coin it, and can be the four hundred millions of these assignats; we will 1906 and 1907, over four hundred millions of these assignats; we will 1906 and 1907, or we will 1906 and 1907, or we will make such a profit by selling them to our people that we shall have make such a production of the proper that we shall have no more revenue difficulties.' Such is the dispatch made memorable by a British Viceroy's autograph. But why, Burra Lord Sahib, pay by a British vices, and call it a rupee, and sell it for sixteen pence minepence for six teen pence. Why not buy tons of lead, and stamp a mere profit of read, and stamp them, and sell lead rupees at your rating? What point is there in them, and structured in the structure in a full legal-tender coin unless it is meltable, and is thus the money of exchange, the money that assists to keep its country on the same price level as its neighbours? Why be at the expense of silver when lead will do? It cannot be to secure a trickster's confidence in dealing with three hundred millions of our wards, nearly 90 per cent. illiterate. 'Forced elevation of the value of money is fraudulent bankruptcy,' so wrote Jeremy Bentham, dear to Radicals.

memorable words:

The highest political issues are also involved. One of the most dangerous things for a Government to do is to tamper with the people's money. Is it certain that the Indian Government can go on long with its present ideas regarding money without producing the gravest complications in the government of India itself?

May 1898 it had become evident that the gold standard might be

imposed, Sir Robert Giffen concluded a letter to the Times with these

Let me get away from this very dangerous ground, from the 'famine-breeding rupee,' from the rupee which, although now depreciating by reason of the inflations of 1906 and 1907, yet costs nearly two tolas instead of one tola, with all the 'little loaf' consequences in time of famine. We had better turn down that page. But let any intending official apologist just ponder first on those words before coming to the defence of the gold standard. It is greatly to be desired that the issue shall never be argued in print. But the official ignorance in high places which led to it—this is matter for fair comment.

Announcing the gold standard for India in the House of Commons, Lord George Hamilton said (*Times*, 19th of May 1898):

Believer as I am in bimetallism, having been a convert twenty-five years ago, I had a good deal to do with the organisation which has since developed itself. . . . What is the plea upon which bimetallists have appealed to the working classes of this country? Is it not that the constant fall in the price of sequence an impetus and bounty is given to the export trade . . .? Everyone prices.

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impetus and bounty; (3) that just as nothing stimulates a country;

fall in its prices, so nothing checks them like impetus and bounty; (5) that is exports like a fall in its prices, so nothing checks them like a fall in the mere alphabet of exchange, and vet the mere alphabet of exchange are the mere alphabet of exchange. exports like a fall in 105 process.

These points are the mere alphabet of exchange, and yet they are the they are the are the they are the they are they are the they a These points are the mero dependence of a statesman who has since left his party because beyond the ken of a statesman who has since left his party because well did Mr. Gibbs entitle his Bimetallic party because the states of beyond the ken of a state of the state of economic doubts. Well did Mr. Gibbs entitle his Bimetallic Primer of the state o

Book for Babes and Indian Wonderland Let us now watch our Alice at work in that Indian Wonderland Let us now watch our stands wonderland wonderland Sir James Westland, perfectly in the twilight as to currency questions Sir James Westiand, postally, to be controlled by certain civilian allowed himself, not unnaturally, to be controlled by certain civilian The rupee had fallen because of the closing of the mints to a fraction over a shilling; how were his commercial advisers, after a life of prosperous export trading fostered by shrinking exchange, to return home bringing their sheaves with them? Clearly a few years of a gold standard was the remedy, and then let some other fellow 'carry the baby.' Melt up the rupee currency, sell it for gold, India's prices will fall; thus you will both create a currency vacuum and also increase her balance of trade; to take the place of the melted rupes and to liquidate the trade balances sovereigns will rush in. Such was the policy. So the word went out to official India to declare the Indian currency 'redundant'—a nice mouth-filling word, like unto Diana of Ephesus. The sign, and the only sign, of a redundant currency (the sign in India to-day) is a rise of prices, whereas all the official 'index numbers' in 1898 showed that prices were falling. Manchester was to be 'squared' by an artificially high exchange (an exchange to-day 90 per cent. higher than the bullion point); this would protest her cottons from the general fall of prices at hand. It would have been well for Lord George had he pondered the magnificent reply of the Treasury in November 1879 to a previous appeal from the Government of India to permit a gold standard; the reply should be printed in letters of gold on the walls of the India Office:

It appears, too, that the Government of India, in making the present proposition lay themselves open to the same criticisms as are made upon Governments which have depreciated their currencies. In general, the object of such Governments has been to diminish the amount they have to pay to their creditors. In the present case the chiral transfer transfer to the chiral transfer tran present case the object of the Indian Government appears to be to increase the amount they have to receive from their taxpayers.

My Lords fail to see any real difference in the character of the two tradiactions. . . . The Government scheme may relieve the Indian Government and others who desire to and others who desire to remit money to England, but this relief will be given at the expense of the Indian the expense of the Indian taxpayer, and with the effect of increasing every debt due by ryots to moneylord.

due by ryots to moneylenders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Blue Book, *Prices and Wages in India*, 1907, pp. 147-155, 218-239, 252, 261, 267. 253, 261, 267.

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I pass over a Commission, the announcement of which was the occa-1909 I pass over a control of a protest in the Press quite unexampled in our time, and the sion of a protest in the Commission, which elicited from one of the land. sion of a protest in sion, which elicited from one of the leading organs conduct of the Commission, which elicited from one of the leading organs and the conduct of the Commission, which elicited from one of the leading organs are conducted. Press 13 the following statement over the circular protest in the conduction of the conduction conductof the Commission of the leading organs of the gold, Press 13 the following statement over the signature of its of the Government of India, packed the Commission of the government. The Government of India 'packed the Commission most editor. and it appointed a chairman who stopped at nothing.' carefully, and required to offset the protests which came Still another Committee was required to offset the protests which came Still another Committee the Empire and from every organ of public in from every portion of the Empire and from every organ of public in from every Properties, the Fowler Committee, declared of the opinion. 14 This Committee, witnesses opinion.
evidence of its own selected witnesses:

So far as the proposals of the Government of India were intended to secure So far as the part of the commercial community they have failed in their effect. the connuction that the connected with Indian the their effect.

These proposals have not been supported before us by the representatives of the These proposed and financial interests connected with India, nor, indeed, by any of the independent witnesses whom we have examined.

We now come to the era of the gold standard; to the continued melting up of 'redundant' rupees; to famine years memorable for low prices, even for food. By the winter of 1897 the rupee currency had apparently ceased to be redundant, for Mr. Vicary Gibbs declared in the House of Commons that rupee loans had recently been arranged in Bombay on the security of gold bars, at 2 per cent. per month. next stage, when gold is to rush in and fill the vacuum, is eloquently covered by a dispatch from the Government of India to the President of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

The Government of India have never concealed from themselves the inconvenience attending a gold standard which is not accompanied by an effective gold circulation, and they are in full accord with the view that a more general use of gold among the people would simplify the task of directing a managed currency. It will be within the memory of your Committee that a definite attempt to stimulate the circulation of gold was made in 1900-01. The Treasuries, the Post Office, and the Presidency Banks co-operated in special measures for the issue of gold; and it was estimated that, for the time being, about 11 millions sterling were thus put into the hands of the public. But there is no evidence that the popularity of gold was thereby increased; on the contrary, it is clear that the great bulk of these issues promptly came back to the banks and the treasuries, and the experiment had ultimately to be abandoned. To press a circulating medium upon the people is more likely to retard than to promote the demand for it. Popular confidence in an unfamiliar form of currency must be allowed to develop in its own way; and the Government are fully convinced that any official attempt to force its growth will inevitably do more harm than good.

From all this and much more, which had better be passed lightly over, the fostering proposal of the two great republics in 1897 would have saved India. But to-day there presides at the India Office a statesman, not a gramophone, and the writer of these pages ventured to inquire whether, in the event of issues of 'Goschen notes' by

<sup>13</sup> Statist, 15th of July 1899.

Vide an important special article on 'Indian Affairs,' Times, 11th of July 1898.

America and other nations, such by a deluge of melted rupees. In that case the Indian and Chinese tied down to forty-three pence for all time. If by a deluge of melted rupees.

exchange is tied down to forty-three pence for all time. If such is position to exchange is tied down to love to be the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has to be the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has to be the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has to be the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has to be the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has to be the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twilight deepens and the position has the policy of India the twiling the policy of India the twiling the policy of India the twiling the policy of India the policy of India the policy of India the twiling the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the twill be possible to the policy of India the India to be the policy of India the become hopeless. The following short reply from Lord Morley is

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Dear Mr. Moreton Frewen,—There is no intention or idea of making aty India Office: Feb. 9th, 1909. Dear Mr. Moreton Frewen, India; and as regards a rise in the price of change in the currency system of India; and as regards a rise in the price of change in the currency system of the price of silver to 43d. per ounce, we shall be quite ready to cross that bridge when we silver to 43d. per ounce, we shall be quite ready to cross that bridge when we silver to 43d. per ounce, we shall be quite ready to cross that bridge when we silver to 43d. silver to 43d. per ounce, we shall come to it. Nothing would, as a matter of fact, suit India better than a rise in to the intrinsic value of the rupee (43d. or over) come to it. Nothing would, as solver to the intrinsic value of the rupee (43d. or over) we should silver. If it went to the intrinsic value of the rupee (43d. or over) we should silver. If it went to the Hittan. raise the issue price of the R. to one-and-six, and would, of course, retain on Morrow Sincerely,

There is, enough, probably, in the above note to have contented France and the United States in 1897, and the negotiations might have succeeded. What they required was to be protected against the melting of India. If the Government of India, and that of Singapore, will 'raise their issue price 'and keep their exchange, as would not be difficult, just higher than the bullion point of their currencies, that is a subscription hardly less valuable than open mints. No coins could go to the melting-pot, and never again after the terrible lesson of 1897 will the rupee currency be starved on the reasonable annual additions needed. It is, then, just possible that we are at the dawn of a newday, Bimetallism, indeed, has gone, but given a steady advance in silver, Mexico, Japan, and the Malay States, warned by the crisis of last year, might probably revert to silver. China is pledged by the Peking Treaty of the 28th of July 1903 to supersede her currency abominations, unsecured notes, copper cash, debased silver issued by her provincial mints, by 'an uniform national coinage, to be legal tender in payment of all duties, taxes, and other obligations throughout the Empire by British as well as Chinese subjects.'

The Chinese envoy, Tong Shoa Yi, is now in Europe on this mission. A truly remarkable personage, it would be well if our mandarins approached this one in knowledge of currency conditions. His

Excellency writes to me the 12th of February:

In China fluctuations in exchange such as those of last year are, of course, very troublesome for our importing merchants; still, no doubt last year's fall in silver greatly assists our mills and other manufacturing industries, which might be damaged by the competition of imported foreign goods if the exchange rose. Thus the fall in exchange is even as an increasing tariff; but, unlike a tariff, our exports are not reduced, but are, so to speak, subsidised.

Finally, there remains Africa. When on the Victoria Nyanza three years ago I was delighted to find that the Indian rupee is covering a vast region in a vast region in seven-leagued boots, and is already current from the Abyssinian frontier. Abyssinian frontier nearly to Tanganyika. Between 1896 and 1902 April

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the Mombasa branch of the National Bank of India had imported the Mombasa praise. This coin and its subdivisions in annas almost ten million rupees. This coin and its subdivisions in annas almost ten million and pice is not merely building railways, unlocking trades, and stimulating property industry, but is teaching millions of the stimulations of the state of and pice is not included industry, but is teaching millions of the sons of ing and rewarding industry. Every effort all the sons of ing and rewarding of mathematics. Every effort should be made to Ham the elements Continent with the rupee. Imported into Africa irigate the Dark Continent hiding-places it is irigate the Dall in a myriad hiding-places it is gone for ever; it will and settling down in a myriad hiding-places it is gone for ever; it will and setting do and a to seek conversion at the hands of that Governnever return to the present time Lord Morley would lose nothing by selling ment. At the present time Lord Morley would lose nothing by selling ment. At the property selling by selling to Lord Crewe, for external use in railway construction, not fifteen to Lord Olene, 200 not fifteen to Lord sovereign, but twenty-seven. Never again may the British dovernment have such an opportunity to build cheap railways in Government Land Central Africa. The profit per rupee will pay half the cost of the construction of the roadbed, while the constructed road will introduce for hoarding and absorption an immense further flow of rupees. Were the wages of native labour in the Transvaal gold mines paid with rupees, even at fifteen to the sovereign, it would appear to that labour, already accustomed to receive florins at ten to the sovereign, even as a rise of wages. The rupee in joint use with gold in the Transvaal might greatly reduce the cost of producing gold, and instead of a large proportion of the product of the gold mines being carried away by natives to Portuguese Africa and to the North, to be lost to commerce, the absorption of silver in place of gold might become of great economic importance.

It has been possible in these few pages merely to survey, as through a glass darkly, the extreme outposts of a mighty domain of economic research. Are we of the West to continue to lay well and truly the foundation-stone of success for the competition of Chinese labour employed in China?

Above all things, a Commission is needed to report on the problem of exchange. Since the Commission of 1888 a whole Niagara of fact and experience has thundered down the cañons of time. Is all that vast volume to be lost in the arid sands of ignorance, or may we yet learn its lesson and profit by its warning, even though here, and there; an official reputation may perish in its rapids?

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## SLEDGING AS A METHOD OF EXPLORING THE ARCTIC OCEAN

In my record of an expedition undertaken during the years 19057 In my record of an english would be, in my opinion, at once the least I indicated that sledging in the method of Arctic exploration. An exhaustive discussion of the reasons on which that opinion was based would, in a narrative designed for the general reader, have been impossible on account of the time, thought and references required for such an explanation. I felt, nevertheless, that in any further discussion of the subject it would be incumbent on me to indicate more minutely the reasons on which my plans were based, and to satisfy the public at large, and in particular those whose expert criticism I would welcome, that sledging was not only the most but, as it appeared to me, the only feasible method. These reasons I now set out. There is, indeed, but one alternative to be examined—that of drifting a ship.

#### ARGUMENTS AGAINST A SHIP

Let us first consider the drift of a vessel if it takes the ice at any spot off the American continent. We have several facts to guide us: namely, the descriptions of the ice met with in the Beaufort Sea and the history of ice navigation in those waters; the Bryant and Melville experiment with the drift casks; 2 and, finally, a careful study of the atmospheric conditions of that region.

We have a few descriptions of the ice off the American continent; for instance, the ice met by the Investigator on the 19th of August · 1850 is described in the following words: 'Ice of stupendous thick ness, and in extensive floes some seven or eight miles in extent, were (sic) seen on either hand; the surface of it is not flat, such as we see in the Baffin Strait and the adjacent seas, but rugged with the accumulated snows, frost and thaws of centuries.' 3

Such is the description of the ice met with in the Beaufort Sea,

In Search of a Polar Continent, published by Edward Arnold, 1908.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia, January 1906. <sup>3</sup> Ice met with between Point Barrow and Pullen Isle, 19th of August 1850, North st Passage of Sir Robert March West Passage of Sir Robert M'Clure, by Sherard Osborn, p. 83.

which description, in my opinion, is likely to be true. Quite recently, which description, have been taken by Captain Mikkelsen which appear too, photographs have been taken by Captain Mikkelsen which appear too, photographs this by the contrast he notices between this ice off the to corroborate this by the contrast he notices between this ice off the to corroborate and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and that found in other better-known parts of the Alaskan coast and the Ala

International meteorological observations undertaken within recent International In years afford commercian side. As far as we know, the average temolder ice on the transitional records of the Meteoreland of the Arctic perature nere is the statistical records of the Meteorological Office show the Ocean. The state of August 1882 to the temperature for following interesting the 1st of August 1882 to the 31st of July 1883 at the year from the 1st of August 1882 to the 31st of July 1883 at the year from the first of July 1883 at Vardö, in latitude 70° 22′, was 29° Fahr., and at Spitzbergen, in Vardo, in latitude 78° 28′, was 20° Fahr. But on the American side at Point Barrow, latitude 71° 23', during the same period the mean was 8.85° Fahr. The difference between Vardö and Point Barrow is 20° Fahr.; and Spitzbergen, though 490 statute miles further north than Point Barrow, is 11° Fahr. warmer. This would not only tend to prove that the icefields off Point Barrow are subject to a lower temperature and therefore probably more stable, but also preclude the possibility of any warm current from the Pacific or Atlantic influencing the ice

It is to be sincerely hoped that if Captain Amundsen's 5 scheme of placing the Fram in the ice of the Beaufort Sea be put into execution, these descriptions may not prove to be all too sober a reality; for it is obvious that, should ice of the age indicated actually be met with,

no ship would have the slightest chance of drifting far in it.

Ships, to be sure, have drifted in ice which would appear capable of crushing any vessel that was ever built, if it were in open water. Thus the Fram in her drift through the Polar Sea was more fortunate far than the Jeannette.<sup>6</sup> Beneath both vessels a lane opened under the keel; in the case of the Jeannette, however, the ice parted along the major axis and let her into open water; whereas, in the case of the Fram, a lane opened at right angles to her stern; 7 nor did she ever get into open water, after taking the ice at the end of September 1893, until she got free on the 3rd of June 1896. Had she got into open water in the spring, summer or autumn of 1895, when in the centre of the Polar pack, she might have shared the same fate as the unfortunate Jeannette

Four ships have passed through Behring Strait on voyages of exploration, their main object being to penetrate into the unknown part of the Polar Sea: namely, the *Investigator*, the *Enterprise*, the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Conquering the Arctic Ice, by Ejnar Mikkelsen, p. 440.

Geographical Journal, December 1908, p. 625.
Voyage of the Jeannette, vol. ii., p. 573.

Nansen's Farthest North, vol. ii., p. 546, Photos.

returned, the Enterprise, command the placed in the ice off Point as I show later, the tendency of a ship placed in the ice off Point so drift round the land of the Polar Sea; so that the as I show later, the tendency Barrow is to drift round the land of the Polar Sea; so that the fact have been able to get far from the land may in Barrow is to drift round the land that the fact that no ships have been able to get far from the land may, in some that no ships have been able to get far from the land may, in some that no ships have been account for past disasters. It stands to reason also that a degree, account for past disasters. It stands to reason also that a degree, account for pass that a she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the an irresistible check to the ice all all of the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as she can in the deep ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship cannot have the same chance near land as ship canno ship cannot have the same ocean, for there must be an irresistible check to the ice all along the shore, and this causes pressure. Nor does the trouble end here; shore, and this causes produce and however proficient the the value of their observations will be observers she carries, the value of their observations will be seriously diminished if taken near the land, and in shallow water, where the diminished it taken now oceanographic conditions are widely different from those prevailing in a deep sea. A moment's reflection should make this plain. Where ice is for ever going aground and grating along the bottom, and where rivers and streams are discharging into the sea various salts collected off the rocks over which they flow, the original properties of the shallow water are hopelessly complicated by the intrusion of these foreign elements. But precisely what it is important to obtain is a record of observations which will prove the accuracy of those taken by past and

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future explorers in water free from such disturbing conditions. We have next to consider the drift of the thirty-five casks put on the ice north of the American continent in the years 1899, 1900 and 1901. Nine casks were put down east of Point Barrow; the rest west of that Point; and of these thirty-five only four have come to hand.8 Two drifted round the Arctic Ocean.9 The first was placed west-north-west of Point Barrow, and after a lapse of five years and nine months was found on the north coast of Iceland. The second which drifted round was placed north of Cape Bathurst in 71° N. Lat. and 128° 05' W. Long. on the 24th of July 1900, and was found on the island of Soro, off Hammerfest, on the 3rd of November 1908. The other two seem to have failed to enter the true circular drift current, and have been picked up on the coast of Siberia. This gives a gloomy estimate of the chance of the reappearance of any ship put into the ice in the same region. The greater part of the coast-line where these drift-casks might be looked for is well known, being traversed by Eskimo every year, and has been recently visited by various expeditions. What has become of these buoys? Who can tell? They are probably deeply embedded in massive old ice which is just as capable of retaining a ship. There is no certain inference to be drawn from these buoys, as the thirty-one missing may, for all we know, be slowly working across the centre of the Polar Ocean; but as after more than eight years they have not been found, it is a strong argument against a ship being brought through the ice and out again within the utmost

s The Geographical Society of Philadelphia.

Geographical Journal, vol. xxxi., p. 286.

April y one has on. Now. off Point t the fact , in some so that a the deep along the nd here; ficient the seriously

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ks put on 1900 and the rest come to as placed ears and e second N. Lat. d on the 8. The current, i gloomy o the ice ere these ersed by expedi-

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time during which an expedition by ship could keep itself in provisions. when we take into account the more illusive form of a drift-cask, When we take he more complicated, and consequently more fragile, and the necessarily more complicated, and consequently more fragile, and the necessarily more fragile, and the necessarily more fragile, nature of a ship's structure, the conclusion to be drawn is that a ship pature of a snip of drifting safely round or screen the aship would have certainly not more, and probably less, chances of success than one in nine of drifting safely round or across the Polar Ocean. than one in the casks the results of these drift-cask experiments may be thus summarised.

The results of these casks, thirty-one have not be a likely five casks, thirty-one have not be a likely five casks. The results of the casks, thirty-one have not been heard of again at out of thirty-five casks, thought reaches the circling about Out of time, and of eight years; two, after circling about, were found comthe end of eight, were found comparatively little paratively l came to hand eight years and three months afterwards.

The drifts that we know of—those, namely, of the Jeannette and of the Fram—rather point to the fact of there being either land or old ice in the centre of the Polar Sea and to the north of the drift of those ships; and a careful study of the atmospheric conditions of this region might help by suggesting what is likely to be met with. Looking at the region merely as an immense area of exceedingly low temperature surrounding the Pole, and assuming the absence of such impediments to the motion of the air as mountain ranges, the first condition which strikes me as probable is that there will be over the whole area in general a continual descent of cold air, just as along the earth's equator there is a continual ascent of heated air. Supposing for the nonce that the earth is not rotating, this stream of cold air would flow out in all directions from the north along the surface of the earth directly towards the south; and, if that surface in the Polar regions were ice-covered water, the ice would everywhere be impelled towards the south by a north wind or air-current. How will the earth's rotation and the atmosphere affect the action of the ice drifting on the surface of the ocean? If you follow in imagination the course of any individual cubic yard of air, you will see that as it travels southward it will not keep to the same meridian of the earth; for, as the earth's surface is continually slipping away towards the east, the track of that volume of air will be a line not due south, but inclined to west of south; so that the whole current of air streaming from the region of the Pole will in fact not flow due south, but with an inclination to the west of south. The consequence, of course, will be that such a stream of air, when acting on anything that can obey the impulse, will cause it to follow the same direction. Now the ice in the Arctic Ocean is, as a whole, free to move, but not in the direction away from the Pole and towards the south, because of the land by which the Polar Sea is urrounded. On the other hand, there is little to prevent this ice from moving round the Pole, if it be subjected to such a sideways impulse from the east as is given by the westward element of this same north-easterly air-current. It seems to me that there must exist in the Polar regions an atmospheric motion of this sort, and that

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it must give an impulse to the ice in a direction such as described. it must give an impulse to the tream of cold air descending on the Polar regions, of the atmosphere like an ordinary windows, In speaking of the stream of the atmosphere like an ordinary wind that it is not any movement of the atmosphere like an ordinary wind that it is not any movement of the trade winds. When how as the trade winds. in the Tropics is known as the trade winds. When, however, the in the Tropics is known as the considered, and the impediments to surface acted on comes to be considered, and the impediments to surface acted on comes to surface acted on comes to motion are taken into account, the amount of motion does not promise motion are taken into account, the amount of velocity of promise motion are taken into account, to be at all considerable, as regards its rate of velocity. If we suppose to be at all considerable, as regards its rate of velocity. to be at all considerable, as regarded the Arctic Ocean to empty itself of ice along stream lines converging the Arctic Ocean to empty itself of ice along stream lines converging from all points of its contour through the Greenland Channel, it does not seem at all improbable that it would take at least ten years before all the ice were replaced by new. 10 But there is nothing to show that the ice does move in this way; and the theory of impulse given by atmospheric movement which I have just laid down is quite adverse to such a direction of motion. On the contrary, the movement caused would be that of a slow general revolution round the Pole, the ice everywhere coming from the east and departing towards the west, An estimate of twenty years for one revolution from north of Green. land round to Spitzbergen by way of the American coast, New Siberia, Franz Josef Land, &c., would not surprise me.

But again, the Arctic Ocean is, though land-locked, not devoid of outlets: there are such in Behring Strait, in Baffin Bay, and in the Greenland Channel. Of these outlets the first two may be disregarded, being either small or blocked by islands, so that they can do but little in the way of allowing the ice of the Arctic Ocean to escape. With the Greenland Channel the case is different, as the channel is both broad and deep, and its action on the ice-sheet is considerably assisted by the comparatively warm arm thrown into it by the Atlantic drift current. Accordingly it is to the north of this outlet that the breaking up of the Polar ice principally takes place, the fragments escaping down the Channel as bergs and floes. This break-up, with its accompanying destruction from back-pressure of the ice, cannot but affect the ice in its rear, which is constantly under the influence of a power urging it forward while the resistance is removed or very much lessened; and thus a stream or flow will be formed, and once formed, will be likely to retain its position and direction. In this way I think it is probable that the line of drift. past Franz Josef Land is formed, and its beginning may be traced much further back to the east; but Dr. Nansen in the Fram found that the first beginnings of his drifting journey near the New Siberian Islands were very vague and uncertain. Moreover, its progress entailed drifting backwards before the regular direction of his advance showed his ship to be certainly placed in the line of drift. Further back and to the east of Point Barrow the drift might well be expected to be utterly uncertain, so that a ship might spend some years before

10 Geographical Journal, vol. xxxi., p. 286.

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It will be seen, therefore, if this argument is correct, that no It will be soon, line of drifting in the ice may be expected to carry a ship over the line of driving in the literature of carry it towards the coast surrounding the Arctic Pole, but rather to carry it towards the coast surrounding the Arctic Pole, but rather the utmost approach to the Pole which could be looked Ocean, and that the utmost approach to the Pole which could be looked Ocean, and the one after the fashion of the Fram, on the north edge for would be one after to a position when a solution when for would be that carried her to a position whence a sledge expedition of the arms that the spin once left, would be return journey would be full of might be shown the ship, once left, would be very difficult to find again.

#### SLEDGES AND THEIR ADVANTAGES

In the face of such grave difficulties, is it to be wondered at if the merits of a sledge expedition—the only possible alternative—be seriously examined? Suppose a sledge expedition to be as well equipped as a ship; or, to take a concrete example, suppose that Commander De Long had put such an expedition equipped for five years on the floe where the Jeannette took the ice in sight of Herald Island; surely he would have accomplished at far less expense what the Jeannette and the Fram did; nay, he would possibly have achieved a far higher latitude than their united drifts were capable of attaining. It is quite possible to place upon the ice, one hundred miles northwest of Prince Patrick's Island, a sledge expedition, well equipped for any period, and to move supplies slowly east or west, according to the direction of the drift. With a few Eskimo and their knowledge of house-building in the snow, more comfortable quarters could be supplied than a ship would afford out of the material found upon the ice. Moreover, that such an expedition would be able to make its way across the Arctic Ocean seems probable; for we have nothing to show us that there will be any danger from the ice itself, provided the party does not try to make the land during the summer months. is essential that both the getting on and the getting off the ice be carried out in the winter time. The explorers, once on the move, could be continually taking observations, and progressing at short intervals, and thus be always advancing towards their goal. Furthermore, it is important in all sledge expeditions to start for a point where supplies can be obtained, and not, as everyone has done in the past, to start away with the intention of eventually returning by the

The history of Arctic travel gives us no reason to suppose that the ice presents any insurmountable difficulty. Looking through the names of those who have made ice journeys—Wrangel, Parry, Collinson, Markham, Nansen, Carni, Peary, and Mikkelsen—we can find but one instance, as far as I know, of anyone perishing through attempting to make the twent out ing to make an ice journey—namely, a supporting party that went out

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in the Duke of Abruzzi's expedition to assist Carni. 11 in the Duke of Abruzzi's expectively of disaster has not been the endeavour to make an ice journey, but April of disaster has not been the character that attempt to make the land during the summer months; rather the attempt to make the land during the summer months; which has in each case been necessitated by want of food. The which has in each case been ...

Jeannette party supplies an instance of this. We know that the Fram Jeannette party suppnes an increase was upheld by the ice for thirty-two months, and the Jeannette for this quite close to land. In the face of the fa eighteen months, and this quite close to land. In the face of these eighteen months, and this quite facts, who will venture to deny that the ice is capable of carrying facts, who will venture to day, supplies for several years? The problem, indeed, resolves itself into an enterprise more favourable than the crossing of a desert. In the latter undertaking one has to contend with a tropical sun and with a great dearth of water—difficulties which do not exist on the ice; and my belief is that, if the months of July, August and September are given up to rest, and to the taking of observations, while the Eskimo hunt such mammals as seal, white whale, narwhal and walrus, a much larger supply of food may be obtained on the ice than in a desert.

### THE OBJECTS TO BE ATTAINED

These considerations have led me to conclude that, when once means have been found to convey sufficient provisions on to the ice in high latitudes, the attainment of the Pole, and the exploration of that unknown region, is merely a matter of slow and steady advance, Whether there be land, or a deep sea covered with ice, is an open question, the solution of which, no matter how it be solved, will prove of scientific value. Even if the Pole is not reached, the result of the investigation of the physical features of the earth's crust in the Polar regions will be a most important object attained. If land be found, it will doubtless present greater difficulties to a sledge expedition than would a deep sea; nevertheless, the geological structure and geographical position of this land would, apart from its flora and fauna, be matters of valuable knowledge; and there might even be found there some relics of Baron Toll and his followers, or of André. If, on the other hand, a deep sea were found, as Dr. Nansen deems probable, the oceanography would be of great value. A much greater depth may exist in the centre of this ocean than we at present anticipate, since 2100 fathoms have been found quite close to the edge of the continental shelf. For this reason I have arranged to carry with me 10,000 fathoms of sounding wire and a portable machine (no portion of which would weigh more than 40 lbs.) capable of taking a sounding to a depth of 5200 fathoms. Hence, if land is found, I shall have the necessary instruments with me to locate and map that land; if, on the other hand, a deep sea is found, I shall be able to obtain the depths of the ocean and specimens of the bottom, as well as many other scientific observations.

<sup>11</sup> On the Pole Star in the Arctic Sea, p. 661.

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Since formulating. For this contingency, indeed, I have always my point of starting: and the reason which actuated me was the my point of source, and the reason which actuated me was the receipt in been prepared; and rews from San Francisco stationally been prepared,

December 1908 of news from San Francisco stating that no whale December 1900 the Arctic Ocean in the spring. Accordingly, when ships will go into the Arctic Ocean to take down the More in the start. I propose to take down the More in the ships will go more to start, I propose to take down the Mackenzie River I am able to least three years, to be placed in October sufficient supplies for at least three years, to be placed in October sufficient support the ice off Pullen Island on the 135th meridian. In my last upon the local and the local and the local and ing on the 22nd of July; expedition I started from Athabasca Landing on the 22nd of July; whereas I should have left there during the second week in May, as whereas I show which is the show which is the show whereas I show which is the show which it is the sh from leaving England till the 15th of June. The start from England should be made not later than the third week in April. I anticipate no difficulty in reaching Pullen Island with my supplies by the first week in August, and when the frost sets in about October, these supplies will be placed on the ice, and the expedition formally begun. By this route I shall, before starting, have an opportunity of finishing the map of the Mackenzie Delta, which I have begun, and as, during the months of August and September, plenty of fish are obtainable, the wait at Pullen Island will not involve my supplies being requisitioned before the expedition commences. At my destination,

Spitzbergen, supplies will await me. There are two reasons for selecting this direction. The first is that, if there be any land in the unknown region, I should, in virtue of the argument drawn from atmospheric conditions, expect to find it somewhere to the north and west of Grant Land. The drift found by Commander Peary, north of Grant Land and Greenland, running in an easterly direction, might seem to militate against what I have before laid down; unless this current be explained by the existence It might be accounted for, too, by the continual flow which I have described. A second reason for choosing this route is based on our knowledge of the New Siberian Islands, which are obviously not so suitable as a base to make for as Spitzbergen. it would be very much harder to place supplies upon this archipelago (the most northerly island of which is roughly 500 miles from any settlement) than upon Spitzbergen, which can be visited every year.

Assuming, from the drift of the Jeannette and her relics, that there is a drift round the Arctic Ocean at an average of about two miles per day,12 it seems reasonable that the drift in the shortest route across the centre of the ocean will be at an average of 1.2 miles per day. The distance from Pullen Island to Spitzbergen is about 1800 miles, while the distance from Point Barrow to Iceland is 2500 miles. first buoy mentioned above accomplished the latter distance in seventy months, drifting, therefore at the average rate of 1.2 miles per day; 13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Dr. Nansen's Farthest North, vol. i., p. 20. 13 Geographical Journal, vol. xxxi., p. 286.

but as the drift south of Spitzbergen is known to be faster than that but as the drift south of Spires buoy before reaching Spitzbergen north of it, the average drift of this buoy before reaching Spitzbergen

uld be put at not more than ...

If a buoy or a ship can drift in the ice at this rate, a sledge expedition would be therefore a sledge expedition would be put at not more than ... If a buoy or a ship can true tion can do the same; therefore a sledge expedition would actually actually some over 1000 miles, leaving only 800 miles. drift in three years over 1000 miles, leaving only 800 miles to be drift in three years over roce mile per day. It seems certain, the greater facilities for moving supplies covered by travelling, or ress that therefore, that with the greater facilities for moving supplies which therefore, that with the greater facilities for moving supplies which a sledge expedition has over a ship, the former is the better mode a sledge expedition has of the Arctic Ocean, with the prospect of exploring the centre of the Arctic Ocean, with the prospect of accomplishing such exploration within reasonable time.

ALFRED H. HARRISON,

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# THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES

A REPLY TO MR. HAROLD COX

On the other hand, his [Lord Salisbury's] remarks on the taxation of ground on the state of ground values show that he is unable or unwilling to appreciate the reasons why values show the reasons why economic rent should be subject to a special tax. Leaving altogether aside disputed questions about the origin of property in land, we have this broad disputed quon, that economic rent is a special product created by the industry and energy of the whole community, and ought not therefore to be allowed to remain in private hands. No doubt there would be hardship amounting to injustice if the whole of the economic rent of this kingdom were suddenly resumed by the nation; but there is no injustice in gradually imposing special taxation on rents until they are entirely absorbed. The question of the taxation of ground rents therefore stands quite apart from all other problems in taxation. Under existing circumstances in England it may be necessary and even desirable to have other taxes besides the tax on rent, and these taxes ought certainly to be adjusted so that they fall fairly on every class in the community. But a tax on rent is, as I have just said, a thing apart. It is not, indeed, properly a tax at all, but merely a retention by the State of part of that rent which in justice belongs altogether to the community. - HAROLD Cox, in The Standard (New York), 21st of December 1889.

WHILE the proposal to tax land values in the Budget of this year fills Mr. Cox with the gravest apprehension, it is regarded by an increasing number of people engaged in industry and commerce with all the equanimity and approval which the principle inspired in him twenty years ago. The members of the business community have been impressed by the view that it contains something essential for their prosperity. Some of their enterprises are impeded by rates, by taxes, or by the unduly heavy charges exacted for the use of land, others are headed off and dissipated by the impossibility of acquiring land for their fufilment. There is also a scarcity of good customers, of good tenants for houses, shops and offices, of people in a position to make a demand for all the commodities and services which business men are anxious to supply. Producers and consumers, merchants and their customers, suffer the same things under our systems of taxation and land tenure, and thus directly and indirectly the foundations of each man's prosperity are undermined. The taxation of land values has been quietly and persistently presented to them as a remedy for these evils. Many have been convinced of its soundness,

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and are demanding that the Government should embody the principle of this demand, this demand, this principle and are demanding that the co.
in a practical measure. Mr. Cox says that this demand, 'this popular' this popular' the principle in a practical measure.

Before examining the arguments with which he supports this Before examining the angular and dismiss certain personal references view, it will be well to deal with and dismiss certain personal references which occur more than once in the course of his article. He mentions which occur more than once in the interest opinion the total value of the mentions. Henry George, the late Bailie John Ferguson, and others, as men Henry George, the late Daniel who proclaimed that in their opinion the total value of the land should ultimately be appropriated for public purposes. This state. ment may cause alarm in the minds of those who do not perceive how little relevant it is to the practical proposals which are being discussed at the present moment, or which are likely to be discussed for many generations. What does it matter to-day that Mr. Cox twenty years ago said all that these men are reprobated for saying? Whatever object Mr. Cox has in recalling these things, there is no cause for alarm. The taxation of land values has made for security and stability in the colonies, and it is hardly conceivable that there will be any wild revolution in this country, any precipitate and tragic abdication of their seats by the landowners, or any rash and universal seizure of the land by the landless people. Mr. Cox refers sarcastically to the 'polite language employed by the land taxers,' to their 'inflammatory rhetoric.' It is doubtful, however, if any great movement for reform, any movement for fundamentally and substantially readjusting the relations of different classes and individuals to each other in this or any other country, has been marked by so little personal bitterness and by so few personal attacks. This is due, perhaps, in large measure, to the reasonableness and justice of the principle, features in it which have led its supporters to attack a system and not a class or individual, and at the same time have modified the opposition of the landowners whose position almost compels them to resist it.

There is little ground for Mr. Cox's renewed attack on Henry George, because he moved 'thousands of people in this country' by his rhetoric, and persuaded 'them that he had discovered the key to social salvation.' He admits this a few sentences later when he says that the English people require something more than rhetoric to influence them, and that the land taxers have furnished them with arguments which 'are superficially quite attractive.' He does not explain, however, the difference between rhetoric and superficially attractive arguments. Whatever it be, it is certain that neither one nor the other has moved so many of our colonies to adopt the taxation of land values, so many of our municipal and other local councils to demand from Parliament the power to adopt the same system, not, finally, have they persuaded both Houses of Parliament to accept the principle. George's logic has been confirmed by the logic of events in every department of civilised life, in business, in politics, and in

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morals. But even to rhetoric morals. But even to say the action not lawful? Political economy to enforce his arguments, was the action not lawful? Political economy to enforce his arguments, was the action not lawful? Political economy to enforce his argument of the standard of the long been regardless illumine and render it interesting deserve credit done something to illumine are numerous and respectable. done something

There are numerous and respectable precedents

There is the ancient instance of Lucretius -1 There is the ancient instance of Lucretius who in a similar for this. went much further, saying that as his subject was obscure position went the ordinary man who avoided it, he had resolved to and dreary for the ordinary man who avoided it, he had resolved to and dreary for the Muses' honey that he might had resolved to set it before and to sweeten it with a touch of the Muses' honey that he might keep their attention. But George did not require to be rhetorical or poetic in order to gain But George than other economists. His analysis and exposition of the subject only required to be clear, simple and consistent to distinguish them from those of most writers on the subject.

Take Mr. Cox's methods for example. Referring to the land taxers, he says: 'Their first argument is that land differs from all other things which are the subjects of private property. This statement is true, but it does not carry us very far.' Having made this admission he devotes the remainder of his article, except one passage which destroys his own case, to asserting and trying to prove that land should be treated exactly like other things from which it is essentially different. Even in these two sentences there is a lack of precise statement and a too great anxiety to beg the question. No one, not even Mr. Cox, admits that land is a subject of private property, and it was quite unnecessary to blunt the edge of his admission by saying that it did not carry us very far. This conclusion ought to have come at the end of his proof, for the land taxers affirm that it carries us all the way. This habit of doubling on one's reasoning, of subtly using inconsistent and contradictory arguments, puzzles, fatigues and repels the simple man, and there is not the slightest cause for surprise if he prefers clearness and consistency. end of the paragraph, of which these are the first two sentences, Mr. Cox ignores the distinction which he draws here between land and other things. He takes the case of two men who each save a hundred pounds out of their earnings, and because one buys Consols and the other a freehold ground rent, he asserts that 'to put a special tax upon the purchaser of the ground rent which the purchaser of Consols is not asked to pay is partially to confiscate the property of landowners for the benefit of non-landowners. The peculiar attributes of land certainly do not justify this peculiar interpretation of the rules of equity.

This style of argument is much too hasty. To assume that the fundamental and all-pervading distinction between land and capital, between ground rent and Consols, is completely obliterated and covered by the fact that Governments have made both the subjects of sale and purchase, is a transparent fallacy. The distinction cannot be represent fallacy. be repressed. It breaks out in practice, it breaks out in Mr. Cox's

Vol. LXV-No. 386 3 A thought, and even in his written words. His strained efforts to prove thought, and even in his written, that Consols, railway shares and municipal stock are equally eligible that Consols, railway shares and municipal stock are equally eligible that Consols, railway shares as subjects from which public revenue can be raised are rendered intile.

Land different consols. by the very nature of the things he is discussing. Land differs from the things he is discussing. Land differs from the things he is discussing. by the very nature of the change the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and municipal that the property represented by Consols, railway shares and railway shares the property represented by stock, and there is, therefore, good reason for assuming that the persons stock, and there is, therefore, good reason for assuming that the persons who hold land should be treated differently from those who hold land should be treated differently from those who hold who hold land should be consideration of the case of Consols, property in these forms. A consideration of the case of Consols, property in these forms. between which and land values the distinction is perhaps the least of obvious, will serve for all. These are Government stock or funds used for the maintenance of national or imperial services. One form of for the maintenance of the three services may be taken as typical of all. A naval loan is occasionally raised, and subscribers to this loan are granted shares in Consols in proportion to the amount of their subscriptions. The loan is used to increase or maintain the strength of the Navy. The Navy is a part of our national capital. It exists to render what is regarded as an indispensable national service. The people and their representatives believe that if it were not for the Navy the country might be invaded by foreign enemies, that vast armies might overrun our territory, laying waste our crops, razing or burning our factories, offices and dwelling-houses, destroying our public and private wealth, and depriving us of the opportunity and security which enable and encourage us to continue production, that hostile fleets might attack our ships at sea, and cut off our trade and intercourse with friendly nations. That is, the Navy is considered to play an essential part in the production and exchange of wealth, like any other form of capital. But land differs very widely from the Navy, and a tax on the value of land differs as widely in its nature and in its effects from a tax on Consols or on the dividends paid on Consols. A tax of a hundred per cent. on the dividends drawn from Consols would make national loans a thingof the past. No person would subscribe to a naval loan, if he understood that the Government would confiscate every penny of it in taxation. The national capital would not be replenished, the strength of the Navy would decline, and our shores would be left open to the attack of any country which might care to make it. But a tax of a hundred per cent. on the value of land would have a very different result. The land, unlike the Navy, is not brought into existence by the expenditure of capital and labour, and the value of land is not created by services performed by its recipients. If the value of land were taxed, the land would not disappear, and the services which give land its value would not be with I not be withdrawn or those who perform them discouraged. contrary, every kind of public and private enterprise would receive a new stimulus, because the appropriation of land value by the State would remove the would remove the insurmountable obstacle placed in their way by the withholding of land, and because the value of land would be used to render the first to render the first more efficient and to free the second from burdens

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which now rest on it. The same argument applies to railway shares They represent capital which differs essentially and municipal stock. and municipal which differ from land in every case where men give or receive its use.

m land in every to identify things essentially dissimilar is tediously. This attempt to identify the article. Mr. Cox arms of the control of This attempt the article. Mr. Cox argues that the holding repeated throughout the article as the holding repeated through the same in its effects as the holding up of capital and up of land is the same buys a supply of cotton and half and up of land is A merchant buys a supply of cotton, and holds it until the labour. labour. A more favourable for a sale. Is he to be taxed on the stock market is more than to sell? A body of workmen hold back their he holds, to compete until they obtain a price which they think adequate. Are they to be taxed, to force them to come to terms more quickly Are they to be the difference between land on the one with their employers?' If the difference between land on the one hand, and cotton goods and muscular strength on the other, is not apparent to Mr. Cox in the gradual but steady process of dissolution which affects the latter in ordinary circumstances, cases may be taken where the distinction is suddenly and clearly revealed. There was much muscular strength, and there would doubtless be many cotton goods in Messina, Kingston and San Francisco immediately before the earthquakes which recently visited them, and no doubt the possessors of cotton and of far more enduring forms of wealth, as well as the possessors of muscular strength, expected that they would receive a price for their possessions not for one day but for many days in the future. But when the surface of the earth was moved by some hidden force as an awning is moved by the wind, muscular strength, cotton and substantial buildings went down in ruins or up in flames, never to fetch a price again. With the land it was different. Although its configuration might be slightly altered, it was there to bring for its owners a price as high as or higher than before, just as it was in the times of Verres or Columbus. In spite of Mr. Cox's assertion, the injury done to trade by the largest strikes is not so serious or so widespread as the injury caused by the chronic interference with every trade due to the withholding of land in every part of the country. Strikes themselves, indeed, are caused by land monopoly, and its displacement of labour with the consequent tendency to force down wages.

While it is equally inconsistent with dignity and intelligence to discuss Mr. Cox's comparison of land monopoly with the 'monopoly' he has in his trousers, it is both of importance and interest to point out the implicit and inevitable meaning of this reiterated argument, a meaning which becomes explicit in one passage. Mr. Cox is known as the arch-opponent of Socialism. He is irrepressible in his attacks on Socialist proposals in Parliament, on the platform, and in the Press, but here in cold letters he advocates the vicious principle which has been pressed as a solution of the social problem by the most extravagant section of those reformers who have unfortunately adopted the world of the rest of the world of the wo the word Socialism to describe their aims and methods. Mr. Cox's argument is a perfect illustration of this vice:

Where it can be shown (he says) that a particular piece of land is deliberately Where it can be shown (he says) end to prove the community, power ought to being kept out of the market, to the injury of the community, power ought to being kept out of the local authority to compel the landowner to sell. being kept out of the market, to the injury, power ought to be given to the local authority to compel the landowner to sell. No man is beginning by property in such a manner as to injure other people. be given to the local authority to compete the sent of the sent of the sent of the people we justified in using his property in such a manner as to injure other people we justified in using his property in such a manner as to injure other people we justified in using his property in such a manner as to injure other people. We justified in using his property in such a such that the obstructive landlord, people, we want some machinery for expropriating the obstructive landlord, paying him,

Consider the situation as it is described. There is the Government Consider the situation as and the individual whose action is shown to be injurious to the conand the individual whose defect munity. Mr. Cox, with all that fatal haste which is the chief defect in Socialistic thought, condemns the individual at once. He does not stay to inquire whether the fault is the Government's or the not stay to inquire who individual's, nor to ask how the situation arises, or how it might be avoided, but calls for compulsion, for machinery, for legislation which is socialistic in the bad sense of the word, to expropriate the obstructive landlord. This disclosure of Mr. Cox's real views is very salutary. It shows that the men who most loudly profess themselves opponents of State interference cannot consistently maintain their principles if they are not prepared to challenge the laws imposed on individuals by past Governments, laws which are interfering, and not merely threatening to interfere, with individual freedom. The land taxers, if they understand the principle underlying their proposal, would deny that the landowner is the real or ultimate cause of the injury inflicted on the community by the withholding of land. They find that cause in the land and rating laws which are the work of The landowners are not one bit more Governments or the State. wicked or more stupid than other people that they deserve to be coerced: they are agents of a system which teaches them inevitably to believe that their interests are best served by the injury of common interests, and this system has been founded and built up by Governments in the past. The evil is not partial, it prevails on every estate, it is as universal as the laws which cause it. Socialism, in the true sense of the word, is not a new growth of yesterday or of last century, it is exactly the same age as the earliest society, and the most urgent call at the present time is not to resist the Socialism that is proposed, but to repeal the Socialism, the legislative work of society, which is in force, and which is crushing industry and limiting freedom on every hand.

The taxation of land values is a proposal to readjust the relations of the community to individuals and to assign to each the functions which naturally and properly belong to them. It would involve no arbitrary or vindictive coercion. The incongruity and perversity of the present arrangement will be best seen in an example sufficiently interesting to justify a rather long quotation. Lord Dudley, who owns an estate in the West Indies, paid a visit there in 1906. Asked his opinion of Jamaica when he was on the point of leaving for home, he said:

It is a wonderfully productive place. There is hardly a thing that will not with the which came grow there. As a matter of fact, I have 10,000 acres in Jamaica which came

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into our family, in the female line, about the year 1744. Of course these into our family, but when Emancipation came along these into our family, in the when Emancipation came along there seemed to be properties gave sugar, but when Emancipation came along there seemed to be properties do all of that, and they have never given anything since. properties gave sugar, properties gave sugar, and they have never given anything since. I have always an end to all of that, and they have never given anything since. I have always an end to all our Jamaica estates, fancying they could not be an end to all of the same always and to all our Jamaica estates, fancying they could not be worth very rather laughed at our gave anything, and, of course, as they never rather laughed as they never gave anything, and, of course, as they never required any nature of the never troubled very much about them. much as they never troubled very much about them. I am afraid we have money I have not been very much absentee proprietors. When we were coming out on the Port been very much associated as the point board named Nathan—the poor fellow was Kingston there was a chap on board named Nathan—the poor fellow was kingston the earthquake—he told me that he knew one of Kingston there was Kingston the earthquake—he told me that he knew one of my estates, and killed in the earthquake—he told me that he knew one of my estates, and killed in the calculation and the same of the members advised me on no account to part with it. Since then some of the members and they have visited the estates, and they have advised me on the distribution of the members of the Conference have visited the estates, and they have reported to me very of the Conference have wonderfully rich and production of the Conference. They are wonderfully rich and productive, and I am advised highly upon them. They are wonderfully rich and productive, and I am advised highly upon them.

highly upon them. I am advised a post to part with a rood of land, and I do not intend to. I should not be going not to part with a rood of land, and I do not intend to. I should not be going to the control of th not to part when the chairman of a Royal Commission and am bound to home just yet, only I am chairman of a Royal Commission and am bound to home just I intend to come out again in the autumn, to go and see my estates and put them in proper order. I am very sorry it is not convenient for me to do so now, as I am bound to be at home.

Here is our problem restated in a manner and in circumstances which are least of all calculated to provoke bitterness or charges of a personal nature. So far as we are aware Lord Dudley has never had the reputation of being anything else than public-spirited and disinterested as a citizen, and generous in his private transactions, nor have we ever heard that he was a land taxer, or an ardent land law reformer of any kind, but in this simple statement of facts, with a frankness that is as rare as it is charming, he describes the whole evil, he indicates its cause, and suggests the remedy. He confesses that his West Indian estates are very productive, that they have not produced anything for some seventy years, that if certain things had happened, if some money had been required of him in respect of them, they would have received attention, and would have produced an unknown amount of wealth and employed a large amount of labour. He saw the whole tragic situation, he fully intended to devote himself to the development of the estates, but in spite of all his eagerness and ambition to carry out this project, he is now on the other side of the world with his mind and hands full of important work. His West Indian estates are still undeveloped, and he could still say with truth, 'I am afraid we have been very much absentee proprietors.' Owing to the fact that Lord Dudley's West Indian acres are idle the total production of the world is less than it might be. There are fewer men and women employed there, and, consequently, fewer customers for our merchants and manufacturers here.

Lord Dudley's relation to his estates is similar to that of all other landowners to their estates. He was unable though anxious to develop his estates; the others are unable and not always anxious. He admitted his failure and expressed his regret; few of the others do either. This is all the difference between them and him. The universal inability of landowners to develop the land in their possession and under their absolute control is inevitable in the nature

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of things. The task is beyond their powers. Its proper performance of things. The task is beyond authority or agency whose performance requires the attention of an authority or Lord Dudley attent is requires the attention of an accountry. Lord Dudley attributed universal within the limits of any country. Lord Dudley attributed universal within the limits of the community or Government task of the community or Government. his neglect to the fact that has been separate holding, and to exact.

That is the great unperformed task of the community or Government, That is the great unperformed to ascertain the value of each separate holding, and to exact a part to ascertain the value of each separate holding, and to exact a part of its value from its possessor sufficient to make him attend to its development, or to make it accessible to capital and labour. Every. one would benefit by this policy. Suppose that a charge of 1000. a year on the value of his West Indian land were made on Lord Dudley by the Government, and that this charge moved him to use it, and to produce something to the value of 10,000l., he himself would be enriched and the trade of the whole world increased and stimulated This ascertainment and appropriation of land value is a function which belongs peculiarly to the Government, which can only be performed by the Government. Its assumption and performance by the Government would not only give industry and enterprise full scope, but would enable the Government to abandon a thousand impertinent and improper tasks which do not rightly or naturally belong to it. This is the reply to Mr. Cox's reiterated contention that particular cases of obstruction 'do not justify the imposition of a special tax on all land.' The problem is not one of rare and isolated cases, but one of unvarying practice.

In one sentence Mr. Cox denies that there is anything unequal in our system of land tenure, and in the next he admits that there is, but that its evil effects are insignificant. Referring to unemployment, he says: 'There is no land monopoly in this country. There is, indeed, a monopoly in particular pieces of land, just as I have a monopoly in the particular pair of trousers I am wearing. But there is no general monopoly in land. If one piece is held back, other pieces can be bought.' Against these statements of contradictory and doubtful meaning we may put John Stuart Mill's statement that 'a thing which is limited in quantity, even though its possessors do not act in concert, is still a monopolised article.' For this reason the possession of land is always a monopoly which must be modified in order to prevent injurious effects. If space permitted, a great many instances could be cited in which landowners refused to allow capitalists and labourers to develop building, agricultural, and mineral lands in this country. They can go elsewhere, says Mr. Cox. Where can they go to get the freedom that is denied them here? To South Africa? According to a report of the meeting of the Lydenburg Estates, held on the 9th of February 1909:

Mr. John Hay advocated a waiting policy with regard to their land holdings. It might be painful to go without dividends, but the policy was undoubtedly in their interests. in their interests. The land would of course grow no larger, but it would increase in value, and they should have been also will be and they should be a shoul in value, and they should hold on to it for all they were worth. They had had offers for some of their f had offers for some of their farms during the year, but they did not propose to sell unless much better price. sell unless much better prices were suggested.

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In these instances we have two private land companies and a In the companies and a private individual exercising their monopoly, their power of beating private multiply of capital and labour from co-operation with their indispensable off capital definition of wealth. Even if it were true that capital partner in the line of the land, as Mr. Cox says, there is no reason and labour could be buffeted about the why they should be buffeted about the world by the blind, suicidal power of monopoly. All individuals, all towns and cities, all countries and all empires live and prosper by industry; and yet we are asked to give our first consideration in our political arrangements to monopoly, its relentless and mortal enemy. There is no reason why the capitalist should be driven from the most desirable opportunity for investment of his capital to a less desirable, nor from the less desirable to the least desirable, nor from the least desirable out of an investment altogether or into one that is unsound.

Mr. Cox denounces the land taxers for their presumption in reciting a 'cock-and-bull story' about the Land Tax of 1692, 'a demonstrably untrue story,' which makes it difficult for him to understand their moral attitude. If there are wicked people who find a precedent where there is none, or who push a precedent too far, they may be left to defend themselves. There is abundant reason, however, for taking exception to Mr. Cox's account of the subject. It may be assumed at once that no intelligent reformer finds his ideal in past conditions; that no land taxer claims that the British people of the seventeenth century were so much alive as the British people of to-day to the importance of observing clear distinctions in our systems of rating and taxation. The tax imposed under the Act of 1692 was not a tax on a land value basis as we understand it to-day. It was a tax on the land value, on the value of improvements, on personal property and incomes derived from some public offices. The main provision of the Act, from which it took its title, was a tax on land, 'according to the full annual value thereof, without any respect had to the present rents reserved for the same,' and the tax was to be 'after the rate of four shillings for every twenty shillings of the full yearly value as the same were let for, or worth to be let, at the time of assessing thereof.' The assessments under the Act, however, soon ceased to move in relation to the movement in the value of the subjects, and in 1798 the valuation, which had remained practically the subjects of the subjects. cally the same for a century, was made perpetual, and permission

was granted to redeem the tax. But while land was receiving was granted to redeem the this stereotyped valuation of the tax collector only under this stereotyped valuation of the tax ground with a vengeance in other directions. the attention of the tax concerns the attention of the tax concerns to the tax concerns of property became annual campaigns that the tax concerns of property became annual campaigns to the concerns of property became annual campaigns. tion, he was breaking ground.

His raids on other forms of property became annual campaigns.

He was taxable: houses, windows, wool can be the staxable and the staxable annual campaigns. His raids on other forms of property taxed everything that was taxable: houses, windows, wool, carriages, taxed everything that was taxable and incomes from every safes, dogs, horses, food of every variety, and incomes from every source, dogs, horses, food of every variety and incomes from every source. dogs, horses, food of every values, leading that Act had been developed the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in that Act had been developed to the principles of taxation embodied in the principles of taxation If the principles of taxation contributing a great part of our directly in the proportions of measure of the land would be now directly contributing a great part of our national would not the Civil server national land would be now uncour, comparison, would not the Civil servants gladly revenue. By way of comparison, which their predecessors had been selected as a serious which their predecessors had been selected as a serious which their predecessors had been selected as a serious which their predecessors had been selected as a serious s pay income tax on the incomes which their predecessors had in 1692? Would not the present generation willingly pay on the value of the Would not the present generation? And why did none personal property possessed by that generation? And why did none of our fathers redeem, for ever and ever, their taxes and ours on of our fathers federif, 201 incomes, food, and houses? The history of taxation in this country during recent centuries is largely a record of the landowners' anxious and successful efforts to take and keep land as far as possible out of the standard of rating and taxation. These efforts may be justifiable, if we consider the views which they hold with regard to their interests, The last instance of this policy was the Agricultural Rates Act of 1896, which was opposed and denounced by the Liberal party as a measure passed in the interest of the landowners at the expense of the urban ratepayers.

Mr. Cox does not meet the argument about the obligations attached to landholding in feudal times. He is impatient with it. The landowners bore the greater part of the public burdens in those days:

The only puzzle (says Mr. Cox) is to know why any pamphleteer or speaker should take the trouble to make such an obvious remark. In former centuries land was almost the only source of wealth, and therefore naturally provided a larger share of the public revenue than now when other sources of wealth are, collectively at least, twenty times as important as land.

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Does he really mean that new sources of wealth have been discovered with the great increase of capital during recent centuries, that the cotton or woollen goods which come out of the mills in Lancashire and Yorkshire have their origin and growth somewhere in the spinning and weaving machines which cost so many millions to build? Or if simple-minded people remark that the wool is discharged from ships in London docks and the cotton from ships in Liverpool docks, wil he tell them that the wool and cotton are generated by some very costly machinery like refrigerators in the holds of the ships? Some people, ignorant of the existence of these new sources of wealth, still believe that the mighty wool and cotton spinners of Yorkshire and Lancashire require to get their wool and cotton from the one and only source from which Penelope and Eve, two of their oldest reputed

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as Mr. Cox suggests. Mr. Cox suggested.

Many of his arguments on other points are marked by the same Many of the attacks what he calls another very plausible and wild daring. The context: wild daring. The contention of the land taxers. The contention of the latter superficial allegation ont bear their fair share of the latter superficial and superficial and not bear their fair share of the local and national is that landowners do not bear their fair share of the local and national burdens. Mr. Cox's reply is to the effect that the landowners really burdens. The land owners really bear all the public burdens, because they let their land at rents lower bear all the present and prospective rates on an average by the amount of the present and prospective rates on an average on an average on an average on an average and taxes which the tenant agrees to pay. It is difficult to characterise and taxes the can hardly be called plausible, and its subtle andacity is exquisitely fitted to stun and bewilder the ordinary man. The land taxers argue that the man who is privileged to hold land which is rendered valuable by the performance of public or common services should be called upon to pay an amount equal or corresponding to that value towards the maintenance of those services. If, after the payment of all rates and taxes by the lessees, a landowner still draws 20,000l. a year from land on which he has laid out no capital and bestowed no labour, it is fair to assume that the production of the wealth represented by this sum has been a burden and charge on some one, and that the landowner who receives this sum should have a special and peculiar share in bearing this burden. Of course, if the landowner paid 5000l. in rates, he might get 26,000l. in rent, but the position would be unaltered; he would still receive a large income in respect of which he rendered no service. This income is earned by public capital and public labour. It may be that 'the main object of the freeholder,' as Mr. Cox says, 'is generally to create a fixed annuity which he can sell as a trust investment,' and that 'for this purpose it is imperative that the ground rent should be relieved of the uncertainty attaching to local rates,' but this does not settle the question of fairness or equity; it only raises it.

There are some inconsistencies and some obvious fallacies in Mr. Cox's argument about the holding up of land. First of all, he is inclined to believe that the holding back involves no injury at all, 'except possibly to the landowner himself.' He thinks 'the holding back of urban sites, where it occurs, tends to drive the population more into the country.' He omits to tell us where they are driven by the holding back of rural sites. Again, he argues, or asserts, that the effect of a universal tax would be partial, that the tendency would be for owners of small areas to let go, and for owners of large estates to add to the area which they held idle. This means that a ten per cent. tax on land values, an ad valorem tax which, as an absolute charge or burden, would fall most heavily on the large owners, would affect them least, or even incline them to incur the greatest loss. The large owners, Mr. Cox says, will lose ten per cent. of the capital with indifference. Will they also contemplate the risk of losing twenty or

thirty per cent. without perturbation? It seems rather strange that the thirty per cent. without perturbed small men will transfer the losing concern to the keenest and shrewdest small men will thus concentrate the land of the country in the land of the c small men will transfer the losing financiers, and thus 'concentrate the land of the country in the hands financiers, and thus 'After insinuating that agricultural indicators' After insinuating that agricultural indicators in the land of the country in the hands financiers, and thus concentrate insinuating that agricultural land of wealthy speculators.' After insinuating that agricultural land of wealthy speculators. And would be put under game, he perpetrates the old, notorious fallacy as would be put under game, he perpetrates the old, notorious fallacy as would be put under game, he per nearly as possible in the old familiar form of words: 'Is it one of the objects of the land taxers to drive the farmers and labourers off the land objects of the land taxers to drive the farmers and labourers off the land objects of the land taxers to day in order to make room for game preserves?' We need hardly remind in order to make room for game preserves?' We need hardly remind Mr. Cox of the question: 'Have you left off beating your wife?' Mr. Cox of the question.

While the speculators are going to be unmoved by the tax on vacant While the speculators are grant and football clubs 'are taking action to secure the exemption of their property from any land values tax which may be imposed. They are wise in their generation.' But why should cricket clubs be moved, if men with a thousand times more land are unaffected? Surely Mr. Cox cannot expect plain people to believe that his two contradictory statements are both sound.

With regard to the political steps by which it has been sought to realise the object of this proposal, they have been consistent and free from vindictiveness in a remarkable degree. The Bill for Scotland and the Bill for England and Wales promoted by the great municipali. ties provided for the valuation and rating of land. Opponents and timid or cautious friends might object that it was going too fast to value and rate land values in one measure. The Select Committee took that view, and recommended that a Bill to provide for valuation only should be prepared and passed. This was done. In 1907 the Valuation Bill for Scotland was introduced. Having regard to criticisms that were offered, the Lord Advocate postponed the date of its coming into operation till 1910. It was rejected by the Lords on second reading. Reintroduced in 1908, it was amended so as to make its operation depend on its adoption by local councils. This amendment was rightly considered fatal by the Government, as it would render the whole valuation system of the country chaotic. In all this there was nothing hasty, nothing ill-considered. It was a policy of taking only one step at a time and of leaving a considerable interval between each step. But this careful policy was not accept able to the Lords, and so the Government is thrown back on the more direct method of carrying out the proposal by means of the Budget. So long as they have this resource, it would betray weakness and inconsistency on their part to ignore the claims which this reform has on them and to abandon the effort to give it legislative effect by the most immediate means. The fact that the Lords have conceded every point of principle should encourage them to do this, as it could only be for reasons connected with party politics that the Lords should thus give their assent and then render the principle inoperative by an amendment.

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A PROSPECT IN INDIAN POLITICS

'I am under the strong opinion that as government in India becomes more and more Parliamentary—as well may be the result—so it will become less and more railing beneficent to the poorer classes of the population.'—Lord Curzon, House of Lords, 23rd of February 1909.

REFORMS in the Indian Constitution were bound to come. There are limits to inconsistency, and it is really impossible to avoid giving the people of India opportunities for practising the principles which we have been teaching in schools and colleges for the last half-century. It is disconcerting that the changes should have been hailed by the National party as exceeding the highest expectation-all the more so as there is an impression that they have been rather extorted than granted, and that they owe to apprehensions of violence their growth from the very modest scheme outlined by the Secretary of State two years ago. It must be admitted that the occasion is unfortunate for the relaxation of official control, for in India dignity counts for a great deal, and a Government which is suspected of weakness cannot afford to be generous or even just. But sooner or later reforms were inevitable. It may be objected that the cry for representative government-for a popular Constitution-expresses no real desire in the East, that it is simply a manifestation of the impatience with which all mankind regards an alien rule, and that it is not heard in the extensive territories which are governed, more or less despotically, by Native rulers. But for long past we have definitely committed ourselves to the idea that self-government is an ideal, and that, exotic though it be, it can be cultivated in India. Two generations of Indians have been taught the literature, history, and philosophy of England, the dominant note of which is political freedom. The first generation regarded these lessons as Utopian exercises for the intelligence and in the use of words; the second generation has come to look deeper and to assimilate its teaching in matter as well as in form. Nor have we confined to the lecture-room our appreciation of English political methods: we have given demonstrations of them in the marketplace. The measures of local self-government which were introduced a quarter of a century ago provided for the management of local

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affairs by committees, which in some provinces were mainly constiaffairs by committees, which is a series of the series of tuted by popular election, and thus endowed with a freedom of action own non-official chairmen, being thus endowed with a freedom of action with a own non-official chairmen, being councils in Germany. We are often beyond that enjoyed by town councils in Germany. We are often principal principal. beyond that enjoyed by tour.

accused of having administered India on commercial principles for maintely to maintely to maintely the maintely to maintely the principles for the commercial principles for the commercia accused of having administered to would be difficult to maintain that the benefit of Englishmen, and it would be difficult to maintain that the benefit of Englishmen, and Indian interests have never been sacrificed to our advantage. The Indian interests have never some standard to day a witness instincts of our race the against us. But through the business instincts of our race there mus against us. But through the sporting spirit a vein of knight-errantry—of what may be called the sporting spirit - the promptings of which have led us into strange inconsistencies, the promptings of which the development of our Empire owes most of the interest it possesses from the philosophic point of view. Thus, while dominating Indian commerce in the interests of our own manufactures, we have taken pains to impress upon the Indian people that our domination cannot be justified. We have carefully instructed them in our own political tenets, under which the policy of the State should be determined not by those who receive payment for governing but by those who provide the payment; and we cannot persistently disregard claims that we should put our principles into practice, and afford greater scope for the influence of non-official opinion. This is precisely what the new reforms are to accomplish. Legislative Councils will include a much larger proportion of elected non-official members than heretofore, and the elected members will enjoy wider opportunities for criticising and influencing the policy of the State,

British interests apart, will this change be for the general good? It will undoubtedly stimulate what is called 'political activity' amongst the educated classes of India. But its effects will inevitably be to the disadvantage of the poor. However distasteful the idea may be to the many kind-hearted men who in politics take the Liberal side, we are sacrificing, in this case, philanthropy to politics. For the non-official opinion which now will have power to sway our administration will in no degree be the opinion of the mass of the people. It will represent the interests of certain privileged classes—interests which would in most cases be affected injuriously by legislative at tempts to redress grievances, and would be strongly opposed to them. The most important and the most interesting figure in Indian economy is the cultivator, or ryot. To his labour the country still looks for ninetenths of its production, and he and his dependents represent the most numerous, the most industrious, and the most law-abiding class of the population. The Government has at various times under taken legislation to protect him from arbitrary ejectment and rackrenting, but it is hardly too much to say that on every occasion its interference on his behalf has been opposed by the whole weight of non-official influence in Council. And if proprietors and employers are hostile to interference by legislation on behalf of the classes they

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dominate, they oppose still more obstinately executive interference of dominate, they opposed contain that it is only by the active intervenany kind. Yet it is quite certain that it is only by the active intervenany kind. State that the ignorant and depressed can be secured in tion of their legal rights, and that, for instance tion of the branch legal rights, and that, for instance, a tenancy law enjoyment of their legal rights, and that, for instance, a tenancy law enjoyment of the enjoym which offers rectically useless to them. Even in England, their landlords is practically useless to them. their landiorus it is an accepted belief in the highest quarters and at the present day, it is an accepted belief in the highest quarters and at the present at the law now that poor men will only secure the land allotments that the law now that poor men will only secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the land allotments that the law now that present a secure the law now that the law now that the law now t that poor mediately responsible for it offers them in ser immediately responsible for the working of the to those who though they have been by an effective voting power, Act. Date of the English labouring classes many years of struggle to it has cost our Councils the doctrine of laissez faire which in its day brought philosopher and capitalist on to a common platform. In India the working classes are more ignorant, less enterprising: they have no votes and will have none. It is not proposed, and it would be impossible, to extend the franchise below the bourgeoisie. Hitherto the Government in India has been strong enough to override non-official opposition when necessary for the general good. will no longer be the case. Non-officials will have a majority on the Legislative Councils of Provincial Governments, and, granting that they will not form so compact a body as to be always solid against the Government, any legislation which trenches upon vested interests will encounter so strong an opposition that the Government will be compelled to subordinate justice to expediency, and will hesitate to attack abuses when its efforts will entail not merely labour in office but bitterness in Council. It is not too much to say that the character of our administration will be radically changed. Measures will be determined by a consideration not of their intrinsic utility but of the feelings they will arouse amongst the classes which are represented in Council, and administration will become a task not of practical benevolence but of political dexterity. It may be urged that, even so, India will be in no worse case than England is at present. But to those who hold that the State justifies its existence by protecting the weak against the strong this will offer no solid consolation.

There is a general impression that the work of the English official Services in India is deserving of compliment, but it is scarcely realised that their administration conforms more closely to the ideal of a Government than any other system of rule which the world has known. For the efficient and benevolent management of public affairs knowledge is required, and capacity, but, above all, fairness of judgment; and this can only be expected when those in authority are under no temptation to use their knowledge and their power for any purpose but the public good. The general capacity of English officials in India has been secured by the method of their appointment. In knowledge they may be be somewhat deficient: infused

by whatever enthusiasm, trained to whatever industry, a foreigner can be and feelings of an Oriental race by whatever enthusiasm, tramed to the life and feelings of an Oriental race, no obligation, under no temptation, to take never entirely enter into the median no temptation, to take other they are under no obligation, under no temptation, to take other disinterested view of the questions that they are under no obligation, the questions take other than an absolutely disinterested view of the questions that country; the country; the than an absolutely dismerences that country that country the roles before them. They have no connexions in the country: the roles before them. before them. They have no sequiring any pecuniary the rules of Government prevent them from acquiring any pecuniary interests of Government prevent from place to place, to which the ment of Government prevent them record to place, to which the members of in it, and the transfer from place to place, to which the members of in it, and the transfer from place to place, to which the members of in it, and the transfer from partial a Service are hable, enecas that an English official will do justice experiences. The impression that an English official will do justice experiences. The impression according to his lights, that before him a litigant will, so to speak, according to his money, is the very strongest asset of secure a fair run for his money, is the very strongest asset of our rule. We belong to a world the workings of which afford no trace whatever We belong to a world one of the existence of justice: yet a cry for justice is insistently and indexed the same of the existence of justice is insistently and indexed the same of the existence of justice is insistently and indexed the same of the existence of justice is insistently and indexed the existence of th passionately uttered by suffering humanity. And, judging by them. passionately untered by salves, the oppressed only expect justice of those who are under no temptation to deny it, and they discern injustice, however unwar. rantably, in every act of those whose interests it would serve. This suspicion grievously weakens the position of all Native officials in India. It is commonly said that an Indian would rather take his grievance to an English official than to one of his own countrymen, and there are few Anglo-Indian magistrates whose experiences will not illustrate this statement. Some years ago I was permitted to make a new departure in promoting two Native officials to the very responsible post of Settlement officer—of entrusting to them, that is to say, the task of reassessing land revenue. One of them was a Hindu, the other a Muhammedan. Both were officers of experience and proved integrity. Both discharged their new duties with effciency and honesty. The Muhammedan, working in districts which are almost exclusively Hindu, escaped suspicion of favouritism, as he stood outside the ring of local interests. On the other hand, the awards of the Hindu aroused a storm of opposition which involved the Government in considerable difficulty. Every man whose payments were increased attributed his enhancement to personal dislike, or was not less annoyed by the suspicion that others had fared better than himself because of the Settlement officer's personal liking for Twice I have received from Muhammedans mass petitions for the substitution of English for Hindu magistrates in the charge of districts. There was nothing whatever against the ability or integrity of these gentlemen: but the interests of Hindus and Muhammedans were clashing in various ways at the time, and the latter thought it impossible that a Hindu magistrate should consider their case fairly. English officials may not in all cases have knowledge: they may not in all cases have capacity. But they are known to be disinterested, and in a country of divergent interests this qualification outweighs all others.

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our ability to carry through great schemes of beneficent reform our ability to construct the bitterness of private interests affected by them: without excluded without extraordinary economy of our administration, we owe to it also the extraordinary as India progression, we owe to to all administration, without which, in so poor a country as India, progressive government without which, it is the impossible. No one who knows India and Egypt would have been impossible. The latter is the control of the latter in t would have been government of the latter is the more effective or the farther reaching of the two. Yet, in relation to population, or the farmer to population, it is by five times the more expensive, owing in great measure to the it is by live the section of the State. We have able to obstruct the action of the State. We have covered India with able to observe and canals, which are not only of incalculable benefit to the people but pay their way and cost nothing to the taxpayer. This would have been impossible were it not for a minute regard for economy which to landlords and contractors must appear unworthy of a great Government, and which would speedily be dissipated if their interests could control the situation. Take for instance the acquisition of land for these and other public works. The considerations which may and which may not be taken into account in calculating its value are specified by law: authority to calculate the value is given to the Revenue officials of Government; persons who consider themselves aggrieved by too low a valuation may appeal to the Civil Court, but, if the Revenue award is upheld, upon them fall the costs of the appeal: to set the law in motion nothing more is required than an order of the Executive Government, describing the land, and affirming that it is needed for a public purpose. What margins for higher dividends, or more liberal wages, would English railways not have been enjoying had their land been acquired upon such a system! Yet it is clear that so simple, so drastic a procedure would never have been adopted by a Legislature that was influenced by the opinions of landlords and capitalists, and will be difficult to maintain when these classes have the power of moulding the action of the State to suit their wishes.

Again, in the matter of tenancy legislation what an object-lesson in really popular government—government for the benefit of the people—can India not give to England! In the Provinces of Northern and Central India the conditions of land tenure may be generally described as approximating to those of Ireland. The land is owned by proprietors who are sharply divided by class distinctions from their tenants, who spend little or nothing in the improvement of their tenants' land, and who are commonly absentees, managing through agents. The tenants are small holders, cultivating for subsistence, not for profit, too independent to save money against misfortune, and yet exposed to the greatest possible misfortunes in periodical famines. The conditions are precisely those which, if left to natural action and unregulated by the State, must evolve the bitterest antagonism between landlord and tenant, ending in the degradationthe practical enslavement—of the latter. But the State has not the practical enslavement—or the heat the proper functions of the struggle for life. Tenancy laws have been rehesitated to intervene and to and moderating the struggle for life. Tenancy laws have been passed and moderating the tenants in possession of their hold: and moderating the struggle to securing the mass of the tenants in possession of their holdings at securing the magnitude of the problem deterred the or securing the mass of the constitute of the problem deterred the Govern a fair rent. Nor has the magnitude of the problem deterred the Govern a fair rent. Nor has the magnitude without which its efforts would ment from accepting a responsibility of deciding what is a fair ment from accepting a responsibility of deciding what is a fair rent have been useless—the responsibility of deciding what is a fair rent have been useless—the response provinces, of in individual cases of dispute—nay, more, in some provinces, of in individual cases of dispute—nay, more, in some provinces, of in individual cases of day eriodic intervals. Mistakes have no doubt settling rents in detail at periodic intervals. Mistakes have no doubt been made: legislation in some cases has fixed its eyes too closely on the foreground, and, while protecting existing tenants, has not safeguarded from degradation the generations that are to come after. But it is impossible to deny that the law has been, generally, very But it is impossible to describe the simplicity of its methods, and the completely of its motives, the directness of its methods, and the completeness of its efforts it offers a striking contrast to the endeavours of the English Parliament to regulate the struggle between Irish landlords and their tenants. Legislation in tenants' interests has not, of course, been undertaken without consulting landlords, and in deference to landlords' wishes the State has never gone so far as enthusiasm, or even logic, might have led it—for instance, save in very special cases tenants have not been endowed with powers of transfer. But its concessions have been made voluntarily, and not of necessity. Had the interests of landlords been strongly represented on the Legislative Councils, had there been on those Councils a strong non-official element which the landlords could have attracted to their side, the State, however much it might have sympathised with the tenant, would have shrunk from championing his interests. And, in consequence, hundreds of thousands—nay, millions—of families that now cultivate their land in decent independence would have fallen, through rack-renting and eviction, into spiritless degradation. In the Province of Bengal, where for special reasons landlords are a stronger power than elsewhere, such tenancy legislation as has been undertaken has been shorn of its effective resources, and the Bengal Tenancy Act, though a monument of elaborate drafting, has done less for the cultivating classes than similar laws in any other province of India.

If we turn from legislation to the executive action of the State we shall find even more to illustrate the effectiveness of a Government which stands above class interests. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Indian administration is the periodic valuation of the land, primarily for fiscal purposes, which is termed a 'land revenue settlement'. ment.' As is generally known, a land tax has from time immemorial been in India the main source of State revenue. Of all direct taxes it has along I like which it has alone held its ground against the obstinate dislike with which Orientals regard imposts that are undisguised; and this because, in

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origin and in theory, it is not so much a tax as a share of the produce origin and in pactory, as a snare of the produce to which the State is entitled as superior proprietor of the soil. In to which the State it is of course desirable that a land tax the fiscal interests of a fair valuation of the land. the fiscal interest on a fair valuation of the land; where, as in India, should be assessed is farmed by cottiers, fairness of should be assessment is farmed by cottiers, fairness of assessment is much of the interests of the poor, who would be much of the interests of the poor, who would be crushed out of essential in the which, owing to unfair distribution, was in their life by a demand which, owing to unfair distribution, was in their case excessive. Waste areas are brought under cultivation. wide fluctuations. wide nucreation is introduced or extended by State canals. New roads and Irrigation is introduced or extended by State canals. New roads and Irrigation is increase the money value of produce. The growth of popularailways increases the monopoly value of land situated near towns or tion enhanced hear towns or markets. On the other hand, owing to epidemics of fever or plague, or to such calamities as failure of rain, floods, hailstorms, or locusts, or to such a land falls out of cultivation or drops in value, or the people become so impoverished as to have claims to a temporary reduction of assessment. In some cases land is found actually to have deteriorated owing to saline efflorescence or to waterlogging, or to have been washed away by river action. While there is ordinarily a general tendency for land values to rise throughout a district, they rise unevenly in different localities, and in some localities they actually fall. In all provinces except Bengal (where the land revenue was fixed inalterably about a century ago) it has been the practice to reassess the land tax on the basis of a fresh valuation at periods of thirty years or so. In this matter the Indian Government has, for the last two generations, been carrying out a policy which in England is still in the dreamland of Liberal reformers. The task is one of great labour and difficulty. It is necessary to ascertain the area, soil, and cropping (as well as the ownership and tenancy) of fields the number of which in a single district runs into millions, and group these fields into land classes, and, after a most elaborate enquiry into agricultural conditions, to frame for each tract scales of rates which fairly express the taxable value of the different land classes when situated at different distances from centres of population or markets. In many provinces the Settlement officer has to take a further step. Concerning himself with persons as well as with land, he ascertains so much of the circumstances of individual landlords and tenants as is needed to assure him that enhancements which are, on the average, justified by his rates will not inflict too sudden or too heavy a burden in particular cases; or to enable him, by the grant of temporary rebates, to alleviate the pressure of the new tax upon individuals. The conduct of such elaborate Doomsday surveys within a reasonable time and at a reasonable cost is an achievement upon which the Indian Government justly prides itself. But a Settlement is, naturally, not a popular undertaking. No one likes the prospect of increased taxation; no Vol. LXV-No. 386

one likes enquiries that are the foreground of such a prospect. 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This of the changes in value that was fully considered by the Government idea is not a novel one. It was fully considered by the Government some twenty-five years ago, but was negatived on the score of its extreme injustice. An average which might be fair for a tract as a whole would be unfair for the individual holdings composing it, unless they had all sustained the same variations in value. This never is, and cannot be, the case. The best land would be under-assessed, the worst land over-assessed, and the procedure would favour the rich at the expense of the poor. This is, of course, precisely why it would commend itself to non-official members of Council. One remark should be added. It might be surmised that detailed Settlement operations are open to political objections, as they would tend to create disaffection. In this case Bengal should be the most loyal province of India, since it alone, for three generations, has not been liable to a resettlement of its land revenue.

The recent history of the Central Provinces furnishes two very striking instances of humanitarian accomplishment, which would have been impossible had the Government been obliged to reckon with a strong non-official vote in Council.

At the last resettlement of these Provinces, some seventeen years ago, it was discovered that the development of the wheat export trade had proved disastrous to those tenants-from a third to a half of the total number-who, being of comparatively recent standing, had been left unprotected by the law as it then stood. In their desire to secure wheat the landlords demanded rents in grain instead of in cash, and at such high rates as to be practically unpayable, the object being to gain control of the tenants' produce by the pressure of rent arrears. It was within the rights of the Government to assess its land revenue upon the landlords' rent rolls. The landlords objected that the rent rolls were fictitiously high. The offer was made to lower the demands of the State if the rent rolls were lowered to a realisable standard and fresh leases were issued. This alteration was, naturally, unpalatable, but after much negotiation it was accepted. Arrears were recalculated, with the result that thousands of tenants were set on their feet again. Some years later the Government took power by legislation to fix the

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My second illustration is drawn from the misfortunes of the seven disastrous years, commencing with 1893, during which, owing to rust, blight, and failures of rainfall, many districts of the Central Provinces, lost, one year with another, at least half their produce. The mass of the tenants had, naturally, fallen into hopeless bankruptcy. Crops having failed them, they had borrowed, mostly in grain for sowings and for subsistence, at from 25 to 50 per cent. compound interest, and were so overwhelmed with debts that improving harvests merely gave occasion for mortgagees to foreclose or for landlords to eject. The situation was desperate, and the Government took courage to apply a special remedy. If private creditors would consent to abate their claims to amounts which the tenants could pay off within a reasonable period, the Government offered to submit its claims for arrears of land revenue and cultivating advances to a similar abatement. These claims were not inconsiderable, but were trifling compared with those of private creditors. For each group of villages an arbitration board was formed, composed of three or more non-officials who had a general acquaintance with the circumstances of those who came before them, and creditors were invited to submit their claims to these tribunals and to agree to their arbitration. Fortunately for the success of the operations, it was determined to make no attempt to settle the precise amount owed by each debtor—an enquiry which would have provoked endless wrangling. The function of the board was, after roughly determining the indebtedness of each man, to settle how much he could pay within a period of from seven to ten years, and to distribute the instalments among his creditors, the Government included. It may be imagined that it was only after long and patient negotiation that creditors were induced to accept this procedure. Most tenants were in debt to more than one person, and if one of the creditors stood out proceedings were blocked.

In the end, to the lasting credit of landlords and moneylenders, the In the end, to the lasting creation was accepted by practically all of them. The awards which gave them legal validity, and the awards arbitration was accepted by produced the state of the awards were cast in a form which gave them legal validity, and the awards were cast in a form which gave them legal validity, and the general were cast in a form which gave result was that in the five districts that had suffered most acutely result was that in the five districts that had suffered most acutely result was that in the five districts that had suffered most acutely debts amounting to some millions sterling were written off and Nothing debts amounting to some financial depth and thousands of families were rescued from degradation. Nothing would thousands of families were rescued from degradation. Nothing would thousands of families were reasonable that the denounce this interference before it had have been easier than to have blocked the new thing easier than to have been easier than the new thing easier than to have blocked the new thing easier than the new things easier than the new thing have been easier than to have blocked the negotiations proved its success; nothing easier than to have blocked the negotiations.

That debtors were given by by interpellations in Council. That debtors were given hope when Nature bade them despair, that creditors did not exact what Nature Nature bade them despend, state's being independent of the first opinion

Similar reflexions arise from a consideration of Indian famine To a student of the English Poor Law the most striking feature of Indian famine relief is not the magnitude of the task, the area over which the State extends its ministrations, or the vast crowds of humanity which it succours, but the absence of any demoralisation: the fact that Socialism, on a gigantic scale, is reconciled with the preservation of character. There are densely populated districts one-third of whose inhabitants have been in receipt of State relief for eight or nine months of the year. A month after the closing of the works you may ride through the country and receive not a single request for assistance. What a contrast to the effects of State and private charity in England! In India relief is given to the body without detriment to the mind because it is granted on a system which is logical in principle, uniform in working, and is unaffected by the spurious humanity which looks for gratitude as its reward. No one who can work is relieved unless he works, and the daily wage is so calculated as to suffice for the necessities of the day, but to offer no attractions when the ordinary market for labour has reopened. The State is uninfluenced by the appeals of false sentiment to the dignity of labour and by the opposition of trade unionism to the offer of less than a standard wage. The officers in charge of relief works have no reason to listen to the demand of the workers for easier terms or the demand of ratepayers for greater economy.

It is not claimed that the Indian Government has been able entirely to seclude itself from the interested influence of particular classes of the community, though it has been swayed by pressure of this sort infinitely less than the English Government, and very much less than will be the case under its reformed Constitution. There are two classes which have been able notably to lead the administration of public affairs into tracks which serve their private interests—the legal profession and the landed proprietors of Bengal—and it is instructive to observe the effects of their influence upon the common wealth wealth.

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literary education were shared between the lawyers and the Church; literary education are monopolised by the lawyers, who have become the in India they are most influential members of the working in India they are most influential members of the working community. richest and the more richest a The people are catisfaction of the gambling instinct, and a means of most complete satisfaction propre, and of wreaking work, and a means of most complete the most complete the maintaining their amour propre, and of wreaking vengeance—primordial maintaining which in India overpower all prudential considerations and feelings which in Socrest to singular extravagence. feelings which the poorest to singular extravagance. Thus it comes that impel even the poorest to land are spent on land. impel even the profits of the land are spent on law, and the lawyers can the surplus Property in a poor country. They make incomes which are enrich members which are liberal even according to a European standard, and have increased liberal even do liberal even do liberal even de liberal even d and multiplication of fifty or sixty advocates. At its headquarters station, amidst a group of unpretentious, low-roofed offices and bungalows there rises a handsome double-storied building of decorated brickwork. This is the Civil Court-house—or (cynically regarded) the Casino—of the district, built out of the abundant revenue yielded by court-fee stamps. Around it is a wide space, dotted with trees, which during business hours is a Vanity Fair of chattering humanityplaintiffs, defendants, their witnesses and backers, lawyers' touts, and petition writers. Lawyers control the native Press, and public opinion, so far as it exists, dances to their piping. And they have enjoyed the powerful support of numerous English lawyers to whom India has offered a career, whether as barristers or High Court judges or Members of Council, and who, apart from feelings of professional sympathy, cannot divest themselves of an English suspicion of executive authority. The Indian Government has learnt by experience that legal interests are a force to be reckoned with. Between the Calcutta High Court and the executive authorities of Bengal there has been long-standing antagonism, and there are judges of this Court who, within the past three years, have seriously impeded the efforts of the Government to cut back the early shoots of anarchism. Outside Calcutta, or at least outside Bengal, lawyers have constrained the Government with less bitterness, but with no less pertinacity, and in all questions involving legislation have pressed it towards elaborations of idea and procedure which are not only unsuited to Indian conditions but are positively harmful to the Indian people. Not only have the speculative attractions of a law-suit been enhanced by complexity of procedure and the varying chances of appeals. Lawyers are permitted by interminable speeches and by irrelevant crossexamination to increase the length of proceedings—and the amount of their fees—to an extent which in England would be condemned as And, especially in Bengal, by steady pressure they have fashioned an idea that no ruling can be obtained, whether in the law courts or from the executive authorities, except on a lawyer's application, and have managed in this way to pose as the sole changel application, and have managed in the Government and its tribunals of redress. In popular estimation the Government and its tribunals of redress. In popular estimated are as a machine which issues orders in automatic response to the filing are as a machine which issues orders in automatic response to the filing are as a machine which issued of court-fee stamps. I can best indicate by an illustration the filing of court-fee stamps. In a country where by common of court-fee stamps. I can be to which truth is sacrificed. In a country where by common consent to which truth is sacrificed away at the door of the consent to which truth is sacrinced. The obligation of truthfulness slips away at the door of the witness. the obligation of truthiumess only by a local enquiry that he can hope to discovery, box, a magistrate often recording to a local enquiry that he can hope to discover and finds that it is only by a local enquiry that he can hope to discover and finds that it is only by a clue to the truth, especially in cases originating in disputes about a clue to the truth, especially land. Yet the Calcutta High Court forbids him to leave his court and make such an enquiry. The information he would obtain would give him an advantage over the lawyers pleading before him.

The landed proprietors of Bengal owe their commanding position to the fact that the land revenue of this Province has for over a hundred years been fixed in perpetuity. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Bengal was the arsenal from which was pushed the conquest of India, and the treasury which furnished the conquering armies with the sinews of war. Great difficulty was experienced in collecting the land revenue. New to administrative duties, the officials of the East India Company lacked experience and traditions; no attempt was made to assess in equitable detail the demands of the State, and the tax was collected through revenue farmers holding under short-term leases. In these circumstances a permanent settlement of the demand with the existing contractors appeared to promise at once a substantial increase in receipts and a release from harassing The contractors became proprietors, but the privilege difficulties. cost them dearly. The amount of the revenue was fixed at so high a figure that a very large proportion of them were ruined; and, speaking generally, the existing proprietors represent those who bought up estates on payment of arrears. The revenue being settled in perpetuity, the Government was released from the necessity of maintaining the close acquaintance with rural affairs which is essential in temporarily settled provinces. Fewer British officers were needed, and fewer were employed. At the present day there are extensive areas in Bengal where there are not two British officers to a million of inhabitants. The landowners, or zamindars, acquired commanding influence. There are those who administer their properties with due regard to law and humanity. But, generally, tyranny has made the most of its opportunities. It is a commonplace in Bengal that only such criminal cases are allowed to go to the police and the magistrates as the zamindars see fit to pass on. The zamindars are mostly Hindus; so are the superior police officials, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that the police would not side with the zamindars unless kept to their proper bearings by close British control, or would champion the interests of the poorer classes, who are in great measure Muhammedan

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or belong to inferior castes that are termed Hindu merely for simplifications headings. Nay, further, zamindars have be or belong to interior on Nay, further, zamindars have been found to tion of class headings. Nay, further, zamindars have been found to tion of class nearrogated to themselves the privileges of the State, have successfully arrogated to themselves the privileges of the State, have succession, by fine and even by imprisonment. Land-trying cases and punishing by fine and even by imprisonment. Landtrying cases and processes such authority will rarely treat their tenants lords who can exercise such authority will rarely treat their tenants lords who can the country the cultivator's with consideration, and over much of the country the cultivator's with consideration more than the barest subsistence. Some twentyfive years ago the Government intervened on his behalf, and a Tenancy five years ago the containing elaborate provisions for his protection.

Act was passed containing elaborate provisions for his protection. Act was passed to like the protection of the same benefit, especially in the tracts where a Cadastral like been undertaken. But its effects here where a Cadastral It has been undertaken. But its effects have fallen far short of Survey has survey has sometiment and short of expectation, principally because the remedies it offers must be sought through the civil courts and on the formal initiation of the tenant. Tenants who have long suffered oppression have not the means nor the courage to fight their landlords in the courts, and can only be rescued by a summary procedure. The Cadastral Surveys which are now in progress in some districts of Eastern Bengal have disclosed that, directly or indirectly, landlords commonly exact as much as double the rent to which the law entitles them. Indeed, to one who knows Bengal and reflects over its circumstances, it is difficult to discover that the poorer inhabitants owe anything whatever to the British Government: for good or for harm, it is incomparably less powerful than the landlord, and to the tenant or the labourer it is merely a force, far in the background, which establishes institutions for the lawyers' benefit. In Bengal we have not behind us, as elsewhere, the appreciative acquiescence of the mass of the people. it is in Bengal that sedition finds its most fertile seed-ground.

Whither, then, do these rather gloomy reflexions lead us? To no practical conclusion, unless it be that now more than ever will British officers be under an obligation to remember that they are the tribunes of the common people, and to take seriously the compliment which they conventionally receive in being addressed by petitioners as 'protectors of the poor.' By our own policy of the past, by the circumstances of our Home Government, and perhaps under a law of political development, certain classes of the Indian community have won their way to encroachments upon the authority of the State. It may be that their success and the use that they will make of it will kindle enthusiasm strong enough to startle the East from its immemorial habitudes, will arouse a spirit which will vivify industry and art as well as politics, and will dissipate the prejudices that shroud social iniquities from reform. But of one thing we may be sure that if such an awakening comes a price is to be paid for it in the lessened happiness of the poorer classes. Exploitation creates the energy which nerves it; but to have exploitation there must be the exploited, and the social development of our own country indicates

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that luxury, enterprise, and intelligence at one end of the scale ate April 1909 that luxury, enterprise, and misery and degradation as are balanced at the other end by such misery and degradation as are line. India by the poorest of the poor. It may be are balanced at the other end by the poorest of the poor. It may be that hardly suffered in India by the poorest of the poor. It may be that a State which protects the individual saps the energies of the race; it a State which protects the inches at satisfies itself at the race; it is certain that the energy of the race satisfies itself at the cost of the race is certain that the energy of the race satisfies itself at the cost of the race; it To some political enthusiasts these Indian reforms are as stepping-stones to the gate of a New Jerusalem: in truth they

BAMPFYLDE FULLER.

The Editor of The Nineteenth Century cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.

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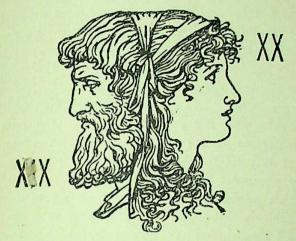
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## NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER



No. CCCLXXXVII—MAY 1909

### SIX GERMAN OPINIONS ON THE NAVAL SITUATION

What has been the effect in Germany of Sir Edward Grey's proposal to call a halt in the race of naval armaments by an understanding between the British and German Admiralties, and in general what do the Germans think of the present situation? This question is rendered still more interesting by the fact that at the present moment in influential German circles, official as well as non-official, the desirability of an Anglo-German understanding is constantly urged in emphatic, though unfortunately vague, terms. Indeed, the manner in which assurances of this desire are now sown broadcast recalls the fashion in which the Wilhelmstrasse paved the way for the Moroccan agreement with France, hastily concluded on the eve of King Edward's visit to Berlin. The German Press gave no adequate answer to this question, as at the time when Sir Edward Grey's remarkably frank account of a perilous situation reached Berlin an acute phase of the Austro-Servian conflict absorbed public attention. The Press having failed, there was nothing left but to appeal to that class of well-informed but independent publicists who are regarded as authorities in naval matters.

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A series of interviews which I have had with a considerable number that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Rates A series of interviews which of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows that they are unanimous in rejecting Sir Edward of this class shows the contract of the shows the contract of the contrac of this class shows that they compared the class shows that they compared the compa Grey's suggestion as unpractice, the dignity of a great State like Germany. Indeed, some went so far the dignity of the other it was intended seriously. On the other laws in the dignity of a great State man state and the dignity of a great state man as to question whether it was intended seriously. On the other hand, as to question of a decident the dignity of a great state man are dignity of a great s as to question whether to was the expression of a desire to they were also practically unanimous in the expression of a desire to they were also practically understanding with England they were also practically the come to some general political understanding with England which come to some general political understanding with England which come to some general posterior of naval armaments. But while the would not affect the questions and arrangement are obvious, it is not advantages to Germany of such an arrangement are obvious, it is not advantages to Germany of a would gain from it. In some quarters it equally clear what England would gain from it. In some quarters it equally clear what England is asked whether Germany's main object in concluding such a general agreement would not be to gain time to forge the weapon which, in agreement would not be a green any important decision the Emperor William's words, would prevent any important decision being taken in future throughout the world without the participa. tion of Germany and her sovereign ('... ohne Deutschland und ohne den deutschen Kaiser keine grosse Entscheidung mehr fallen darf.'—3rd of July 1900). None of my German interlocutors brought forward any argument likely to win English support for an understanding which would cover everything except what is regarded in England as the only real bone of contention between the two countries. Well-informed Englishmen are convinced that Germany would prefer to use her Dreadnoughts as pawns in the diplomatic game rather than run the risk of sending them into battle; but neither they nor impartial foreign observers can accept the contention that the German Navy is not intended to undermine and, if occasion offered, to destror British maritime supremacy. As a matter of fact a large number of Germans reckon upon England growing tired of the constant increase of her naval burden or breaking down under it, while others look forward to the day when, although she may still be able to build ships, she will lack crews to man them.

The prominent spokesmen of German public opinion with whom I discussed the question were all agreed that England's object in seeking a naval understanding was to secure her own supremacy at a cheaper rate, and furthermore, that Germany had no interest in meeting her views in that direction. None of them seemed to have realised, however, that England had, to say the least, quite as little interest in making Germany the gift of a free hand and complete security during the period of her naval preparation, particularly as the freedom thus granted to a vigorously assertive rival Power might easily hamper British policy. The suggestion that a political understanding would necessarily be followed by naval retrenchment on both sides falls within the category of 'paper guarantees,' which Germany has steadily refused to regard as adequate for her own protection, and which the British Government evidently considers insufficient for England.

The predominant feeling left by my inquiry here into the state of German feeling is that there is a fatal incapacity for mutual underMay

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standing, even in the highest quarters. Thus Admiral Tirpitz mainstanding, even in standing, ev tains in private tains on the other hand, the Germans are incensed at the manner in which, On the other land, their official assurances concerning the realisation according to the according to the second of their programme are ignored by British Ministers. It is apparently of their programs of the British standpoint, as set forth I. C. at least, to admit, the justice of the British standpoint, as set forth by Sir Edward Grey, the justice of the pustion England cannot afford to take any risks. Germany having, by persistent and systematic effort, become the Germany naval Power in Europe cannot be expected to permit either France or Russia to recapture that position. Consequently all her promises are necessarily contingent upon the action of others, as, promises are Admiral Weber, of the Navy League, frankly admitted to me when speaking of the exaggeration of Prince Bülow's statement that Germany would not add a single ship to her programme if England were to build a hundred Dreadnoughts.

It is clear, from this unanimous German refusal to consider the possibility of a naval understanding, that England will be obliged to continue the defensive policy which she has hitherto pursued. This conclusion is confirmed by the following statements made to me, which are in close agreement with others which I am not at liberty to publish. All show that the few isolated voices raised in favour of an understanding on the real issue which divides the two peoples are in a hopeless minority for all effective Parliamentary purposes.

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REAR-ADMIRAL WEBER, one of the most prominent officials of the German Navy League, began by observing that an understanding of the kind proposed by Sir Edward Grey on the basis of British naval superiority was impossible between two great peoples. had once been reduced to such a position after the peace of Tilsit, when France forced her to limit her army. That was, however, at the close of a disastrous war. That two great nations like England and Germany should come to such an understanding in time of peace was quite out of the question, as that would always keep one of the two weak and incapable of defending its own interests, while the other would always be in a position to impose its will. For Germany to agree to any such arrangement would be to stamp herself as a second-rate Power. As Prince Bülow had explained in the Reichstag, Germany's aim was to have such a fleet as would make even a stronger Power think twice before attacking her. If Germany had too small a fleet she would always be at the mercy of England. The naval programme was adopted by Parliament eleven years ago, and every one knew exactly what Germany was doing. Mr. Asquith's statement

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was erroneous and unfounded. The promise to give the construction firms was made purely with the object of soon to soon the construction to the construction of the co was erroneous and unfounded.

of ships to two firms was made purely with the object of securing securing and did not in any way hasten the construction. better terms, and did not in any way hasten the construction.

ter terms, and did not in any new Admiral Weber then dealt with the practical objections to Sir Edward Grey's proposar. The number of battleships to be built by Germany at, say, one-half or England would guarantee peace. He was number of battleships to be one-third of that of England would guarantee peace. He was conone-third of that of England would then contend that German armaments vinced that the same people are directed against England would then contend that Germany was are directed against English than was provided for by the agreement constructing stronger ships than was provided for by the agreement It would be impossible effectively to refute that assertion, which would It would be impossible encountered. It would be alleged that Germany was deceiving England, and a constant state of mistrust on both sides would be the result. Thus the attempt to avoid complications would be the result. cause still more serious difficulties. It was England who began to build Dreadnoughts, and but for her example Japan, the United States, and France would not have constructed such vessels. At present they were being built by all States, and Germany could not help doing likewise, nor content herself with a weaker type of ship, Up to 1906 Germany had only built ships of 13,000 tons. In that year England constructed the first Dreadnought, while at the same time she had ten other ships of 16,000 tons.

Admiral Weber was convinced that the erroncous statements made by Mr. Asquith and Mr. McKenna were based upon false information. probably derived from an Argentine or Brazilian source. He further contended that Germany could not build a battleship in less than thirty-six months, while England only requires twenty-four months. In addition to the thirty-six months spent in constructing a German battleship several more were needed for trial trips. He admitted, however, that if the German yards made an effort they could complete a battleship within thirty-six months, but as a matter of fact they had not done so up to the present. At the very best he did not consider it possible for the German yards to equal the rapidity of their English rivals. The crux of the question was the assertion that if Germany continued to build as rapidly as she was now doing, she would have a total of seventeen Dreadnoughts and Invincibles in 1912. That was not the case; Germany would then have only ten Dreadnoughts and three Invincibles. At the present moment they had four Dreadnoughts launched, but they were not yet completed; and one Invincible, also incomplete, which was launched in the latter half of That is to say, for actual fighting purposes Germany had at the present moment not a single Dreadnought or Invincible at her disposal.

After expressing his astonishment at the last six months' agitation, and at the invasion scare, Admiral Weber said he found it impossible to reconcile the attitude. to reconcile the attitude of the British Admiralty some three or four Digitized by Apya Rappas Foundation of the minimal and estimated the Panastruation 729 GERMAN

years ago, when it declared the German Flect to be of little value, and years ago, which years ago, which the recent alarmist assertion by British statesmen and prominent the recent alarmist the German Navy was a great dethe recent and prominent the recent and prominent British officers that the German Navy was a great danger for England. British omeers that the German Navy League, regarded the former His association, statement as correct, as at that time, apart from the Braunschweig statement as contained class, Germany had comparatively few good ships. The Germans had also read history, and recognised that England

The German The German Holland and France were of a strength approaching had never Spain, Holland and France were examples to them of the her own. The percentage of their guard against that English jealousy. Up to the death of the Emperor William the First, German foreign trade was but a trifle compared with its present extent. Until late in the eighties the Navy was under the control of generals, and General Caprivi, for instance, grudged every farthing spent on the Navy, considering that it was taken away from the Army. It was only at the end of the 'ninetics that a serious attempt was made to develop a fleet proportional to the growing foreign trade and the colonial possessions of the country. That fleet was intended exclusively for the protection of trade, and not for aggression. He was surprised at the manner in which English suspicions were directed almost exclusively against Germany. France had had a fleet of cruisers capable of inflicting heavy damage on British commerce, and yet there was no apprehension in England on that score. The fact that Germany had so few cruisers (eight at present, and twenty in all on the completion of the programme) showed that Germany had no aggressive intentions against England.

An understanding between England and Germany, which he strongly favoured, should not take the form of a treaty, but consist rather in a conversion of public opinion to more reasonable views, so that those circles now engaged in sowing mistrust between the two peoples would promote a better understanding between them and help them to realise that there was room enough in the world for both nations. After some remarks upon the extraordinary way in which, in his opinion, the English public sometimes flames out into a sudden rage and then subsides into comparative tranquillity without a reason, Admiral Weber pointed out that the burdens of Germany, arising from her constantly extending provision for the poor, rendered it impossible for that country to include in any excess in the way of armaments. As to a maritime war, the growth of German industry rendered it necessary to pay a heavy insurance, in the form of a havy, against such a risk. The significance of war for Germany was made evident by the terrible loss inflicted on the whole country by the cessation of trade at Hamburg through the cholera in the middle of the 'nineties. The practical closing of that port for a few weeks cost Germany 260,000,000 marks. It was easy to conceive what the result would be if all the German ports were blockaded.

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Admiral Weber, however, does not anticipate that England will Corman Fleet, as a war between the two con-Admiral Weber, however, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the German Fleet, as a war between the two countries ever attack the two countries ever attack the coun ever attack the German Freet, would inflict heavy loss upon Great Britain. Yet, added Admiral would inflict heavy loss upon free British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that was a loss of the British Navy contends that would inflict heavy loss upon Weber, a certain section of the British Navy contends that war should war should be contended to Weber, a certain section of the soon as possible in order to keep the

In the further course of his remarks the Admiral observed that the In the further course of the developed in accordance with circum. German Naval Law mass stances. When that programme was begun Germany built small stances. vessels, but on England's setting the example in the matter of Dread. noughts she was obliged to construct ships of the same type. While noughts she was obliged to retaining the number of ships set down in her programme originally, she increased their strength, tonnage and propelling force. The development of that programme depended upon the progress made by Germany's neighbours. She could not afford to remain behind, but, in the opinion of the leading naval officers of the Empire, no increase in that programme was to be anticipated, except under pressure from outside. Prince Bülow's statement, however, that Germany would not add a single ship to her programme even if England were to build a hundred *Dreadnoughts* was clearly a rhetorical exag. geration. They considered their two fleets, with the additional four ships, as a 'material reserve,' making thirty-eight in all, sufficient to render it dangerous for any foreign Power to attack them. Although England's suggestion that Germany should limit her fleet was equivalent to a suggestion by Germany that France should not increase her Army, the Germans admitted that England's insular position and her Colonial Empire rendered it necessary for her to maintain a large Navy. But they could not agree that they themselves should build so small a fleet that the German Empire might at any moment be presented by England with an ultimatum, sanctioned by the threatened destruction of the German Fleet and German commerce. It was, he added, highly desirable that some understanding should be come to, but unfortunately he could not see how it was to be brought about.

The relative depreciation of the value of the British Fleet was due to the English policy of building Dreadnoughts, a fact now recognised by English experts. Admiral Weber, however, was far from agreeing with the idea expressed in Mr. Wyndham's characterisation of the bulk of the British Fleet as a casual collection of vessels, which cost the State much money but merely tempted foreign Powers to attack For his own part he was disposed to think that an exaggerated importance was attached to the tonnage and character of the ships, and too little to the fighting quality of the officers and crews. In his opinion the victory of Tsushima was due rather to the high training of the Tananaca of of the Japanese officers and crews than to any superiority in their vessels. (I many all and naval vessels. (I may add that I have heard another distinguished naval officer, the representative of a foreign Power, express the opinion that Digitized by Arva Samai Foundarion Chennai and Agangon UATION 731

so far as the ships were concerned the Russian vessels at Tsushima so far as the ships were concerned the Russian vessels at Tsushima were actually superior to the Japanese. He quite agreed with the were expressed by Admiral Weber that the Japanese victory was due view expressed by the highly trained veteran crews.)

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#### II

COUNT ERNST ZU REVENTLOW, also a retired naval officer, who has COUNT interest of this problem in the Countrymen and abroad by his contributions to this problem in the German Press, characterby his control of abandoning the capture of merchant vessels in time Commercial rivalry and jealousy was, to his of war as Utopian. mind, one of the main causes of the ill-feeling between England and Germany. He himself was convinced that a similar feeling existed in England against the United States, but that Englishmen intentionally avoided giving expression to it for political reasons, and owing to the close racial relationship between the two peoples. Chambers of Commerce had frequently, by reports from the Far East, aroused apprehensions of German competition, while advocates of Protection had argued that Germany was building a fleet with British money-that is to say, the profits derived from ousting Englishmen from their own markets. As a matter of fact the Germans considered themselves to be constantly menaced by England. As to the suggested discussion concerning a limitation of armaments, he did not see how it could be submitted to the Reichstag. He believed it could only be brought forward in the form of an ultimatum, or as a consequence of a victory by one State over the other. The idea was unpractical, and would be undignified for the State to whom the proposal was addressed. It was impossible to imagine how it could be carried into effect.

It would be a different matter if an effort were made to bring about a rapprochement in the political sphere without any limitation of armaments. For instance, it might have been possible during the past twelve months for the two Powers to have worked together in the Balkans instead of having opposed each other throughout. the Bagdad Railway question and generally in the Anglo-German rivalry at Constantinople an understanding might have been, or perhaps still might be, possible. England, who had already come to an arrangement with Russia, might conceivably work with Germany in matters in which the navy would not be called in question. Count zu Reventlow believed that British public opinion was now far more favourable to the idea of compulsory military service than it was five years ago. That matter had attracted comparatively little attention in Germany. It was, in his opinion, a noteworthy circumstance that the greater anxiety manifested by England concerning the progress of the German Fleet dated from the winter of 1905, when

Germany ceased to build ships of small tonnage always inferior to the Germany ceased to build smps of the same year, that anxiety obviously arouth of Protectionist feeling in England. British ships laid down in the promoting the growth of Protectionist feeling in England. For his promoting the growth of Trotter Reform would shortly be captied own part, he was convinced that Tariff Reform would shortly be captied own part, he was convinced that the own part, he was convinced that the bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing to the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing the necessity of bringing about an understanding into effect, owing the necessity of the neces

The initiative taken by England in the construction of Dread. The initiative taken by an analysis of Dread noughts was due to the miscalculation that Germany would find it too expensive to follow her example, as the Empire would be obliged to widen her canals and undertake many other new and expensive conwiden her canals and uncertainty and found practically no support structions. The policy of limitation had found practically no support among the German public, it being impossible to form a clear idea of how it could be realised. Even if two Powers were to solve that problem the possibility would always remain of some third Power gaining an advance upon them, or of two other Powers forming an alliance which would place the limiting States in a disadvantageous position. Restriction by England and Germany would thus be rendered illusory. Sir Edward Grey's recent proposal was essentially the same as the old idea of limitation. Count zu Reventlow was of opinion that British maritime superiority was very relative. He could himself see no advantage for Germany in falling in with the impracticable suggestion put forward for its maintenance by a sort of mechanical arrangement. Indeed, he himself found it difficult to believe that Sir Edward Grey's suggestion was intended seriously.

The German programme would continue to be carried into effect on the lines pursued hitherto. These lines were known to England and all the world, while Germany was still ignorant of what the British Government proposed to do even for the present year. The German programme, however, would not be affected, even if England were to make a large increase in the number of her Dreadnoughts. The protection which she demanded from her Fleet would, it was believed, be secured on the completion of her existing programme, which would not need to be increased in proportion to the increase of the British Navy. In any case, Count zu Reventlow did not believe that any new programme would be submitted to the Reichstag on the completion of that now existing.

#### III

Dr. Otto Arendt, who is a member of the Reichstag and of the Prussian Diet, has devoted a great deal of attention to the naval question as member of the Reichstag Committee, and has taken part in one of those voyages on board a German man-of-war which are intended by the Government to enhance the Parliamentary appreciation of naval matters. Like the other naval authorities with whom I spoke, he expressed extreme astonishment at what he described as the recent scare in England. While Germany would not allow Digitized by Arya Samai Foundation Champairand & Gangotti UATION 733

England to say how many ships she was to build, she would not England to Buy gunboat in addition to her programme if all the construct a single gramme if all Colonies were to present England with Dreadnoughts.

British L however, that from a technical standard grander. British Colonics ... He British Colonics ... He admitted, however, that from a technical standpoint Germany would admitted, no follow the lead of England and the other Powers.

obliged to follow obliged Sir Edward Grey's proposal of an understanding He character the German and the British Admiralty as a mockery. between the definition of that proposal was to enable England to maintain her sole object of the maintain her superiority at less cost. Germany had no object in falling in with such superiority She would not spend less on her naval programme, as she was not building against England, but against the whole world—that is to say, she had in view her position in presence of all the great 18 to Say, As a matter of fact the German programme was, in his opinion, navies. The whole of the recent agitation was, according to him, a Conservative manœuvre against the Liberals. The inconceivable feature of the whole affair was the ignorance of British Ministers concerning the German Fleet. The only understanding possible with the English would be through the growth in England of the recognition that England's position was in no way threatened by the German Navy. The invasion spectre he characterised as idiotic; and he further considered a war between England and Germany to be absolutely impossible, notwithstanding the contrary opinion expressed by Herr Carl Peters, the African traveller, who resides in England, and declares such a war to be inevitable. In Herr Peters' opinion, the English would, at a given moment, attack the German Fleet. Dr. Arendt did not believe that she would ever do so without a Continental ally, as in such a war the British Empire would lose more than it could gain. British trade with Germany would alone be an immense loss, particularly as such a war would continue indefinitely. Then England would always have to reckon with the constant hostility of the German Empire; but every new ship built by Germany diminished the risk of England's yielding to such a temptation. spite of the ridiculous part played by the English in their fear of the German Fleet, he did not believe them capable of such a course.

War between the two States was only possible if England had Continental allies. The danger of her finding such allies existed before the Russo-Japanese war. At that time it was possible that Russia and France might join her in an attack upon Germany, but Japan freed Germany from the iron ring that was being forged around her. Besides, the French showed that they did not want war with Germany, as otherwise they would not have missed such a favourable opportunity as they had in 1905, when their artillery was so superior to that of Germany as to give them the best chance of success that they have had thus far.

Meantime the Balkan troubles had strengthened the bond between Austria and Germany, and had dissipated the hope that at the death

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perhaps, alliance against Germany. Now that Austria had realised the two empires standing of the standing of the two empires standing of perhaps, alliance against dother the two empires standing firmly william soldiers could paralyse all conceivable the value of German including formula together with six million soldiers could paralyse all conceivable conceivabl binations of the Powers against them. Italy played no part of any beautiful affect the ison binations of the Powers against the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter, and would not seriously affect the issue even importance in the matter of the instance in the matter of the instance in the matter of the instance even importance in the matter of the instance even importance in the matter of the instance even importance in the instance even importance in the instance even in the instance e importance in the matter, and if she assumed a hostile attitude towards the Austro-German control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as to control of the Italians would not be so foolish as the Italians would not be so foolish which italians would not be so foolish which italians would not be so fool But the Italians would not be so foolish as to fail to realise that their continuance in the Triple Alliance was a matter of realise that their continues. It was inconceivable that France would got the Russia and Russia would got the Russi fight without the support of Russia, and Russia would certainly not go to war while Austria and Germany were acting together. Thus the peace of the world rested in the last resort on the Austro-German co-operation. Consequently the Germans could with the most perfect composure leave the English to decide how far they were going to ruin themselves by their financial extravagance in Dreadnoughts.

In Dr. Arendt's opinion England was far weaker financially than Germany, and than was generally realised. In support of that view he adduced the persistence with which Consols refused to rise. That was an indication of great financial weakness. The English would be far better advised if they devoted themselves to the improvement of their financial condition, rather than to a senseless increase of their naval armaments. From a German standpoint, however, the more Dreadnoughts England built the better, as she was thereby exhausting herself in useless expenditure. Dr. Arendt said that a war had just taken place in the diplomatic sphere between the two States, and that Germany was the victor. The object of the ententes with France and Russia was to hem in Germany and render her powerless, as a preparation for afterwards forcing her to a limitation of armaments. That campaign had failed, and Germany standing shoulder to shoulder with her Austro-Hungarian ally was stronger than ever.

While greatly sympathising with the idea of a political understanding between Germany and England, he feared that, for the moment, the only Verstündigung possible was that the English themselves should in naval matters become verständig. He had great hopes, however, of the good results to be achieved from the progress of arbitration between States.

Referring to the idea of possible German designs upon the British Colonies, Dr. Arendt spoke of it as moonshine. He observed that if Australia were to furnish the British Empire with a certain number of Dreadnoughts they might prove very useful when the day came to settle accounts with Japan, a future rival and enemy whose progress England had herself promoted. Germany could not dream of seight either Australia or South Africa, to say nothing of Canada; and as for such places as Nigeria, &c., they were not worth the taking.

Germany's object in building a fleet was not to challenge England's Germany story.

Germany s to prevent herself from being treated as a supremacy at sea, but to prevent herself from being treated as a supremacy at sea, but to prevent herself from being treated as a supremacy at the Even a successful war within the next two or negligible quantity. Even a successful war within the next two or negligible quantity and the next two or three years would inflict such serious damage on the economic interests three years would be the economic interests of England, that Germany may be said to build her fleet in the interest of England, maritime neighbour as the heat of England, that maritime neighbour as the best way of saving her of her powerful maritime neighbour as the best way of saving her of her powers. from the temptation of indulging in such a foolish enterprise.

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#### IV

PROFESSOR SAMASSA, one of the most ardent propagandists of the Pan-German League, also denied that England had any occasion to be alarmed at the progress made by the German Navy, maintaining that there was no intention to exceed the limits fixed by the present programme. He believed that the German guns were superior to the English, but in that matter an improvement introduced by the one Power was speedily imitated by the others.

It was a great mistake on the part of England to have assumed a hostile attitude towards German colonial expansion at the beginning. Had she acted differently at that time it would have been possible for her to secure the friendship of Germany for a song. The Pan-German movement did not direct its energies towards extra-European spheres, and particularly not in the direction of the English Colonies. The Germans were a compact nation in the centre of Europe, and the object of the League was to promote the extension of the German race in that natural sphere of influence. He remembered, in 1899, obtaining an article from Sir Charles Dilke for publication in the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, in which that statesman expressed his conviction that there could arise no conflict between England and Germany, and that the natural line of extension for the German race was in south-eastern Europe. A few years later Sir Charles Dilke, writing in England, seemed to have entirely changed his opinion on that point and to believe that it was the duty of England to defend Austria against aggressive German tendencies. He further called attention to the warning of Sir Harry Johnston against the danger of trying to hem in Germany.

Professor Samassa himself believed that the real cause of anti-English feeling was the conviction that England always endeavoured to hamper German policy in every direction. He did not believe at all in the possibility of an Anglo-German war, as England could never subjugate Germany, while Germany had nothing to gain from a war with England. He himself had just returned from a tour in German West Africa, which he found to be an excellent and most extensive field for German colonisation, when they had a surplus population to swarm out. That, however, was not the case at the

present, and he did not believe that the question of emigration would be present, and he did not believe that the question of emigration would be present, and he did not believe that the question of emigration would be present, and he did not believe that the question of emigration would be present, and he did not believe that the question of emigration would be present, and he did not believe that the question of emigration would be present, and he did not believe that the question of emigration would be present, and he did not believe that the question of emigration would be present. present, and he did not beneve the present, and he did not beneve the present, and he did not beneve the present the emigration within the next fifteen or twenty become a problem for Germany did not beneve the present the emigration from Germany did not beneve the present the emigration from Germany did not beneve the present th become a problem for Germany did not twenty years. At present the emigration from Germany did not exogen years. At present the englishment of the harvest.

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The main object of the creation of a German Fleet was to be The main object of the constant pressure by which England strove to be relieved of the constant pressure by which England strove to force Germany into the background, refusing to treat her as an equal, and Germany into the background, and the new German Empire one the fear that England would fall upon Spain and other State the fear that England upon Spain and other States. But that object would not necessitate the day, as she had previously the attainment of that object would not necessitate the construction that of England. It was true by of a fleet as strong as that of England. It was true, he said, that of a fleet as strong as some of the Emperor William's speeches on the object of the German Navy were unfortunately expressed and gave ground for misapprelen. Navy were unfortunately sion; but the English, he added, ought to be intelligent enough to recognise that there was a striking discrepancy between the words and acts of the German Emperor. Besides, they should not forget that the Emperor's acts were strictly limited by the Constitution.

Sir Edward Grey's proposal was unpractical, and he did not see how diplomatists could draft any agreement capable of securing British supremacy indefinitely. The only way of maintaining that supremacy, on sea as on land, was by the constant watchfulness which Bismarck had recommended to his countrymen. In the opinion of Professor Samassa, the effect of the present agitation in England would probably be that German circles disposed to hasten the progress of the shipbuilding programme, would now abandon that idea in presence of the senseless increase of her own Navy by England.

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Notwithstanding the Pan-German agitation of former years in favour of the incorporation of Holland with the German Empire, Professor Samassa maintained that Germany has no such intention at present. Holland would only be annexed on the day when war broke out between Germany and England, and that would be done solely because if left to herself she would be unable to defend her own territory. Of course, if it were desired to bring pressure upon Holland to force her into closer relations with Germany it would be possible to do so, but in existing circumstances a Customs war would inflict too much damage upon the Germans themselves. It would be different if the project of the Altona Chamber of Commerce to build a canal with locks from the Rhine to Emden were to be realised. give the Rhine centres in Germany direct access to the sea and would, in case of such a conflict, enable Germany to impoverish Holland.
But for the many to impoverish That But for the moment these ideas had no practical importance. was not the case, however, with the proposed commercial union

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between Holland and Germany, which, in Professor Samassa's opinion, between the interest of Holland herself.

#### V

CAPTAIN VON PUSTAU, a naval writer whose contributions to the press have attracted considerable attention, only retired from active press have attracted considerable attention, only retired from active press have attracted considerable attention, only retired from active press have attracted considerable attention, only retired from active press have attracted considerable attention, only retired from active press have attracted considerable attention, only retired from active press have attracted considerable attention, only retired from active press have attracted active pression and the service from active pressure in the 'Marine-Akademie.' he lectured on naval history and warfare in the 'Marine-Akademie.' he mentioned as characteristic of the spirit animating German He warfare that during his service they had never, to his naval officers the feeling of comradeship existed between the officers of both navies, the Germans always feeling that the English naval officers were nearer to them in sympathy and character than those of any other nation. He went so far as to say that if the question were left to the Admirals of the two fleets the problem would soon be solved.

Up to the passage of the first German Naval Law the Empire had been on very fair terms with Great Britain. Later on the entente cordiale with France, the redistribution of the British Navy and the change of tone in British public opinion excited some uneasiness in The growing prejudice against Germany impressed Germans with the fact that a new situation was arising in the relations of the two countries. Germany was falsely accused of impenetrable designs, but nothing was less founded than that accusation. It was based upon an ignorance that sometimes tempted him to write himself 'A Child's History of the German Navy' for the use of the British public. The increase of the tonnage of the German ships was exclusively due to the initiative of England in building Dreadnoughts. Germany could not remain behind when the United States, France, Japan, and even Brazil had followed the example of England; she followed the others very much against her will. They would regret the result of the British initiative still more if they had not the consolation of thinking that the very excess of that extravagance would in time correct it. was pleased to see that the error committed by England had already been recognised not only by English naval writers but by statesmen.

Captain von Pustau saw nothing new in the German naval programme which Sir Edward Grey described as 'a new great fact for England.' They were all aware that Sir Edward Grey was an eminent statesman, yet they were forced to ask themselves what did he mean. They simply did not understand. As to the ships promised to two firms in advance of the vote, they could not be begun except on the conditions fixed by law. Besides, the supposition that the ships

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showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing that the German yards are still considerably behind those showing the construction. showing that the German judge of construction. The increased building of England in their rapidity of construction. The increased building of England in their rapidity capacity of their yards would not affect the realisation of their haval capacity of their yards would not affect the realisation of their haval programme, which was to be completed in 1920, although it might programme, which was to be them in case of war. Of course they prove of great advantage to them in case of war. Of course they are to follow the example of other Powers in the would be obliged to follow the example of other Powers in the conwould be obliged to follow struction of any larger or better type of ships that may be developed struction of any larger or better type of ships that may be developed But there would be no change in their principle of constructing a fixed number of first-class battleships as they had hitherto done. There was no prospect that they would depart in the future from the course that they had pursued thus far, and even the Hotspurs of the Navy League were being forced into moderation by the more thoughtful element. Captain von Pustau would himself certainly oppose any extension of the existing law. He fully agreed with Prince Bülow that even if England were to build a hundred Dread. noughts and Invincibles the German programme would not be increased, He was indeed convinced that England would eventually be forced to build that number of Dreadnoughts in order to retain her superiority -that is to say, that she would be obliged to replace her present battleships and cruisers, which at this moment number about a hundred, by Dreadnoughts and Invincibles. If the United States went on as at present, and England wanted to maintain her two-Power standard, a hundred Dreadnoughts and Invincibles, and even perhaps a few more, would be necessary in course of time.

The real issue was not one between Germany and Great Britain alone, but also between England and whatever second State was taken to measure the two-Power standard. Why, he asked, did the English always address themselves to Germany? Under President Roosevelt the American Navy had made a great rush forward, and that rush might be repeated later. They had no law of the German kind fixing their programme for years in advance, an element of

uncertainty with which England was threatened. After referring to the suggestion that private property at sea should not be subject to capture, Captain von Pustau said that naval supremacy, as it existed formerly, had ceased to be possible. Never again could any naval Power enjoy such supremacy as England had exercised in the past. Indeed, England's present naval supremacy would come to an end in a few years. Her whole position had been shaken since Gent in a few years. shaken since Captain Mahan pointed out the value of sea power, and thus stimulated the present naval movement among all the great States. That form of almost unconditional naval supremacy maniDigitized by Arya Bangai/FoVndHthh/Chevindi land & Gangori/UATION 739

fested by the bombardment of Copenhagen, and the war of 1812 with lested by the bollowing would cease after the next naval conflict, perhaps the United States, would cease after the next naval conflict, perhaps the United States, the United States, The danger of that form of naval supremacy was even before. The whole world in our own time by the second supremacy was even before. The whole world in our own time by the seizure of German revealed to the whole world in Our own time by the seizure of German mail steamers during the Boer War.

daptain von Pustau maintained that that state of affairs would Captain volume to an end when no single Power would have such unquestioned come to an end unquestioned superiority as would enable it to act with impunity, as England had superiority as in England had done in the past. For the moment England with her present two-Power done in the past still be able to exercise such supremacy, but that exceptional superiority would decline in proportion to the growing strength not merely of the German or American Navies, but of the strength has been strength which would each be ready to defend its rights in case any attempt were made to violate them. There were, he said, sure signs that these ideas were already gaining ground in Great Britain. It might as yet be too hard for England to renounce that superiority, which, apart from exceptional abuses, had rendered such great service to civilisation and progress. Difficult as it might be, however, to relinquish that supremacy, it was questionable whether it would be wise to cling to it when it no longer secured its main object, namely, the free import of the necessaries of life into the United Kingdom and the export of manufactures. The strain imposed upon the country to maintain the two-Power standard was enormous, and it incited other nations to follow that example, thus giving England the appearance of forcing the pace in naval matters throughout the whole world.

At the end of 1911 or the beginning of 1912 Great Britain would have about twenty or twenty-two Dreadnoughts ready for service. These would find themselves in presence of some twenty-eight Dreadnoughts belonging to other nations, all ready to fight for the freedom of their commerce on the high seas in any war in which they themselves were not concerned. That proportion would become still more unfavourable to England as time went on, owing to the evident intention of Russia, the Argentine Republic, and Austria-Hungary to construct Dreadnoughts. In all these countries, as well as Germany, the new construction would be a real accession to the respective fleets; while in England part at least of the new Dreadnoughts would only count as substitutes for ships which had to be struck off the list as having reached their life limit. The British nation would, according to Captain von Pustau, presently realise that the burden imposed upon it by that new development of the naval situation was too crushing to be borne, and would recognise that it was due to the barbarous and cruel principle of seizing private property at sea in time of war. Neither the Americans, the Japanese, the French or the Brazilians would tolerate such seizure when strong

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enough to resist it: They would act as the United States acted

As to Sir Edward Grey's proposal concerning an understanding between the German and the excellent remarks made by Prince said he had nothing to add to the excellent remarks made by Prince

captain von Pustau was disposed to regard the future in a hopeful spirit, seeing that also of belligerent States, was protected not only of neutrals but also of British imports and expertence of the specific specif at sea, the whole anxiety for British imports and exports would no longer count. at sea, the whole and the Navy would no longer count for more than the Army in the system of military defence. As soon as the new principle was adopted the ocean, which would belong to all the neutral Powers, would be regarded as sacred by the belligerent navies, and their action would be restricted to territorial waters. If that reform were realised England would have no need of a hundred Dreadnoughts, or even of half the number, as they could be dispensed with in favour of a cheaper type of vessel to be used for blockading and transport. Great Britain would find it cheaper and more effective to keep an adequate Army than to maintain a Fleet whose superiority might be challenged by a combination of other Powers in the defence of their sea-borne commerce. The existence of a powerful standing army would give England assuredly all the security she needs, combined with a power of attack which she now does not possess. It would put an end to that undignified and hysterical invasion-scare, whose offensive outbursts denounce peaceful neighbours as vile brigands thirsting for unlawful booty. Every friend of England -and Captain von Pustau wished 'certainly to be counted as such' -can only welcome the patriotic exertions of Lord Roberts, Mr. Haldane and others for the strengthening of the land power of Great Britain and wish them heartily every success.

Captain von Pustau felt sure that the recent conference in London would be found to be of great importance for the future development of naval conditions, inasmuch as the principle of protecting neutral commerce could only be effectively upheld by taking the further and ultimate step of renouncing all molestation of any ship on the high seas, whether neutral or not. The fact (for which England deserved the approbation of the whole world) that the idea of that conference arose in England was of the best omen for that future development which would greatly promote peace and harmony among

all nations.

#### VI

HERR LEGATIONSRATH VOM RATH, retired diplomatist and member of the Prussian Diet, spent two years at the German Embassy in London, and formal Herbert London, and formerly acted as private secretary to Count Herbert Digitized by Arrangi Coundation the Mail and Esanger UATION 741

Bismarck when the latter held the position of Secretary of State. Herr Bismarck when the Bismarck when the Bismarck who is playing an active part in the discussion of the compan naval problem, at once confessed that I Rath, who as problem, at once confessed that he considered Anglo-German naval problem, at once confessed that he considered Anglo-German He British apprehensions concerning the growth of the danger created by British apprehensions concerning the growth of the danger created by the danger created by serious—far more so than the perils the German Trail, the Moroccan question and the Near Eastern difficulties, conjured up by the Moroccan question and the Near Eastern difficulties, which were more or less 'bluffs.' If steps be not speedily taken to which were more Anglo-German peril he fears it may soon prove to be too late. He maintained that Germany was fully justified in be too late. The position, remembering the way in which England improving her in the past, with the arrogance of a wealthy merchant dealing with a small shopkeeper. The increase of her Navy was the only means of securing for Germany the right of being treated on a only model. That necessity, together with the extension of her ade and commerce, was the cause and justification of her naval development. British apprehensions were excited less by the increase of the German Fleet than by the agitation of the German Navy League. Without questioning the value of the propagandist work done by that organisation, many Germans of his own way of thinking were convinced that its agitation has done more harm than good. He had himself in numerous articles dwelt upon the danger of the naval agitation in the two countries, and held that the time had come for an understanding between them. There could not be, however, any mechanical method of fixing the proportions of their shipbuilding programmes. The circumstance that both countries built, for may build, ships for foreign States would render any such agreement worthless, as there would always be the possibility of acquiring those vessels at the last moment.

In his opinion the only solution was an Anglo-German political understanding on the broadest basis, covering European as well as Colonial interests. In the matter of colonies England was more than satiated, and indeed suffered from the difficulty of digesting all she had acquired. She could, therefore, without loss to herself, assume an accommodating attitude towards Germany in the matter of Colonial acquisitions. He believed Mr. Chamberlain had, in private conversations, expressed a readiness to adopt such an attitude as the basis of the Anglo-German understanding which he advocated at one time. In European affairs England must abandon the policy of hemming-in' Germany, which was based on the false assumption that the latter was pursuing a policy of expansion. That error was due to some extent to German tall talk, which, however, was never serious. Indeed, now even the naval agitation had become much more moderate in tone, and sensible people, whose numbers are increasing, would no longer allow it to assume a bellicose character. Many far-sighted Germans question whether the present expenditure on their fleet is in proportion to the part it would play in the Vol. LXV-No. 387

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decision of a great war, which would depend almost exclusively upon England could hamper German commerce and blood decision of a great war, which we decision of the control of the contro the army. England could name the army. England could name to the army would never constitute and blockade the army to the army German ports, but proparty not important element in that decision. The great difficulty of the purely defensive of the important element in that situation was to convince Englishmen of the purely defensive aims of the mistake made by Gornell o situation was to convince important the German Fleet, in presence of the mistake made by Germany in the German state of the construction of haster than the construction of the constructi the German Fleet, in presence confining herself almost exclusively to the construction of battleships. Were Englishmen to realise that fact, they might go a step further and Were Englishmen to reanse that it would be more profitable for them to come to an recognise that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english Germany—that is to say, form a combination of the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the combination of the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for them to come to an english grant the complete that it would be more profitable for the complete that the compl recognise that it would be understanding with Germany—that is to say, form a combination understanding with Germany—that is to say, form a combination understanding with Germany—that is to say, form a combination between the mightiest maritime State and the strongest land Power than to continue their present artificial policy of trying to hem in that Power. In the absence of an understanding, war was inevitable and

The natural consequence of a political understanding would be a tacit reduction of both fleets. At present England and Germany were involved in a vicious circle. Germany considered a strong fleet necessary to guarantee satisfactory relations with England, while that strong German fleet was a constant source of apprehension to Great Britain. The peril could only be averted by a change in public opinion. It was perhaps to be regarded as a favourable circumstance that both Governments had now clearly expressed their respective There is no longer the slightest obscurity, as England standpoints. now knows exactly what Germany is doing, and can make her own arrangements accordingly. The knowledge of what England is doing is of less importance to Germany, her programme being fixed by law and remaining uninfluenced by the progress of other navies.

German public opinion has not sufficiently considered the important question whether the increase of the British shipbuilding programme may not result in the adoption by England of Protection, under which German industry would be obliged to contribute largely to British naval expenditure. According to Herr vom Rath, the growing movement against forcing the pace in naval matters, which had extended to Parliamentary circles, was strongly opposed by the influence in the Press of the industries which profit, to the extent of several millions annually in both countries, from bloated naval armaments. After the two attempts made by England to bring about a political understanding with Germany, Herr vom Rath recognised that it would be very difficult for her to take the initiative a third time. Yet the desire for an understanding would seem to be stronger to-day in England than it was in Germany, although there, too, it seems to be growing. It was therefore to be hoped that Sir Edward Grey would, after all, at this more favourable moment, enter upon the path traced by Mr. Chamberlain. Such negotiations would now have the better chance of success, as the growth in the interval of the German Fleet would oblige England to treat Germany on a more fair and equal basis.

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In answer to a question as to the effect of such an understanding In answer to a Transport of such an understanding England's present arrangements with France and Russia, Herr approchament with stonce admitted that a rapprochament with the such as the stonce admitted that a rapprochament with the such as the stone and such as th Rath at once admitted that a rapprochement with the German Rath at once the Rath at once to which their value, a circumstance to which Empire would get attach much significance, being disposed to regard be did not seem to attach and temporary combined. he did not seem less artificial and temporary combinations.

ÆNEAS O'NEILL.

BERLIN.

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# THE DECLARATION OF LONDON

The late Lord Salisbury in 1897 declared that the Declaration of Paris, whereby the Sovereign in 1856 assumed to surrender the British right to capture enemy goods in neutral ships, was 'a rash and unwise proceeding.' Much more rash and unwise would he have held the Declaration of London, whereby the Sovereign in 1909 assumes to surrender other maritime rights. Whether these other rights are really, or in fact can be, surrendered by the prerogative alone, without an Act of Parliament, is another matter, to which I will crave leave to revert.

The interest of this country, which depends wholly on its maritime powers for security, is manifestly to maintain all the maritime rights of the belligerent, and to resist any encroachment thereon by the neutral. This, when we were actually fighting, was well understood by statesmen like Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and thought so important by Lord Nelson, that he declared in 1801 that the enlargement of neutral claims so as to admit carriage of enemy goods was a proposition to resist which Great Britain should fight 'while a single man, a single shilling, or even a single drop of blood remained in the country.' Yet half a century later those claims were thus enlarged; and now, yet another half-century later, the Declaration of London assumes still further to enlarge them. And this Declaration is signed at the very moment when we are being told we must build eight *Dreadnoughts* if we would be safe. We are to build a greater navy, and at the same time we are to diminish its effectual powers!

A Hague Conference of forty-six nations, including such eminent naval powers as Hayti, Cuba, Ecuador, Luxembourg and Switzerland, assumed in 1907—on the proposal, be it remarked, of Germany-to establish an International Prize Court to apply, as a Court of Appeal from national Prize Courts, 'the rules of international law, or else its own notions of 'the general principles of justice and equity. Sir Edward Grey therefore in February last convened a conference of ten of 'the principal naval Powers,' to agree what the rules of international law might be

Let it be remembered that for the five Powers, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia, all essentially military Powers, the object

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must be to diminish naval power in warfare; at all events, that most must be to diffine of it which strikes at trade and thus affords to important power of acting on armies, to the sea the important porton of acting on armies, to the sea the power of coercing navies the power of coercing the land. For everything taken from naval power is so much added the land. To the remaining four Power. the land. To the remaining four Powers, Japan, Holland, to military Political States, naval power is as important as military. Spain, and the United States, naval power is as important as military. Spain, and the Spain, and the Spain, and the Britain alone is it overwhelmingly more important. For Great Britain's maritime rights in this London Conference, therefore, Great Britain's maritime rights in this honders at the best only one of the ten wholly for them, four sympathetic but comparatively indifferent, and five dead against sympanics. In such a conference Great Britain was certain to be beaten, and her beating to be engarlanded, as it was, with fulsome compliment and slobbering interchanges of reciprocal admiration.

But Sir Edward Grey did not wait to be beaten. He surrendered before battle was joined. He went over to the neutrals bag and baggage. The question whether merchant ships can be converted into warships on the high seas, he said (Cd. 4554, p. 10), 'is regarded by H.M. Government as one to be decided by reference to the rights

of neutrals.'

He adds in his instructions to the British delegates (p. 23),

any proposal tending in the direction of freeing neutral commerce and shipping from the interference which the suppression by belligerents of the trade in contraband involves should receive your sympathetic consideration, and if not otherwise open to objection, your active support.

And again (p. 25):

H.M. Government are now desirous of limiting as much as possible the right to seize for contraband, if not eliminating it altogether . . . the principle of exemption [from seizure under convoy] is on the other hand favourable to neutral trade and in conformity with the spirit of British policy.

Sir Edward Grey, indeed (p. 32), instructs Lord Desart and the British delegates that their object should be to keep in mind 'those legitimate rights of a belligerent State which have been proved in the past to be essential to the successful assertion of British sea-power and to the defence of British independence,' and to see that 'they are preserved undiminished and placed beyond rightful challenge '-which so far is excellent. But he then proceeds: 'The maintenance of these belligerent rights in their integrity and [my own italics] the widest Possible freedom for neutrals in the unhindered navigation of the seas are the principles that should remain before your eyes as the double object to be pursued.' Here is a contradiction amounting to absurdity. Undiminished belligerent rights and the widest possible freedom for neutrals are opposite principles. They cannot co-exist. Enlarge the one and you impair the other. Maintain the latter and you destroy the And the whole tenor of the instructions shows that, in spite of phrases, the British delegates were intended and instructed to sacrifice

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belligerent rights to neutral 'freedom' to do precisely the contrary belligerent rights to neutral belligerent rights belligerent rights to neutral belligerent rights and belligerent ri of what all British statesment of what all British statesment to establish, in the words of the King's Speech of 1801, 'a new code to establish, in the words of the rights and hostile to the interest of the to establish, in the words of the interests and hostile to the interests

his country.'
In 1890 that competent authority Captain Mahan wrote of England:

More than any other her wealth has been entrusted to the sea in war as in More than any other ner weath, and the reluctant to the sea in war as in peace; yet of all nations she has ever been most reluctant to concede the improvement of commerce and the rights of neutrals. Regarded, not as a many peace; yet of all nations should be rights of neutrals. Regarded, not as a matter of policy, history has justified the refusal; and if she maintain has a matter of policy of policy history has justified the refusal; and if she maintain has a matter of policy of policy history has justified the refusal; and if she maintain has a matter of policy of policy history has justified the refusal; and if she maintain has a matter of policy of policy history has justified the refusal; and if she maintain has a matter of policy of munities of commerce and the tight as a matter of right, but of policy, history has justified the refusal; and if she maintain her navy in full strength, the future will doubtless repeat the lesson of the past,

## In June 1907 he further wrote:

Foremost among the causes of Napoleon's fall was the fact that to the Foremost among the cataly in her fields, vineyards and manufactures, products of France, so wealthy in her fields, vineyards and manufactures, products of France, so meant the fleets of Great Britain. The cessation of maritime circulation was denied by the entire financial system of France land maritime transportation deranged the entire financial system of France, largely dependent of the State could neither raise review. dent upon foreign custom. The State could neither raise revenue nor borrow; both money and credit were wanting. . . . The offensive advantage of capture of private property at sea] to Great Britain, owing to her situation, is in my

Captain Mahan's expectation has been frustrated. The reluctance to concede to neutrals privileges which England ever most wisely denied has now been superseded by a positive enthusiasm for those privileges; and we are asked to believe that the new code of maritime law, once denounced as inconsistent with our rights and hostile to our interest, has now become consistent with both and hostile to neither.

The whole question ever was, and still is: whether the neutral is to be left free to assist the belligerent; to carry for him that trade which he can no longer carry for himself; to supply him with the instruments of war known as contraband, which otherwise he could not obtain; to break, or attempt to break, blockade without serious penalty: whether, in short, he is to be left free to assist either belligerent-which must mean assisting mainly the weaker-instead of being bound to assist neither. All these questions every British statesman who knew what real war was, and what its real stresses, would have decided, and always did decide, in the negative. All these Sir Edward Grey decides in the affirmative.

Or, rather, he invites the military Powers so to decide them. And they, of course, have done so. They have, with his assistance and co-operation, set forth a Declaration which throughout enlarges the power of the neutral to assist the enemy; which restricts the power of the belligerent to assist the enemy; which in both respects leaves the prevent that assistance; which in both respects lessens the effectual use of the superior naval power in maritime warfare; and which comes near to nullifying naval supe-

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No nour state are neutral, the same enlarged powers of engaging in, and making a profit out of, a commerce which will assist one or both of the belligerents to carry on their war. No doubt it offers to those merchants and shipowners greater immunity in a trade unlawful and immoral in itself, and calculated to support and to lengthen the war between two of our friends. But at what a cost is the private profit of such a trade made? At the cost of the public interest, perhaps of the national security, possibly even of the national existence, when we ourselves shall be at war. In exchange for a small and unlawful profit to a few individuals in time of peace, it paralyses the power of the whole nation in time of war.

Other nations, indeed, while neutrals, have much to gain from being allowed to interfere in a war between England and another Power. Since the Declaration of Paris, giving immunity from capture of enemy property in neutral ships, they stand to gain in such a war, a part at least, or, as some have held-including statesmen so divergent as the late Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. John Bright-the greater part, of the enormous British over-sea carrying trade. For their neutral flag thenceforth gave immunity from capture, and would therefore attract all enemy property, including even the British. we, when neutrals, have no such immense prize to gain. We already do the greater part of the world's carrying trade, and in case of war between two other States have little, if any, addition thereto to expect. But the case rests also on other and higher grounds than those of interest. Let it never be forgotten that the 'freeing of neutral commerce' means only freeing it to take a part in the war. It means allowing the neutral to assist and to maintain the enemy of his friend; to provide weapons and merchandise to one or both of two Powers waging a war from which it is his duty to abstain altogether. If British subjects, when their country is neutral, are to have 'freedom' to take so effectual a part in the war between two States to both of whom they owe equal friendship, there is no reason why they should not do it when to one of the two they owe allegiance; no reason why they should not do it when their own country is at war. What is thus set up is a notion of war that is no war; of military war and commercial peace co-existing; of soldiers and sailors destroying each other, and their 'neutral' friends helping both to the means of continuing the destruction. Thenceforth there is left no reason why the very subjects of the

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belligerent Power should be prohibited from trading with the enemy belligerent Power should be properly and making a profit out of their country's calamity. As a neutral, and making a profit out of their country's calamity. As a neutral, and making a profit out of the Great Britain needs no such to those few unprincipled and selfish shipowners among her subjects to those few unprincipled and selfish shipowners among her subjects to those few unprincipled and the contraband and enemy goods, who are greedy for the high freights of contraband and enemy goods. who are greedy for the mgn.

They are the enemies of the State as well as the enemies of the State's They are the enemies of the State's they engage in so treacherous and mills. They are the enemies of the engage in so treacherous and wicked a belligerent friend; if they engage in so treacherous and wicked a belligerent friend; in they should be left, as formerly they were, to the traffic for gain, they should be left, as formerly they were, to the punishment that is their due. The whole profit, be it observed, of neutrals to assist in the war by supplying content. punishment that is then the punishment that is then the beligerent who, because of the protection to the helligerent who, because of the protection to the helligerent who, because of the protection to the helligerent who, because of the protection to the protectio or merchandise to the belligerent who, because of the war, can no or merchandise to the whole profit enures to the weaker belligerent. The stronger needs it not. Command of the sea secures to him the The stronger needs to him the safe passage across that sea of all that he needs. It was so under while the armies of Napoleon the old sound rule. While the armies of Napoleon were shaking Europe with their tramp, his merchant ships disappeared from the ocean; and at the same time the smallest British trader could traverse unchallenged any part of the high seas. It is not Great Britain that would reap any advantage from neutral immunity; it is always her enemy.

The first great surrender of our belligerent rights was indeed made fifty years ago by the Declaration of Paris, on the express ground that it was desirable to 'establish a uniform doctrine' as to neutrals and belligerents—which it failed to do. This present Declaration of London is set up on the same false ground of being calculated to establish (p. 21) 'certainty and uniformity'-which it fails as completely to do as did the Declaration of Paris. For neither certainty nor uniformity, nor any agreement whatever, has been reached on two of the most important of the points at issue, the two whereon many of the rest depend: whether a merchant ship may or may not be converted into a warship on the high seas by a scrap of paper, and whether, if so, she may be similarly reconverted from a warship into a merchant ship; this question (p. 35) 'remains open.' 80, too, remains open the question whether 'enemy property' is to be determined by the nationality or the domicile of the owner. What sort of certainty or uniformity can belong to a Declaration which fails to settle either one of two questions that lie, as these do, at the very heart of the thing? The only uniformity in it is the uniform abandonment of rights which would be of advantage to England in war. Here are some of the things done.

(1) Breach of blockade is rendered easier and less perilous by the abandonment of the right (Arts. 14, 16, 17, 19, and 20 of the Declaration) to an extended the right (Arts. 14, 16, 17, 19, and 20 of the Declaration) claration) to capture the blockade runner as hitherto, at any time until the conclusion of her voyage. This makes it harder for England to enforce a blockade.

(2) An insufficient and restrictive list of articles is agreed to

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(Arts. 22 and 24) which 'are without notice' (not 'may be' as in-(Arts. 22 and 25) treated as absolute or conditional contraband, correctly translated) treated as absolute or conditional contraband, correctly translated. 23 and 25) to any belligerent to add to the list by with power (Arts. 23 and 25). An excessive list of absolutely. with power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power (Art. 28) is also set up (Art. 28) is also set up (Art. a mere decial and articles (Art. 28) is also set up, but with no power to add to or articles (Art. 28). This abandons the British, and only the articles (Art. 20) and abandons the British, and only true principle, that diminish it. diminish it. contraband depends on the circumstances of time, place, what is contraband at one time. what is contraband at one time and place is not and destination, and makes it harder for England to stop contraband trade with her enemy. (3) But it is also declared (Art. 40) that the condemnation of a

ship carrying contraband is only 'permitted' if the contraband, ship carried states by value, weight, volume, or freight, forms more than half the cargo. So that a vessel may with impunity carry, say, 3000 tons of arms, ammunition, and warlike stores and accoutrements, provided she carries another 3000 tons, equal in volume and value and at an equal freight, of raw cotton, wool, silk, metallic ores, precious stones or any other of the articles in the seventeen categories of Art. 28 which 'may not be declared contraband'—a condition of immunity easy enough to comply with. Moreover, even thus a vessel which has carried contraband may not be captured (Art. 38) after the committal of the offence. All this makes it still harder -so much harder as to approach the impossible-for England to stop contraband trade with her enemy.

(4) The destruction of a captured neutral vessel is declared to be permitted (Art. 49) if sending her into port for judicial inquiry and judgment would 'involve danger to the safety of the [captor] warship or to the success of the operations in which she is engaged 'whereof the captor is left to be sole immediate judge, subject to subsequent review. This relieves the captor from the risk of recapture, to the great damage of England, which always was and still would be able largely to nullify capture by the enemy through recapture before the enemy's port was reached. This provision is in itself monstrous, for it authorises the captor to constitute himself a prize court of first instance and to condemn his prize to be sunk at will. It can only have been agreed to in order to legalise ex post facto the outrage of the sinking of the Knight Commander. It limits, indeed, very seriously the advantages elsewhere accorded to neutrals. But it nullifies recapture; and thus erects into a principle what is nothing but an abuse of force on the spot, arbitrarily withdrawn from the risks of opposing force elsewhere than on the spot. far Art. 49 will consist with Arts. 44 and 54 will be a nice question; for the former allows of destruction by the captor, while the two latter give to the captor the right to require delivery of confiscable goods,' and on their delivery declares that 'the master [of the neutral] must be allowed to continue his voyage.' This is

only one of many instances of the muddle made in the attempt to only one of many instances on the contract of the state of the contract of the co

ver in war.

(5) Transfer of an enemy vessel to a neutral flag, instead of baretofore, on all the circumstances, is now do to (5) Transfer of an enemy depending, as heretofore, on all the circumstances, is now declared of depending, as here an 'absolute presumption' of validity if 'are depending, as heretoiore, on depending depe (Art. 55) to have an absolute the outbreak of hostilities, a hard and more than thirty days before the outbreak of hostilities, a hard and more than thirty days before fraudulently complied and fast condition which may easily be fraudulently complied with and fast condition which most damning facts. This renders it had fast condition which may override the most damning facts. This renders it harder for which may override the most damning facts. This renders it harder for which may override the most damning facts. which may override the most vessels fraudulently pretended to he neutral. England to capture enemy vessels fraudulently pretended to be neutral.

gland to capture enough.

(6) Enemy property in an enemy ship is declared (Art. 58) to (6) Enemy property in the law of Nations declared by the determined, no longer as by reference to all the second by British jurists it always was, by reference to all the accompanying British jurists it always the domicile of the owner, but only by reference to his 'character,' which will almost certainly be held to mean his nationality. 'Nationality' in these days means any. thing. Enemy property will therefore be found to mean nothing. But the true test is to be found, not alone in the character of the owner, but in all the accompanying circumstances showing what the property really is. The character of the owner is not the only element. There is the origin of the property, the character of the trade, and the method of conducting that trade. Under this new rule, ownership of neutral 'character' would give immunity to goods under enemy flag or enemy pass-goods which have hitherto been held to be thereby stamped with a hostile character. 'The property of a person may acquire a hostile character,' said Mr. Justice Story in the San Jose Indiano case, 'altogether independent of his own peculiar character.' So, too, Lord Stowell: 'there is a traffic which stamps a national character on the individual independent of that character which personal residence may give him.' With inconceivable levity all this is thrown to the winds, and 'character' alone is left to determinecharacter of owner, without reference to character of property or trade or circumstances. It really looks as if the British delegates had been surprised into a practical abandonment of their hitherto undeserted contention that domicile and not nationality should be the test. Moreover, if the 'character' of the owner alone is henceforth to count, there will apparently be applied to goods in an enemy ship an entirely different principle from that applied (by Art. 46) to goods in a neutral ship, even though the property of a neutral owner. Here some more reconcilement of different principles will be required. In any case Article 58 is a very tremendous surrender of the principle hitherto maintained. It will make it harder for England to establish the character of that 'enemy property' which is now alone left open to capture, and harder, therefore, to put upon her enemy that most merciful yet most effectual stress which touched his pocket but not his life,

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(7) Neutral vessels 'under national convoy 'are declared (Art. 61) (7) Neutral verse.' Those who would know the full meaning of this must refer to the arguments used against it by British statesthis must refer what war really is. It renders immune from any men who know and even from so much as a question, a limitless fleet examination, a finite series of neutrals or pretended neutrals having in their company a torpedo-boat flying the national pennant. The 'opinion' of a subpedo-polar commanding that torpedo-boat is declared (Art. 62) conclusive as to facts and law. It is for 'him alone to investigate the matter.' The state of things thus created, and withdrawn thus from the so much lauded International Prize Court, is simply grotesque. Wherever there is a torpedo-boat convoy or even a 'converted' vessel flying the pennant, these Articles will make it impossible for the whole naval power of England to capture anything falsely alleged to be 'neutral'—nay, impossible for her so much as to ascertain whether it is or is not neutral. The British delegates appear wholly to have forgotten what Robinson's Admiralty Reports show, that war always gives rise to frauds of the most impudent and unscrupulous character on the part as well of neutrals as of belligerents.

(8) It is declared by Art. 30 that 'absolute contraband' destined to enemy territory or forces is 'liable to capture.' But it is also declared by Art. 32 that 'where a vessel is carrying absolute contraband, her papers are conclusive proof as to the voyage on which she is engaged, unless she is found clearly out of the course indicated by her papers,' while Art. 35 lays down the same rule for a vessel carrying conditional contraband. The idea of a ship's papers being conclusive proof of destination of a ship apparently heading for that destination is enough to raise Lord Stowell from his grave. parently the British delegates had never heard of the common devices of false papers or of double and treble sets of papers, one true and the others false. The recent case of the Doelwyck pretending to be on her way to Kurrachee while really on her way with contraband to Jibouti only resulted in her condemnation by the Italian Prize Court because the master committed the blunder of giving up the true papers instead of the false. Had she been caught on the Red Sea (a way common to both ports) and had the master given up, as he intended, her false papers alone, these must have been accepted under Art. 32 as conclusive proof of the innocence of a most guilty ship. All which makes it still harder for England to capture and condemn contraband traffic.

These are by no means all the changes made; they are only those which at first sight are most glaring and monstrous. Whether the King's Law Officers were consulted and their opinion obtained, before His Majesty was advised to authorise a Declaration affecting to make such vast changes in the law, we are not told. In the absence of a

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It is proper here to remark that the International Prize Court, It is proper here to remark as a final Court of Appeal, is to deliberate with closed doors and in secret which is to decide an these members and in Appeal, is to sit at The Hague, is to deliberate with closed doors and in secret, and is majority of its fifteen members, nine being a majority of its fifteen members. sit at The Hague, is to denote the secret, and is to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a Hague Conference); and that it is so constitutions of the secret, and is to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members, nine being a quorum to decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen members and the decide by a majority of its fifteen m to decide by a majority of the (Arts. 14 and 45 or Hagas (Arts. 15) as to give to the military, anti-naval Powers a permanent (Art. 15) as to give to the majority. It is further proper to remark that the Convention established before the 2011. majority. It is further parameters and the state of the source of the so lishing this Prize Court has Before that date Parliament may perhaps 1909—this present year. Before that date Parliament may perhaps intervene, both as to this Convention and also as to the Declaration

Throughout, the Declaration so exaggerates 'neutral' privileges and so pares away belligerent rights as to invite all neutrals to active participation in the war from which they are bound to hold aloof. Throughout it sacrifices the power and the rights of the superior naval belligerent to the toleration of neutral interference with the war. Throughout it is against England.

When a battle is fought under rules you may so make the rules of the ring as to prevent the stronger and abler of two men from using his strength and his ability, and to ensure victory to the weaker and less able. That is what was begun by the Declaration of Paris of 1856 and is completed by the Declaration of London of 1909. If by these new rules we are to be bound, then when war does come, Englishmen will see with equal incredulity and astonishment that the naval power which coerced Napoleon, and with him at one time the whole of Europe, has ceased to be effectual. wonder how it is that their vast fleets have somehow become powerless to distress their enemy. They will perhaps long go on seeing their overwhelming naval strength as impotent in fact as it is imposing in appearance. They will wonder; perhaps they will ask themselves why. They will scarcely imagine, and when they realise it they will scarcely believe, that it is because of rules submitted to, nay, invited by their own Ministers. But if once in the stress of a struggle for life they do realise it, they will certainly, and at all hazards, tear asunder these paper bonds and will resume the full maritime rights they once exercised so irresistibly. Then the rules will go and some great reputations with them; then England will again become as powerful as she was a century ago. When she understands, she will become herself again. Then, and not till then.

Meantime this Declaration of London would tie us up beyond all precedent. Whether it will stand is another thing. It is at present only an act of prerogative. But, as Professor Maitland has pointed out in the best 'Constitution of the best of the bes in the best 'Constitutional History of England' that we have, there are cases in which are cases in which an exercise of the prerogative has, by itself, 'no ourt, is to orum tuted

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legal effect whatever.' This seems such a case. The Law of Nations legal effect what of England, and as such has been deis part of the clared in innumerable decisions of competent judges. Can that law clared in innumerative alone without Act of Parliament? He would be a bold lawyer who would say that it can be. When Captain Walker be a bold law, of H.M.S. Emerald forcibly seized Mr. Baird's Newfoundland lobof H.M.S. Discounties and gear, shut up his factory, and pleaded that he did ster-pots and good, ster-pots and good that he did so by command of the Sovereign in execution of a Treaty made by prerogative with France, Mr. Baird took him into the Courts and prerogative In 1892 the case came to the Privy Council for the final decision of that final Court, and the Attorney-General pleaded for Walker on behalf of the Crown that 'the Crown by its prerogative can bind its subjects by treaty; that it is an offence by the Common Law to disobey the provisions of a public treaty of this kind; and that the act of the Executive in preventing that disobedience and enforcing obedience does not give a cause of action. But his argument failed. He had to admit its defects. Being asked whether he contended 'that every treaty can be carried out by the Executive, he replied, 'Not all; for instance, treaties involving questions of taxation or taxes or cession of territory in time of peace. and he further admitted that 'the Crown, by treaty with a foreign Power,'could not 'acquire new rights against its own subjects.' After much citing of relevant cases, the Privy Council decided that the fact of the Crown having made a treaty with France by prerogative alone, without any Act of Parliament to carry the treaty into effect, gave the Crown no right to seize Baird's lobster-pots; and that Walker's perfectly true allegation that he had acted in pursuance of orders from the Crown was therefore no defence. It decided in short that a treaty made by the Sovereign in exercise of the prerogative alone does not alter the Common Law-unless, perhaps, the treaty be (which this was not) a treaty of peace, the right to make which by prerogative may lawfully be exercised by the Crown.

That most important decision seems to cover the case of the Declaration of London. It may conceivably be that the King, in whom is vested the power of making war—even, as would appear, without the assent or even against the will of Parliament—may have also the power of instructing his naval officers to make captures at sea not authorised by the Common Law, or to refrain from making captures that are so authorised. It would be presumptuous for any but a complete Constitutional Common Law jurist to decide that point off-hand. But it would be more presumptuous to declare that this includes power to abrogate, to violate, and to end the Common Law itself in this respect. No act of the prerogative can withhold questions of Common Law from the Courts. 'The suggestion that' Captain Walker's acts 'can be justified as acts of State, or that the Court was not competent to inquire into a matter involving the

construction of treaties and other acts of State, is wholly untenable,

clared the Privy Council in the large of the Privy Council in the large of the Declaration of London has or can have This being so it would seem the Law, no part of the Declaration of London has or can have any unless and until all the alterations it ason. the Law, no part of the Best and until all the alterations it assumes to effect whatever unless and until all the alterations it assumes to effect whatever unless and Act of Parliament, and thus received to effect whatever unless and an Act of Parliament, and thus receive the make are embodied in an Act of King alone but also of the make are embodied in an Alexander and the King alone but also of the expressed assent not of the British Sovereignty. So far expressed assent not of the British Sovereignty. So far as the Declaration goes at present it would seem to be strictly no more Declaration goes at present than a suggestion, incomplete in itself, and without binding authority we may expect it receives that authority we may expect its than a suggestion, most it receives that authority we may expect that all the subjected to the most icalous senting its provisions will be subjected to the most jealous scrutiny, which will take into account not merely the weakness or convenience of will take into account here are the interests, and the defences of the

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE REVOLT IN TURKEY

To be sceptical as to the existence in future of the constitutional regime in Turkey is to entertain doubts as to the continuation of the Ottoman Empire as an independent State. A return to the former despotism is sure to lead to such internal commotions as would shake the integrity of that Empire to its very foundations. The integrity of the Turkey of the past was guaranteed by powerful States. This guarantee from without was more fictitious than real, and it did not save her from partial dismemberment. The integrity of the constitutional Turkey of to-day will, however, be guarded against disruption by a new factor-that is, by the people of the Ottoman Empire, who are earnestly enthusiastic over the fact that they have now a voice in the management of the affairs of their own country.

There is another and more important factor to be considered in this connexion, and that is the attitude of the Ottoman army, whose reputation as an excellent defensive force hardly requires to be mentioned here. It was the army, as it is scarcely necessary to state, which secured to the people of the Ottoman Empire the constitutional régime which they now enjoy. Officers and men in various army corps have sworn fidelity to the Constitution, and they will certainly defend the rights of constitutional Turkey against all violations, whether such violations come from within or from without.

It is a gross mistake to characterise the forces upholding the cause of the Constitution as the 'army of the Committee of Union and Progress,' as do many newspaper correspondents, because the Committee is under the patronage of the army, which regards the Committee as the guardian of the new-born Constitution. Committee exercises such a vigilance over the working of the constitutional régime as would be outside the sphere of the soldier's duty. It is true that the Committee counts many military men among its members, and as far as my observation goes, when these really unselfish and patriotic men left the seat of the Committee to attend to their military duties, some of the civilian members, forgetting that the Committee had assumed a national character since the

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establishment of the Constitution, began to act as they acted when establishment of the Constitution and Progress was a revolutionary acted when the Committee of Union and Conciliatory attitude was society the Committee of Union and conciliatory attitude was essential, years ago. Where a tactful and conciliatory attitude was essential, years ago. Where a vaccinations prevailed. Retorts with violent personality and consequently the prestige of the Constant of t passionate recriminations passionate recrimination passionate recrimi ties were the result, and come the tactlessness of a few of its leaders. suffered in the capital through the Constitution the people, whether the inauguration of the Constitution the people, whether the people whether t After the inauguration reasonably, expected redress of their grievances reasonably or unreasonably, expected redress of their grievances the Error of the Error o reasonably or unreasonably assisting the Executive, from the Committee as an advisory body assisting the Executive, from the Committee as an executive, who were necessarily officials trained under an autocratic régime. who were necessarily the Young Turks, returned from their places of exile abroad, were The Young Turks, returned from their places of exile abroad, were The Young Turks, reconsidered either too young or too inexperienced to take the responsibility of high office, and although they received useful hints and a good deal of active support from the Committee, the high officials of the Executive could not work wonders in attending to public affairs. Hence there began to grow up a disappointed section who expected satisfaction for their personal hopes and desires from a body which had overthrown the rule of a powerful autocracy. This discontent furnished an opportunity of preparing their revenge to the reactionaries who were silently watching the march of events from their hidden quarters.

The growth of an anti-Committee movement could, however, gain no influence among the population of the Turkish capital until a group of men of some French education and, in the case of some of them, of unscrupulous political principles, formed themselves into a political party. The prime mover of this opposition party was Prince Sabaheddin, who is related to the Sultan on his mother's side. This Prince resided in France several years as an exile, during which time he never ceased to agitate against the Hamidian autocracy. He would not work for the salvation of his country as an ordinary member of the Ottoman Reform Committee, the headquarters of which were in Paris. Having been brought up in the autocratic atmosphere of a princely palace, he desired to be the sole leader of the reform movement carried on outside the Sultan's dominions. But neither his age nor his knowledge of affairs could secure him a commanding position in the ranks of the Turkish reformers. Prince Sabaheddin was, however, in a more fortunate position than other reform agitators for finding sufficient money from time to time to carry on a propaganda of his own against the Sultan's autocracy. He succeeded in inducing a number of Young Turk exiles to follow his lead, and several Armenian and Greek politicians with separatist tendencies were attracted by his promises of securing autonomous concessions when he should come into power after the downfall of the Hamidian régime.

The reform propaganda of Prince Sabaheddin could have but little effect in Turkey, and as a matter of fact the Committee of Union and Progress, which can in a matter of fact the Committee of the Progress, which carried on its reform agitation on the lines of the

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integrity and unity of the Ottoman Empire, brought about the downintegrity and that it is a struggle of the Palace tyranny after years of arduous struggle. When fall of the Lataus Struggle. When liberty was established Prince Sabaheddin, like all other political liberty was abroad, returned to Turkey. In order to avoid mischievous dissensions at a time when the country required a united effort for dissensions after a ruinous tyranny, the Committee invited Prince regeneration to join it, and the Prince, together with two of his Sabaheddin two of whom is a protegé of a great financier well known in Europe, did actually join it and took an oath to follow the Committee's programme. They could not secure a commanding position in the Committee, however, and they soon afterwards left it. With the indirect support of this Prince a new party was then created. This party, which calls itself the 'Ahrar,' and which is styled by its European sympathisers the 'Liberal Union,' has amongst its members Said Pasha, the son of the late Vizir Kiamil Pasha, who was notorious for his tyrannical deeds under the old régime; Ismail Kemal Bey, the Albanian separatist deputy; and many other persons who could not find a seat in the Council of the Committee of Union and Progress. Several high officials, who betrayed an amazing degree of reactionary tendency on the success of the dastardly deeds of revolt perpetrated by the fanatical mob, had favoured the 'broader' principles of the Constitution propounded by this 'Liberal Union party.' The political propaganda of the party had also appealed forcibly to the pan-Hellenic imagination of the Greeks, most of whose deputies and journalists have given the party a helping hand. party leaders knew how to win the sympathies of certain foreign concession-hunters who have been making a mad rush to Turkey to exploit her resources, by giving them to understand that if their party came into power they would have a much better chance of getting what they sought. Curiously enough, the adherents of the 'Liberal Union party,' by displaying an excessive degree of Anglophil tendencies, have won the support of some English newspaper correspondents in Constantinople. It must be within the recollection of those who follow the trend of events in the Near East, that those English papers which have been carrying on a campaign against what is called the 'illegal' authority of the Committee of Union and Progress have praised the political ideals of the leaders of the Liberal Union. They were true Liberals, these English correspondents told us, who promised equal chances to all nationalities in Turkey to develop on their own nationalist lines; while, on the other hand, the Young Turks, who adhered to the Committee, were Chauvinists running their politics on the narrow Turkish lines. It seems strange to have started an agitation of this sort against the position of the Committee, and to advise it to dissolve, at the very moment when a White Book relating to the recent constitutional movement in Turkey was being Vol. LXV-No. 387

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Litical Press at first applauded the patriotic achieve. capital. Every week saw the capital Every week saw the capital Press at first applauded the patriotic achievements. The entire political Press at first applauded the patriotic achievements. When, however, and it is a contract the capital Press at first applauded the patriotic achievements. The entire political Press at and Progress. When, however, an opposite of the Committee of Union and Progress. When, however, an opposite title of the Tripposite of the Tripp of the Committee of Chickense of the attractive title of the Liberal sition faction was created under the attractive title of the Liberal union' there appeared five or six daily papers against two of the Union'. No one knows how the numerous Union' there appeared. No one knows how the numerous of the Committee's official organs. No one knows how the numerous organs of the opposition faction have been able to pay the expenses of their of the opposition laction. The sale of papers in Turkey is not large; while not one publication. The sale of papers in Turkey is not large; while not one of them has more than half-a-dozen advertisements. No doubt the agents of the reaction have given valuable support to these opposition papers, but I cannot help expressing my suspicion that some of them have also received financial help from quarters other than reactionary. A most despicably violent campaign has been waged against the Committee, as well as against the Cabinet of Hilmi Pasha, The methods of the worst type of 'yellow' journalism have been imported into Turkey from the West. On many occasions I have had to throw down in disgust Turkish papers sent me from Constantinople without finishing the articles contained in them. They misrepresented and fiercely criticised every act of the Committee, and did their best to undermine the authority of the Government, which came into power by a parliamentary majority of nearly two hundred votes to eight. It can easily be imagined what would be the influence of sucha pestilential Press on a simple-minded public which until quite recently has had no experience of the methods of campaign of a free Press. The Ikdam, which used to be an official organ of the Palace under the old régime, has, under the editorship of a man of chequered career, surpassed all the other opposition organs by its scurrilous language and calumnious utterances. To my utter disgust I have observed that this man has been lionised on more than one occasion by the Constantinople correspondent of a prominent London paper. This man, together with other persons responsible for the recent lamentable occurrences in Turkey, fled abroad on the approach of the Salonica army corps to Constantinople; and these fugitives, who are now considered by all the Young Turks as traitors, will quite possibly come over to this country to play upon the sympathies of the British public by their tales of 'patriotism.'

Of course the organs of the Committee of Union and Progress have violently defended the Committee and the Government against the abusive attacks of the opposition. But impartial observers have seen that a catastrophe for Turkey was lurking behind such internal dissensions. I honestly believe that without the direct and indirect influence of the so-called 'Liberal Union party' the reactionaries

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would never have been able to bring about the recent coup. Political would never have be essential to the free working of the constitutional parties are said much doubt whether a party which has come into rigine; but I manufact and the come into existence with a rapidity of mushroom growth, and has pursued the existence with adopted by the Liberal Union of Constantinople, line of contactive of good. Had the authority of the Turkish Government under Hilmi Pasha not been undermined by the Liberal Union agitators, I am firmly convinced that the unfortunate attacks Union agreement, the most useful and, after the true Turks, the most on Armenia, the distant provinces of Asiation To and the distant provinces of Asiation To an armenia of the distant provinces of Asiation To an armenia of the distant provinces of Asiation To an armenia of the distant provinces of Asiation To an armenia of the distant provinces of Asiation To an armenia of the distant provinces of Asiation To an armenia of the Ottoman Empire, could not have been patried out in the distant provinces of Asiatic Turkey.

The war of 'extermination,' instigated by the unprincipled cosmopolitan league called the 'Liberal Union party' against the Committee, has resulted in nothing but the temporary establishment of reaction. Now the Committee has rallied its forces and become stronger than ever to safeguard the Constitution. The severest legal measures must be taken against the instigators, and those of them who have fled to Europe will certainly receive heavy judgments passed against them in default. It is useless to recommend leniency in the case of such traitors, whose acts, if they had happened in any other country, would on no account be treated lightly. As to the future policy of the Committee of Union and Progress, that will consist entirely in vigilance until the time arrives when the constitutional régime has become thoroughly self-supporting. In future the management of the affairs of the Committee will not be left entirely in the hands of civilian members. In critical times the cultured soldiers of the Ottoman army display a far greater political wisdom than the easily iritated civilians. I apprehend no military dictatorship through the predominance of the military element on the Committee. I find the educated Turkish officers less selfish and more patriotic than any other class of people in Turkey, and they well understand the exceptionally delicate situation of their country in international politics.

The victory of the Constitutionalists in the capital has already produced a great result—namely, the root of the reaction has been destroyed. The lesson taught in Constantinople to those who attempted to deal a blow at the Constitution will undoubtedly produce a salutary effect on the minds of those ignorant people in the distant provinces of Asiatic Turkey who have been lending a ready ear to the instigation of the reactionaries. In future no Ottoman Sovereign could dream of inspiring respect for his authority by following the line of policy which was invariably followed by the Hamidian autocracy; while the influence of a Sultan who rules constitutionally is certain to ensure peace and good relations between Muslim and non-Muslim peoples who are subject to the Porte. The danger of internal difficulties to be met by the Ottoman reformers will not, therefore, be so insurmountably great as is represented by some European politicians. Parties may

come into existence and politicians may be divided into opposing the interests of the control opposing come into existence and positive interests of the opposing camps, but all the disputes affecting the interests of the common representation. camps, but all the disputes of patriotism. The common fatherland must be fought out on the lines of patriotism. The Ottoman group of the common group of the common than the c fatherland must be fought out. The Ottoman Empire is exposed to many external dangers, and any group of men external Union, who are men Empire is exposed to many who may act as acted the leaders of the 'Liberal Union,' who are now all sides as traitors, will invite for themselves not only who may act as acted the loads who are now acted to the loads who regarded on all sides as tractor, regarded on all sides as tractor, opposition of the Committee of Union and Progress, but also the Wrath opposition of a vast section was section. opposition of the Committee opprobrium of a vast section of the

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## THE LAMBETH IDEAL OF REUNION

THE general public is perhaps a little weary of the subject of reunion. What is the use of these interminable discussions, and what the sincerity, since, if men wish to unite, the way is open? Why should they waste time in debates which always have the effect of stereothey was the dividing prejudices, and dissipating in controversy the too slender stock of goodwill? The desirableness of religious harmony is indeed widely acknowledged, for the practical mischiefs of 'our unhappy divisions ' are visible on all sides. Sectarian rivalries are a grave embarrasment to statesmen; they impede the working of our complicated machine of local government; they embitter and confuse the issues of political conflict; they disturb the peace of neighbourhoods, and break up the unity of homes. These considerable evils are manifest and unquestioned, they enter into the experience of the ordinary citizen, their mitigation or removal would be hailed as a public benefit of the first importance. But discussions about reunion appear to be both perennial and resultless; they even do mischief by concealing from the zealots of religious division the moral quality of their own action, and blinding them by 'the fatal imposture and force of words ' to the hypocrisy in which they have immersed themselves. What is wanted is not kindly talking, but fraternal action; not projects of reunion, but active co-operation; negotiations, but fellowship.

It is manifest enough that, for the ordinary Englishman, reunion is primarily a question of Church and dissent. He takes for granted that the Roman Catholics are definitely outside the range of reasonable and practical policy. So far as he has knowledge of the Roman system he cordially disapproves it, and since any measure of reconciliation with Rome could not but mean some further approximation of the English Church to the Roman model, he would actively oppose every step in that direction. The Churches of Russia and the East lie outside his experience altogether, but he hears no good report of them. They are admittedly sunken in ignorance and superstition, and would have to traverse the whole distance between modern civilisation and the semi-barbarism of the Middle Ages before they would really be able to enter on equal terms into any negotiation with the reformed Churches of the Western

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There remain the reformed Churches of the Continent, and throat the remain the reformed Churches of the Continent, and world. There remain the the continent, and the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the Churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the churches of his own race and speech at home and throughout the churches of his own race and his own race a May the Churches of his own race the churches of the English 'dispersion.

aware that the theological and critical leaders of the modern world world the same stands are stands. aware that the theorogical that German books are studied by are mostly drawn from Germany; that German books are studied by are mostly drawn from German, either in the original German or in every English divine of position, either in the original German or in every English divine of posterior, the numerous and excellent translations which are published in the numerous and excellent translations which are published in the numerous and excellent translations which are published in the numerous and executed the numerous and executed the published in England and America. He cannot take up a review in which there executed the conscious of t England and America. He can be serious religious discussion without being conscious that at at at the reference lies to the massive erudition and constitution every turn the reference lies to the massive erudition and courageous that at every turn the reference lies to the massive erudition and courageous every turn the reference lies to the massive erudition and courageous every turn the relection. His own most respected theologians speculation of German scholars. His own most respected theologians speculation of German Biblical science with German Biblical science are precisely those whose acquaintance with German Biblical science are precisely those that commonwealth of learning, to which the Lambeth Committee make reference, the reformed Churches of the Continent have a principal place. He would, perhaps, be surprised to discover that these Churches, from which the ablest Anglican clergy are so eager to learn, are absolutely ignored by the Lambeth Confer. ence. They lie apparently outside the sympathies of the episcopate, and do not even enter within their vision of conceivable inter. communion.' After all, he has heard of Luther and Melanethon, and the reformers of France and Switzerland, and, if he has dabbled in English history, he is aware that, when the system of the reformed Church of England was in the melting pot, these men had no slight share in determining the final result. If he reflects at all he cannot but wonder what has happened in the interval thus completely to sever the Churches of the Reformation, which once were closely linked in religious fellowship. Still there are the barriers of distance, and speech, and alienating national policies, and the venomous prejudices of commercial rivalry, which easily induce him to acquiesce in an attitude of aloofness which historically is the strangest of religious phenomena.

When, however, he limits his view to the English-speaking Churches, he is conscious of a genuine dislike of the ecclesiastical separations which destroy the harmony of the religious world, and react so mischievously on public life at every point. These separations appear to him superfluous and somewhat absurd. He is hard put to it to find a reason for the extreme difficulty which is said to mark every approach to unity, and he is, as we have said, a little weary of discussions which seem to him either unintelligent or insincere.

If the ordinary Englishman were to study the Report of the Lambeth Conference Committee, his wonder would be deepened and his fatigue increased.

The Report fills eighteen pages, to which is added an Appendix of five pages. Of these three pages are introductory, no less than eleven are concerned. eleven are concerned with various episcopal Churches in East and

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West, and only four treat of 'Presbyterian and other non-episcopal 1909 Churches. It will be observed that the Nonconformists doctrine of Orthodored, and, if they are referred to at all, which are not directly doubt, must be included under the expression 'other is not free from doubt, must be included under the expression 'other is not free Holl.

Churches.' Inasmuch, however, as the Report makes pon-episcopai turn on the question of Orders, and insists on the 'highest' everything the Presbyterian doctrine on that subject, it is clear that the whole body of Nonconformists, who certainly do not, and consistently whole body with their history could not possibly, accept that doctrine, are really ruled out. Yet if the question of reunion has any practical importance, if religious division has any spiritual gravity for individual Christians, then it is the case of the Nonconformists which must have the first place in the discussion. For they are our neighbours, and with them we are perforce associated in a thousand connections. To be parted from them by religious strife is a miserable mistake if it be not a clear necessity.

The Lambeth Conference does not contemplate the existence of Nonconformity, and thus misses the salient feature of the present situation.

It is precisely Nonconformity which is the novel factor. Here we have no precedents to guide us, and no established principles on which we can proceed. Broadly it may be said that Anglican history validates two principles, one or other of which might, in certain circumstances, be made the basis of a policy of reunion. There is the 'national' principle of the Reformation, and there is the 'Catholic' principle of the counter-reformation, carried into Anglicanism effectively by the Tractarians. The first is specifically formulated in the Thirty-nine Articles. The last is plausibly represented as established in the Preface to the Ordinal. Neither of these principles covers the case of the Nonconformists.

The national principle disallows the notion that there must of necessity be a single form of government throughout the Christian Church, whether papal, as the advocates of Rome maintain, or episcopal, as the Tractarians assert, or Presbyterian, as the followers of Andrew Melville used to insist. Therefore on the national principle there is no difficulty in arranging 'intercommunion' between national Churches which are variously ordered. An interesting statement of the older Anglican position will be found in Durel's View of the Government and Publick Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, published in 1662, with a dedication to Lord Clarendon. The writer was a popular apologist of the Restoration Settlement, and being a native of Jersey and personally acquainted with the Huguenot Churches, set himself to demonstrate to the English Public that there was no foundation for the favourite contention of the Nonconformists that 'the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas

were as much averse to the Government and publick worship of God

the Church of England, as the Church of England, as After showing by references to official decisions that the foreign After showing a large liberty in non-essentials, he proceed the process of the control of the con After showing by leteron.

Churches recognised a large liberty in non-essentials, he proceeds:

Now in this as in all good and reasonable things that are conducible to Peace Church of England is behind re-Now in this as in all good and reasonable to Peace and Unity among Christians, the Reformed Church of England is behind none of and Unity among Christians, the Reformed Church of England is behind none of an arthur goes beyond them, expressing herself more fully the and Unity among Christians, the them all. She rather goes beyond them, expressing herself more fully than any them all. And her modesty and discretion are such, that although the christian of t them all. She rather goes beyond them all them all. She rather goes beyond and discretion are such, that although she on these matters. And her modesty and discretion are such, that although she contains the christian Church to be of Angel she on these matters. And her moters in the Christian Church to be of Apostolical holdeth Subordination of Ministers in the Christian Church to be of Apostolical holdeth Subordination, having, as she conceiveth, for grounds of the holdeth Subordination of Manager as she conceiveth, for grounds of Apostolical nay of Divine Institution, having, as she conceiveth, for grounds of this her have the practise of the holy Apostles in their here. nay of Divine Institution, has no practise of the holy Apostles in their turn, judgment, besides Scripture, the practise of the holy Apostles in their turn, judgment, besides Scripture, until this later age; and which is more, of the universal Church ever since, until this later age; and which is more, of of the universal Church ever and the Apostles, and the Seventy Disciples in an Christ Himself, who ordained the Apostles, and the Seventy Disciples in an Church; yet noting in an Christ Himself, who ordanical of Ministers in his Church; yet notwithstanding Imparity as two distinct Orders of Ministers in his Church; yet notwithstanding Imparity as two distinct Orders of her own government, without Imparity as two distinct of the lawfulness of her own government, without meddling she doth but simply assert the lawfulness of her own government, without meddling she doth but simply assert the lawfulness of her own government, without meddling she doth but simply assert the Churches which do not meddle with hers, leaving them with the Government of other Churches which do not meddle with hers, leaving them with the Government of other Churches which do not meddle with hers, leaving them with the Government of outer the word to give an account of their to fall or stand to their own Master, to Whom they ought to give an account of their this is all that she saith on this matter in the to fall or stand to their other. For this is all that she saith on this matter in the Articles

It would be impossible to state more highly the claim of the episcopate. Assuredly no educated Anglican of to-day would care to say as much. Yet Durel throughout maintains that the reformed national Churches are linked together by mutual recognition and intercommunion. He produces a large number of testimonies from official acts of the foreign Churches, and from the writings of representative foreign divines, in order to show that they recognised frankly the right of the national Church of England to determine its own form of government, and he succeeds in showing that many foreign divines thought that episcopacy was best suited to English conditions, and very desirable on many grounds. A letter from 'Monsieur le Moyne, one of the ordinary Preachers to the Reformed Congregation of Roan,' is a racy and suggestive document which well deserves to be better known; one passage is curious as throwing some light on the estimate in which the king-killing English were held on the Continent. After some observations on the antiquity and practical advantages of episcopacy the writer proceeds:

But, Sir, I must here add this consideration, that I believe not that any Nation in the World hath more need of bishops than the English. For they have a natural fierceness, and withall a natural inclination to superstition. Both which are apt to set them upon great enterprizes, and to cast them upon strange extremities, uples the ties, unless they be repressed by some power somewhat despotical. And there is no notion less the despotical and the control of the control o is no nation less fit to be governed by a popular administration, because all the English have too much courage for that, are too unquiet and jealous, and all think themselves ! think themselves born to reigne; all which things, as you know, have need of an extreme power to be kept in. So, likewise, in the Church an ordinary government could not be a septiment. ment could not keep it in order, but it would go beyond all bounds, were not Episcopal Authority (which can submit Episcopal Authority (which is the most sovereign that the Church can submit to) established to take to) established to take care of it and to prevent disorders. In effect, Sir, there is no other power but the care of it and to prevent disorders. is no other power but the Episcopal can remedy an infinity of evils that may arise in the Church. (P. 136.)

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d of ernnot omit here Monsieur le Moyne goes on to speak very frankly of the dissen-Monsieur le Moyne goes on to speak very frankly of the dissensions in the foreign Churches, which, he thinks, the presence of bishops sions in the foreign Churches, which, he thinks, the presence of bishops might have restrained: 'It is that which upholds the Lutheran churches. For in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Germany they churches. For in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Germany they gre very quiet under the Episcopal discipline, and seldom are they seen to slander and tear one another.' He thinks that the absence seen to slander and tear one another.' He thinks that the absence of an episcopate operates to the disadvantage of the French Churches in their controversies with both Roman Catholics and Lutherans:

But though our end was not to win the Romanists, what will those of the But though of Augsburg say, whom we endeavour by all good ways to engage in Confession of Would not Reconcilers have great reason to despair of the success of their enterprise, if when we present unto them the hand of fellowship, we draw back presently, and go farre from them by the ruine of the Episcopal Government? Truly that onely circumstance ought to appease your English dissenters, and Truly them if they have any charity, to consent to the re-establishment of that Government, though there was something in it which they could not altogether approve of. But I am a little afraid that such is their disposition, that they take little care for ought we see of others, and are ready to say to God, 'Hast Thou made us our Brethren's keepers, that we should engage ourselves so far for them, and trouble ourselves so much about them?' But their inclination will not hinder so many godly Englishmen's practise to the contrary. And I trust that the King whom God hath so miraculously preserved and settled again upon his throne, will be sure to re-establish the authority of the Anglican Church, and after he hath restored unto the Church her former dignity, use his power for a perfect Reunion of all the Reformed Churches. Which that he may effect, his Majesty must preserve his bishops. And though he had none in his Kingdom, his own wisdom would suggest unto him that it were necessary to set up some.

'You see,' observes Durel, 'that the best Son of the Church of England could not speak better in behalf of Episcopacy.' This no doubt was the case, but the significant thing is, that there is no suggestion of any exclusive spiritual validity attaching to the episcopate. The fatal dogma of 'Apostolic succession' was as yet undeveloped in the Church of England. Even the ardently episcopalian nonjuror Leslie, writing in 1698, reckons the Lutheran Churches of Germany among the episcopal Churches whose unanimity in the matter of Church government he parades against the minority of 'papists and Presbyterians' combined. Opinion might and did vary widely as to the value of episcopacy, but its legitimacy was sufficiently established by the 'known general principle which is common to all the Reformed Churches in the world, viz.: That every National Christian Church hath power to make laws for herself in all such outward things as are not expressly either commanded or forbidden in the Word of God, and that they may vary according to times, places, persons, and circumstances, and that without prejudice of that Unity which is to be in the Universal Church of Christ, in things essential; provided always that uniformity be kept as much as possible in the several congregations of each National Church, and

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national Churches, but does not cover the case of Nonconformital national area. The Lambeth Conference has not national Churches, but does not conference has not even within the national area. The Lambeth Conference has not even the conference has not even even the conference on which the reform gone the length of the national and carried out. There is no sage of the English Church was begun and carried out. There is no sage of the the 'intercommunion' which once existed by of the English Unuren was a gestion that the 'intercommunion' which once existed between the communion's communion communion's gestion that the interconding the restored. 'Intercommunion' is continuous and harmonic of episcopacy. A tentative and harmonic of the restored is continuous to the restored of the restored. 'Intercommunion' is continuous to the restored of the restored the reformed Churches should the reformed Churches should be acceptance of episcopacy. A tentative and hesitating ditioned by acceptance of episcopacy. A tentative and hesitating ditioned by acceptance of episcopacy. ditioned by acceptance of the suggestion is made that existing Presbyterian ministers should not suggestion at the hand suggestion is made that suggestion is made that accept reordination at the hands of the nuch-advertiged necessarily be compened to the much-advertised concession bishops, and that is the whole of the much-advertised concession for the sake of unity which the Conference has made.

The Lambeth Conference itself presupposes the repudiation of the national principle, for it is mainly an assembly of non-national Churches as in America and the Colonies, of missionary Churches, and of Churches of Dissenters, as in Scotland. Between any recognition of the national Church of Scotland and the Church of England stands the Scottish Episcopal body, insignificant in point of numbers, but influential through the connection on the one hand with England, and on the other hand with America. On the principle of the English Reformation the Scottish Episcopalians ought to conform to the national Church of Scotland. The Lambeth Conference, throwing to the winds that principle, calls upon the national Church of Scotland to conform to the Episcopalian Dissenters in its midst. When we inquire on what new principle this astonishing proposition is made, we are told that reunion must be 'conducted upon Catholic lines,' that 'full union' can only be 'on the basis of episcopal ordination,' that it is an 'essential principle' of Anglicanism that only by episcopal ordination can a 'valid ministry' be secured, and so forth. The only point considered is how far, consistently with this conception of episcopacy, it may be permissible to let the Presbyterians down gently in the grand recantation of their own principles to which they are invited.

The Conference fastens on the precedent of 1610 as offering a loophole for negotiation, and assures the Presbyterian Churches that a way has been found for securing the triumph of episcopacy without inflicting on them humiliation and defeat.

The method adopted in the Report is to emphasise the highest Presbyterian doctrine of the ministry, and to represent it as essentially object to the ministry and to represent it as essentially object. tially akin to the episcopalianism which ex hypothesi is at all hazards to be affirmed.

Now it is certainly the case that there exists in the Church of Scotland a small school of divines who teach a doctrine of Apostolic

1 V. ibid. p. 96.

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succession as narrow as that of Newman. The 'Scottish Church , has drafted a programme for itself, which succession as heart stated a programme for itself, which would not be society riously defective as a scheme for developing the Society, has discretive as a scheme for developing the characteristic found seriously defective of the Tractarians. It found seriously doctrines and practices of the Tractarians. Its 'general purpose' doctrines and part advance Catholic doctrine as set forth in the is 'to defend and embodied in the standards of the Church of ancient Creeds of the Church of Scotland, and with this no fault can be found. But it is impossible Scotland, and But It is impossible for an English Churchman, who has learned by experience what strange for an English lurk under the phrases, to avoid a certain misgiving when he studies the list of twenty-one 'special objects' which the when he state. The third of these is 'the maintaining of the necessity of a valid ordination to the Holy Ministry, and the celebration in a besitting manner of the rite of Ordination.' We turn to the publications of the Society to seek an explanation of this somewhat unusual language. A recently published volume of 'Scottish Church Society Conferences,' entitled The Pentecostal Gift, will serve our purpose sufficiently. One writer (the Rev. S. J. Ramsay Sibbald) quotes in order to endorse the language of Bishop Gore, who is well known to be the ablest exponent of the narrowest Anglican doctrine:

General assent will be accorded to the opinion which the Bishop of Worcester (now of Birmingham) states thus: 'In any case, it is certain that the development of the ministry occurred on the principle of the Apostolic succession. Those who were to be ministers were the elect of the Church in which they were to minister; but they were authoritatively ordained to their office from above, and by succession from the Apostolic men.' (P. 173.)

'The Scottish Church,' says this writer, 'admits Episcopal as well as Presbyterian ordination to be valid, while maintaining that it is through presbyters, headed by a bishop, or by a moderator, that the succession has been transmitted from the Apostles to ourselves.' (p.175). Professor Cooper writes to the same effect: 'The Church of Scotland,' he says, ' is bound, as much as the Church of England is, to the principle of "Apostolic succession"; though we hold it in a form which, we believe, delivers it from many of those objections to which, in its extreme Anglican shape, it lies exposed' (p. 178). Dr. Sprott appeals to the doctrine of the Reformers: 'The Reformed Churches believed in the necessity of Apostolic succession through presbyters, or bishops acting in that capacity '(p. 195). 'The Reformers did not object to Episcopacy so long as bishops were not regarded as a separate order by Divine right. While holding the equality of Presbyters in office power, they admitted the lawfulness of an inequality in rank for purposes of order, efficiency, and unity, and some of them considered such inequality as of Apostolic institution. is not inconsistent with Presbyterianism to hold that, while bishop and presbyter are the same in order, permanent presidentship, with considerable powers, began in some parts of the Church under Apostolic direction' (p. 197). He reviews, in a very interesting way,

the action of the Church of England, 'which alone of the Reformed what is nowaday's called Churches claims to have retained the modern doctrine historic episcopate,' and he shows easily that the modern doctrine was not held in historic episcopate, and no state in the invalidity of non-episcopal ordinations was not held either the church of England. by the reformers or by the restorers of the Church of England:

Even the Act of Uniformity passed at the Restoration has a clause without re-ordinar which Even the Act of Uniformity production to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission to benefices without re-ordination of leaves the door open for the admission open for the admission of leaves the leaves the leav leaves the door open for the activation of the a foreign Reformed ministers.

Trance was admitted to a rectory in Kent who was ordination, in succession to a minister who had been deprived to the continuous ordination. who was ordained by Presbyters in England during the Rebellion without re-ordination, in successful the Reputation of the Reputation, writes in his Diary, under the resulting the Reputation of the commentator, writes in his Diary, under the resulting the resulting the resulting the Reputation of the commentator. he had been ordaned by 17000, writes in his Diary, under the year left. Henry, father of the commentator, writes in his Diary, under the year left. Protestant minister to come to England. Henry, father of the commenced, Suppose a Dutch or French Protestant minister to come to England to preach, and so late as 1820 many of a preach, 'Suppose a Duten or French.' Suppose a Duten or French. he is not re-ordained, but only licensed'; and so late as 1820 many of the pare. the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of the pare. he is not re-ordamed, but only the part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which form part of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands, which is the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Diocese of Winchester, chial clergy in the Channel Islands of the Channel chial clergy in the Channel Lordination. A generation ago many of the missionaries the Propagation Society, which is presided over by the adversariant of the Propagation Society. had only Presbyterian ordinaries sent out by the Propagation Society, which is presided over by the whole bench sent out by the Propagation Presbyterian orders. (P. 206.)

Dr. Sprott is an unflinching Presbyterian, and will have none of that latitudinarian Anglicanism which can regard with equal charity all forms of ecclesiastical polity:

The most learned Anglican writers are now admitting that Episcopacy was gradually introduced, and was not universal in the Primitive Church, and some of them are prepared not only to recognise Presbyterian orders, but the Congregationalist ministry derived from the people. Here we must part company with them. Because the argument for the Divine right of Episcopacy breaks down, it by no means follows that ordination by Presbyters, and Apostolic succession through them, are not essential to a valid ministry. (P. 207.)

Now, if these views were generally held in the Church of Scotland, it would be pardonable to think that, by some such arrangement as that suggested by the Lambeth Conference, a union might be effected between the two Established Churches of the Island, and Laud's dream of one episcopal Church of Great Britain might at length be realised. But even so, the problem of domestic reunion would remain unsolved, and there could not fail to be an immense development of Nonconformity in Scotland.

If, however, it be the case that the 'Scottish Church Society' is as little representative of the Church of Scotland as the English Church Union' is of the Church of England, then it must be very regrettable that the Lambeth Conference should have been so ilinformed as to the true state of religious feeling in Scotland as to address itself exclusively to a small and unrepresentative group of Presbyterian 'High Churchmen.'

At least it is certain that there are weighty voices raised in utter ance of a larger and more genuinely Catholic doctrine. men in Scotland,' writes Dr. Tulloch, 'have ceased to believe in their own or any form. own or any form of Church government being divinely prescribed,

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in any divine form of Church government at all in the old dogmatic Dr. Mitford Mitchell, the late Moderator of the General sense. Dr. Inflormation of Scotland, declared that most Presbyterians Assembly of the Church of Scotland, declared that most Presbyterians Assembly of the that the precise form of Church government is matter importance, that the most efficient is the of minor importance, that the most efficient is the most divine. of minor important, the present Moderator, used similar lan-Dr. Theodore ... While we believe in the ultimate unity of the Church, it does guage: White Church, it does not seem necessary that its every branch must in all details of worship, not seem necessary and constitution, be fashioned exactly on the doctrine, discountry on the same model. There seems little or no reason why Churches varying greatly in externals should not be really one; but there can be no greatly in the divine mission of the Son of the Son of the state can be no true unity, and therefore the world will not be impressed as it ought to be with the divine mission of the Son of God, so long as those who call themselves His followers are divided into separate sections, who, if they do not actually deny the name of Christian to bodies not constituted as they are, do deny that they are in any real or even in the fullest sense, members of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is the body of Christ.' Principal Lindsay has stated the more generous doctrine in the Preface of his admirable volume on The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries. There he exposes the fallacy which is constantly appearing in the arguments of those who advocate the doctrine of 'Apostolic succession':

There is and must be a valid ministry of some sort in the Churches which are branches of this one Visible Catholic Church of Christ; but I do not think that the fact that the Church possesses an authority which is a direct gift from God necessarily means that the authority must exist in a class or caste of superior office-bearers endowed with a grace and therefore with a power 'specific, exclusive, and efficient,' and that it cannot be delegated to the ministry by the Christian people. I do not see why the thought that the authority comes from 'above,' a dogmatic truth, need in any way interfere with the conception that all official ecclesiastical power is representative and delegated to the officials by the membership, and that it has its divine source in the presence of Christ promised and bestowed upon His people and diffused through the membership of the Churches. Therefore when the question is put: 'Must ministerial character be in all cases conferred from above, or may it sometimes, and with equal validity, be evolved from below?' it appears to me that a fallacy lurks in the antithesis. 'From below' is used in the sense 'from the membership of the Church,' and the inference suggested by the contrast is that what comes 'from below,' i.e. from the membership of the Church, cannot come 'from above,' i.e. cannot be of divine origin, warrant, and authority. Why not? May the Holy Spirit not use the membership of the Church as His instrument? Is there no real abiding presence of Christ among His people? Is not this promised Presence something which belongs to the sphere of God, and may it not be the source of an authority which (Pp. ix, x.)

The present writer has within recent years had the opportunity of discussing these matters with many of the clergy of the Church of Scotland, and he is persuaded that Principal Lindsay has well expressed the prevailing belief on the subject of the Christian ministry; he is also persuaded that the general body of English Churchmen, while

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valuing for themselves the episcopal polity which is established in the same view. If this 1 their valuing for themselves the episcopal the same view. If this be so, own branch of the Church, agreed be no barrier to an effective recognition of the solution of the dimensional churches, and the solution of the dimensional churches. the variety of organisations in the variety organisation organi nition of non-episcopar characteristics of the difficult problem of Nonconformity is brought appreciably nearer. All the trable must it be that the Lambeth Conference should the problem of Noncomorning problem of Noncomorning more regrettable must it be that the Lambeth Conference should have more regrettable must be the Anglican Communion, to an committed itself, and in some sense the Anglican Communion, to an exclusive validity. committed itself, and in some communion, to an ideal of reunion which presupposes the exclusive validity of an

Here may be pointed out the unfortunate result of the unanimity

Report. The Committee was numerous Here may be pointed the Committee was numerous and fifty-three bishops and fifty-three bishops was numerous and of the Conference reports and fifty-three bishops were nearly influential. Four archbishops and fifty-three bishops were nearly one-fourth of the Conference. The number included the Bishops one-fourth of the Control of Birmingham, Durham, Exeter, Lincoln, Newcastle, Salisbury, Southwark, Stepney (now Archbishop of York), and Winchester. It is as certain as any fact which is not mathematically demonstrable can be, that these bishops do not agree in their conception of the Christian ministry in general or of the episcopate in particular, yet they all appear as committed to this Report, which affirms, though with much superfluous suavity of phrase, the stiff episcopalianism which the Tractarians bound upon the Church of England. There is, indeed, a note placed in front of the Reports which warns us that 'the Committees were not in every case unanimous in adopting the Reports,' but no record of divisions was preserved, and we are left to conjecture how men voted, or to learn the interpretation they place on the Report by their subsequent declarations.

The Bishop of Birmingham has seized the opportunity of his accustomed Lenten preaching to develop his familiar argument for exclusive episcopacy. The Bishop grows more crudely dogmatic as his absorption in practical affairs forces him to speak 'off the surface' of his mind. Unhappily when questions of this nature are raised, it is the mind of a despotic and prejudiced man. The Bishop of Exeter, a more moderate thinker, preaching in his own cathedral declared that 'we,' i.e. all Anglicans, are 'firmly resolved to hold fast to what has been intrusted to us, nor to be drawn for one instant outside the lines marked out for us by the Bible, the faith of Nicaca, the two Sacraments, the historic Episcopate.' Another preacher in the same place, a prominent London clergyman whose books have obtained the public recommendation of the Bishop of London, declared communion with non-episcopalians 'sacrilegious.' We are reminded of the almost frantic language in which the Tractarians denounced the Jerusalem Bishopric scheme in the early forties. 'Atrocious,' 'fearful,' 'hideous,' 'miserable' were some of the adjectives used by Newman, then the recognised head of the Tractarians of a processing of a pr tarians, of a proposal which implied a recognition of a non-episcopal Church. It is as a serious which implied a recognition of a non-episcopal church. Church. It is as certain as the unalterable logic of religious fanaticism,

that if ever what Pusey called an 'experimental Church' were that if ever what of some adaptation of 'the precedent of 1610,' labeled by means of some adaptation of 'the precedent of 1610,' fashioned by meanther domestic crisis similar to that precipitated we should have another domestic crisis similar to that precipitated we should have Howley's well-meant effort in 1841. The Bishop of by Archbishop The Bishop of Liverpool has persuaded himself that the Lambeth Resolutions are Liverpool has policy of the nature of an olive-branch offered to the non-episcopal 'Some of you, my younger brethran' 'Some of you, my younger brethren,' said his lordship, Churches. Said his diocese on March 22nd, 'may perhaps live to assembled clergy of the day when the curdon live to assembled close of the day when the sundered Churches of the to see the difference on the serviced replaced the Christianity Reformation and environment to the serried ranks of unbelief and superstition, of sin and oppression, and will move as one mighty army to the evangelisation of the world.' But the Bishop of Liverpool was not a member of the Committee, and may not have found time to examine carefully its Report.

The vice of the Lambeth policy is its mistaken 'ideal of reunion.' We may fairly apply the language of the Encyclical to the Resolutions of the Conference. 'All will be fruitful in proportion as it is dominated by a right ideal of reunion.' Rejecting the spiritual ideal of the Reformation, and adopting the mechanical ideal of the Roman Church, the bishops, so far as lies in their power, have placed the Church of England on wrong lines with respect to this question, and nothing but failure can come of their leading. This ideal of 'corporate reunion' on the basis of 'the historic episcopate' is essentially identical with the Roman ideal of 'corporate reunion' on the basis of 'the historic papacy'; only the latter is incomparably better justified in history and in reason. The ultimate gainer from the episcopalian policy, to which the Tractarians have succeeded in binding the Church of England, is the Roman Catholic Church, in which alone episcopalianism finds its true logical development.

How different might have been, might yet be, the course of Anglican history! With goodwill on the part of the episcopate the relations between the separated denominations of English Christianity might have been steadily improved; every element of justifiable irritation might have been removed; every opportunity of religious co-operation might have been seized and made the most of, every factor of our ancient ecclesiastical system which violated the principles of religious equality might have been suffered to fall into desuetude and oblivion. If any doubt the power of the bishops to help forward a tendency with which they sympathise, the demonstration is ready to their hand in the history of Tractarianism. The law of the realm is broken in hundreds, not to say thousands, of parish thurches with the full knowledge of the bishops; and when the popular indignation reaches the point of demanding some guarantee of stricter control, the answer of the leading members of the episcopate is a proposal to legalise the objectionable practices! What is the

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defence offered for so strange a procedure? It is the appeal to the nation is told the defence offered for so strange to protestant principle of religious toleration. The nation is told that the limits first toleration to the limits first toleration to the limits first toleration. Protestant principle of rengious protestant principle of rengious many consciences will be hurt unless, beyond the limits fixed by the protestant principle of rengious consciences will be hurt unless, beyond the limits fixed by the protestant principle of rengious consciences will be hurt unless, beyond the limits fixed by the protestant principle of rengious consciences will be hurt unless, beyond the limits fixed by the protestant principle of rengious consciences will be hurt unless, beyond the limits fixed by the protestant principle of rengious consciences will be hurt unless, beyond the limits fixed by the protestant principle of rengious consciences will be hurt unless, beyond the limits fixed by the protestant principle of rengious consciences will be a protestant principle of rengious consciences will be a principle of rengious consciences will be a protestant principle of rengious consciences will be a protestant principle of rengious consciences will be a protestant principle of rengious consciences and the principle of rengious consciences are conscienced by the principle of rengious consciences are conscienced by the principle of rengious consciences and the principle of rengious consciences are conscienced by the principle of t many consciences will be have a cone of toleration, delimited by statute, there be recognised a cone of toleration, delimited by the bishop, and including all the demands of the instatute, there be recognised statute, there be recognised discretion of the bishop, and including all the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop, and including all the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion of the bishop the demands of the Tractate discretion di discretion of the bisnop, and rian clergy. Far be it from the present writer to advocate any policy oven in the case of teachings and practices which of repression, even in the case of teachings and practices which seem of repression, even in the case which seem to him plainly irreconcilable with the standards and traditions of the case which seem to him plainly irreconcilable with the standards and traditions of the to him plainly irreconciled.

Church of England, but he would insistently ask, Why should the leave a monopoly of episcopal consideration? Church of England, out at Tractarians have a monopoly of episcopal consideration? Why band 'zone of toleration' for those English Charles Why Tractarians have a monopoly should there be no 'zone of toleration' for those English Churchmen to put an end to the strife between the Current of the control of the contr who are seeking to put an end to the strife between the Church of

The 'King's Ecclesiastical Law' belongs to the prae-Toleration epoch; and only by reading into it the more just and liberal principles of modern legislation can it be reconciled with the necessities of the present time. Yet that law remains a reserve force of bigotry, which is in the hands of any bishop to use, if he will, in order to hinder the reconciliation of Churchman and Nonconformist. The basis of our ecclesiastical system is territorial, yet everybody knows that a thousand circumstances of modern life have tended to limit the sphere within which the territorial principle can reasonably be applied to religious affairs. Every clergyman speaking in the open air in the London parks is 'intruding into' the parish of some incum. bent or other. Social work is carried on alike by Churchmen and by Nonconformists from centres which include many parishes within the circumference of their activity. It is a plain necessity that the parochial system should be recognised as in many directions obsolete. But the law knows nothing of any change. Legally the clergyman, on the strict theory of legal obligation which diocesan chancellors propound, retains all the limitations on his liberty which existed before Nonconformists were tolerated in the country.

The latest illustration of episcopal ill-will to every attempt to develop religious fellowship between Churchmen and Nonconformists is appropriately enough provided by the Bishop of Birmingham, who has done more than any other man to form the opinion of the existing generation of English clergy. It is unnecessary to do more than observe that, if ever the parochial principle might be innocently ignored, it would be in connexion with social work of the kind carried on in the Digbeth Institute by the congregation of the famous Carr's Lane Church in Birmingham. What conceivable intrusion into the local incumbent's sphere was involved in the fact that a clergyman from London took part in the first anniversary commemoration of the Ir ration of the Institute, and gave an address in the Institute itself to the members? to the members? Only on the hypothesis that the incumbent's authority extends? authority extended within the walls of Nonconformist buildings,

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1909 and to every form of public utterance on the part of other English and to every lot a case be established. Can there be rights of veto clergymen, could be rights of ministry? There is no question of where there are no rights of ministry? There is no question of where there are the legal sense; no question of doing anything officiating in doing anything which could be described as within the functions of the local incumwhich could be deformance of a friendly act which, if it be truly bent; only the performance on the supposition (1) bent; only the plant of the legal, can only be so on the supposition that, so far as described as mega, the English clergy are concerned, there has been no change in the law the English closed in the law since it was a criminal offence for Nonconformists to worship at all. Nothing less, indeed, is the supposition of some lawyers. 'Neither Nothing Leading Act nor any other Statute of which I am aware extends the Incident in any way the Ecclesiastical duties of Clergymen of the to or another the Church of England, or their liability to Ecclesiastical penalties, said one high authority, and he added that in his opinion 'neither the act of communicating nor attendance (as a worshipper) at a nonconformist religious service in England would be lawful in a Clergyman of the Church of England.' Here then is a weapon in the hands of any bishop who desires to obstruct the religious fellowship which so many earnest English Churchmen seek to cultivate with Nonconformists. Under the high-sounding pretence of guarding the rights of the incumbent against 'intrusion' from outside, the bishop, if he so wills, can prohibit friendly intercourse with Nonconformists, and can bring home to them, what surely they might be allowed to forget, that they are still only 'tolerated' persons, and must, in making their arrangements, have regard to the wishes of the local incumbent in whose jurisdiction they are permitted to exist! The Bishop of Birmingham has decided to take this course, and presumably some legal decision will in due time be obtained. Whatever that decision may be, the impressiveness of the Bishop's action, as illustrating the unfriendly attitude of the episcopate to anything that really implies 'Home Reunion,' remains unaffected. In this case that impressiveness is exceptionally great since the Bishop is known to advocate, and in his own administration to exhibit, the utmost complaisance towards undoubted and flagrant illegalities in the conduct of public worship, and has himself conspicuously argued against the rigid application of the territorial principle which underlies our parochial system.

While this can be said, there is manifestly no sincerity in the episcopal language about reunion. The triumph of Tractarianism has committed the episcopate to a false ideal of reunion, and the episcopate is labouring to bind its own error on the Church of England. What we are assured by the late Moderator of the Church of Scotland has happened in Scotland has also happened in England:

Whatever good the Tractarian movement may have accomplished in England, It has widened the difference between Presbyterians and Episcopalians in Scotland. Sixty or seventy years ago there was much greater unity of spirit between them

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than now, and it seems probable that with the growing sacerdotal and sacrated tendencies in episcopal churches the gulf will be still further decrease. than now, and it seems probable that the gulf will be still further deepened mental tendencies in episcopal churches the gulf will be still further deepened that the gulf will be still further deepened to the gulf will be still gul

'Who can wonder,' wrote Dr. Hort, in 1890, 'if Dissenters shink 'Who can wonder, wrote the Which they fear is on the way to taking from being merged in a body which they fear is on the way to taking the Church from the Oxford Tracts? That from being merged in a body its doctrine of the Church from the Oxford Tracts? That natural the deadliest hindrance to reunion.

r is surely the deadness.

If the Report of the Lambeth Conference Committee on 'Reunion' is to be taken as the authoritative or 'Reunion'. If the Report of the Ballocation is to be taken as the authoritative expression and Intercommunion' is to be taken as the authoritative expression that, so far as the latest the second control of th and Intercommunion as the doctrine at the doctrine of Anglican doctrine, then it is certain that, so far as the doctrine that a concerned, the fear of the Dissenters is well: of Anglican docume, the fear of the Dissenters is well justified of the Church is concerned,
That doctrine was more effectively declared by Newman in the first

H. HENSLEY HENSON.

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## PRAYER-BOOK REVISION AND THE ORNAMENTS RUBRIC

In their coming sessions the Convocations of the two Provinces will enter upon the consideration of the Reports on Prayer-Book Revision which have been prepared by Committees of both Houses. Only one of these, that of a Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, has yet been made public, but this of itself supplies sufficient material for my present purpose. If I were about to criticise the proposals shortly to be submitted to Convocation it would be well to wait till they are all before the world. That, however, is not my intention. What I have to say on the question is but remotely concerned with the merits of any particular scheme of revision. one point to which I wish to draw the attention of Churchmen is the dangers necessarily attendant upon any and every scheme of the kind. It is remarkable that this aspect of the question seems to have wholly escaped the authors of this Report. The Committee entered at once upon the inquiry what changes it is expedient to make in the Book of Common Prayer and especially in the Ornaments Rubric. There is nothing to show that they gave any attention to the earlier and far more important question whether, in the present circumstances of the Church, it is expedient to make any changes at all. If it can be shown that any revision of the kind now proposed must be in the highest degree hazardous, no amount of personal or official weight in those who put it forward ought to keep Churchmen silent. I do not deny that a prima facie case can be made out for fresh legislation in the matter of the Ornaments Rubric. Whatever may have been the intentions of its framers it has in fact been found a highly ambiguous document. This uncertainty as to its meaning has led to very inconvenient consequences. It has placed certain of the clergy in open conflict with their bishops and with the courts of law. This is not a state of things that anyone can think satisfactory in itself. Nor do I say that the dangers attendant upon revision may not be worth incurring. One contention is that these dangers exist, and that they have not as yet received adequate attention. If, when they have been fully considered, the constituted authorities of the Church choose to take

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the risk of going on with them, there is no more to be said. But even the risk of going on what constituted authorities will do well to avoid a leap in the dark.

stituted authorities will do not stituted authorities will de dark. The mischiefs which seem inseparable from any revision of the Prayer than the latter origin in the latter origin in the latter origin in the latter or the dark. The mischiefs which seem and the prayer Book that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the prayer Book that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the prayer back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking have their origin in the history back that would be worth undertaking history back that would be worth undertaking history back that we have the history back that would be worth undertaking history back that we have the history bac Book that would be worth and in the character of the society of which it is the of the book itself, and in the character of the society of which it is the of the book itself, and in the distinctive formulary. Looked at closely, that society is less a Church distinctive formulary. Ever since the sixteenth countries distinctive formulary. Ever since the sixteenth century it than a union of two Churches. Ever since the sixteenth century it than a union of two clients and often conflicting traditions has been the depository of two distinct and often conflicting traditions. The Coth residence of the confliction and a Protestant tradition. has been the depository of the Catholic tradition. The Catholic traditions and a Protestant tradition. The Catholic traditions are Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the Church of England to its earlier solf and the England to —a Catholic tradition and to its earlier self as it existed tion links on the Church and, more remotely, to the Church before the Reformation, and, more remotely, to the Churches which before the Reformation. The Protestant tradition, on the have never accepted the Reformation. The Protestant tradition, on the contrary, emphasises the changes made in the sixteenth century, and sees in them the expression of an underlying identity with the Reformed Churches of Scotland and of the Continent, and even, to some extent with those Nonconformist bodies at home which have carried the work of reformation beyond the point at which it was arrested in the Estab. lished Church by the strong hand of Queen Elizabeth. Both of these traditions find support in the ecclesiastical history of the country, but had not both found additional support in the actual formularies they could hardly have gone on side by side. As it is, the Prayer Book and the Articles make now for one view and now for the other. Each party is able to point to passages which support its special doctrines, and to explain those of a contrary kind as so many instances of those hairbreadth escapes of which ecclesiastical annals are full. High Churchmen and Low Churchmen, Tractarians and Evangelicals, have been able to remain members of the same Church because both have honestly believed that the Prayer Book is on their side. Of late years the Ornaments Rubric has been the field in which these inconsistent but equally honest convictions have been most prominent, and it is with the treatment to which this rubric is subjected in the Revision Report that I propose to deal.

Legislation by reference is responsible for a great deal of confusion, and it would be hard to find a more conspicuous example of the process than this particular rubric. Whatever may have been the intentions or wishes of the Revisers of 1662 they have not succeeded in making them clear. The ornaments of the minister had been regulated for the best part of a century by the Advertisements put out by Archbishop Parker. If the Revisers' object was to give express sanction to the then customary use they had only to repeat Parker's words and limit the 'ornaments of the minister' in parish churches to the surplice. If, on the other hand, their object was to go back to the earlier use, they had only they had only to restore the rubric specifying the priest's vestments at the time of Community of Prayer at the time of Communion to the form which it bore in the first Prayer Book. They did not be the rubric specifying the priests very prayer at the rubric specifying the priests very prayer at the rubric specifying the priests very prayer at the rubric specifying the priests very property property at the rubric specifying the priests very property proper Book. They did neither. They did not even keep the rubne of 1559, which at the rubne of 1559. of 1559, which at least defined the words 'by the authority of

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Parliament, as meaning 'the Act of Parliament set in Parliament set in the beginning of this book.' The Caroline Revisers substituted for shall use' the impersonal form 'shall stated for beginning of the impersonal form 'shall be retained the words 'and they left the reader to find the retained the words shall be retained the in use, and they left the reader to find out for himself to and be in use, authority of Parliament in the second year of what statute the Sixth really referred. Is it any wonder that the two Edward the Church are equally assured that their interpretation parties in the Churchman points to what he holds to be the plain words of the rubric; the Low Churchman pins his faith be the Plant to the Advertisements. The High Churchman argues that even if the Advertisements were meant to prescribe a maximum and not merely a minimum of ceremonial, the fact is immaterial since the Ornaments Rubric was deliberately re-enacted in 1662 without any mention of the Advertisements issued a century earlier. The Evangelical instances the judgment of the Judicial Committee in the Ridsdale case, fortified by the high legal authority of the first Lord Selborne, as proof that the Advertisements were intended to have a prospective as well as a present force, and to set up a standard to which later legislation must have meant to conform, however plainly its language might seem to p int in a different direction. To the High Churchman, the whole century preceding 1662 is a time of steady though intermittent improvement, which began under Andrewes and reached its highest point under Laud. From this point of view the changes in 1662 take their natural place as the expression of a timid desire on the part of Charles the Second's bishops to recognise and make permanent the counter-Reformation. To the Evangelical this theory is altogether unmeaning. He recognises but two stages in the Anglican Reformation-one partial and imperfect, and embodied in the Prayer Book of 1549; the other making a definite and final break with the liturgical and ceremonial past and embodied in the Prayer Book of 1552. These opposite theories of Anglican Church history are the sources of the rival interpretations of the Ornaments Rubric. These interpretations are much more than alternative renderings of ambiguous terms; they are the justification of the conscientious convictions of two great parties. High Churchmen and Low Churchmen are alike sure that they are the legitimate exponents of the real mind of the Church of England. So long as they have no misgivings on this point neither of them need have any misgivings as to the honesty of their position.

I shall be met possibly at this point by the objection that I am attaching an exaggerated importance to a mere difference of costume. If it be true, as the Report of the Lower House of the Southern Convocation assumes, that what are now called the 'Eucharistic Vestments' were originally the best clothes of the Roman citizen, and only came in course of time to differ from them by retaining their original character when the secular fashion had changed, how can any sensible man fall

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so low as to busy himself about such trifles? It might be asked, with quite as much reason how any sensible man can be asked, so low as to busy himself about the solution of the solution o I think, with quite as intention of the state of importance to such unmeaning titles as 'Whig', and 'Tory', and 'T attached importance to such and attached importance is with words. What is of importance is not such attached to them, but the meaning which not It is with clothes as it is the meaning originally attached to them, but the meaning which they to hear to-day. I do not mean that the shape or the meaning originally actually the mean that the shape or colour have come to bear to-day. I do not mean that the shape or colour the garment worn in the performance of divine have come to bear to-day.

or material of the garment worn in the performance of divine service
significant fitness to express particular doctrines. All the or material of the garment in the service has any special fitness to express particular doctrines. All the same, have become associated with particular and same, has any special fitness to the same associated with particular systems these things may have become associated with particular systems and may be valued by those who wear them because they are so and may be valued by are so associated. The chasuble and alb have long ceased to be the holiday associated. What makes them dress of the Roman or any other citizen. What makes them valuable to their wearers to-day is the fact that they have for centuries been the dress of the Christian priest as distinguished from the Christian minister. That fact makes the present Church of England one with the Church as it existed in this country before the Reformation, and as it exists to-day in the Latin and Eastern Churches. It means that the Church of England expressly orders that the chief Christian service shall be rendered with the same external symbolism that is used in every part of the Catholic world. The Evangelical, on the other hand, sees in the Ornaments Rubric the express denial of any such claim. He values it for this reason, just as the High Churchman values it for the opposite reason. Whatever the plain white surplice may have meant to the Puritans under Elizabeth or James the First, or even to English mobs in the days of Bishop Blomfield, it has long ceased to imply any connexion with Roman Catholic worship. Consequently each of the two parties feels itself able to point to the Ornaments Rubric as to its ceremonial charter. To the one its directions, whether he obeys them or not, mark the identity of the English Communion service with the Mass as it was once said at Sarum or York and is now said at Rome or Moscow. To the other it marks a similar identity between the English Communion service and the Communion service of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Reformed Churches of Germany or the Huguenot Church of France. I am saying nothing as to the validity of the claim in either case. I am simply explaining the principles on which these opposite views of the Ornaments Rubric rest.

Much no doubt may be said in favour of such a redrafting of this rubric as shall make its meaning unmistakable. The Revisers of 1662 had the means of doing this ready to their hands. They might have reproduced either the rubric of the Prayer Book of 1549, which ordered the priest at the time of the Communion to wear an alb and a vestment or cope—or the Advertisements of 1566, which ordered him to wear a surplice. They might have incorporated either of these directions in the rubric of 1662, and thus have taken away every possible occasion of reading it in more than one sense.

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Instead of this they used words which, whatever may have been the lustead of this who chose them, have been an occasion of conpurpose of that day until now, and of very acute controversy troversy last fifty years. Why, it may very fairly be troversy from the last fifty years. Why, it may very fairly be asked, should for the last fifty years. for the last mily be asked, should the Church do now what it omitted to do in 1662? It has not the Charlet Beventh precisely the same powers as it had under the Second, and it has by this time had about the Second, and it has by this time had abundant experience of the confusion caused by a rubric which is thus patient of two of the contains. All that is wanted to put an end to the dispute interpretation the Church should say plainly which of the two readings she means to make her own for the future. The Convocations of the two Provinces have been expressly authorised by the Crown to consider the desirability and the form and contents of a new rubric regulating the ornaments—that is to say, the vesture—of the ministers of the Church at the times of their ministration'; and what can this mean if not that the words which have been the cause of so much confusion are at last to be made plain to every reader? In one passage of the Report of the Committee of the Lower House its authors appear to be bracing themselves for this audacious enterprise. They 'are of opinion that as a matter of history the Advertisements of 1566 must be regarded as administrative orders issued for the Southern Province and without the sanction of the Crown '-a conclusion which might fitly preface 8 recommendation that the directions apparently referred to in the present rubric shall be set out in full and all uncertainty as to its meaning removed. It is unnecessary to say that this is not what the Committee have done. Having set out their premisses they promptly draw a conclusion which bears no relation to them. No one, I think, can blame them for this apparent inconsistency. To argue that because the present rubric does in fact sanction the use of the vestments ordered by the Prayer Book of 1549 this use should for the future be made obligatory would indeed be strictly logical. The Committee would have inquired into the meaning of the present rubric, and, having satisfied themselves on this head, they would have made the rubric say what they are clear it was intended to say. But to take this course would have been to show themselves strangely indifferent to the consequences of their own act. It would have been to close the long controversy by deciding it altogether in favour of one of the parties. In order to estimate the wisdom or unwisdom of such a step as this we must assume that it would have had its natural results—that the two Convocations and the Houses of Laymen would have accepted the recommendation of this Committee, and that their action would have been confirmed by Parliament. Supposing this wild vision to have been realised in practice, what would have followed? Nothing short of the breaking-up of the Church of England into two separate Churches. The High Church party would have got all that they have asked for. In one

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point—and that a point which, if not the most important of those is the most conspicuous because it appeals to the point—and that a point which has been going on, now active, now smould be sm May in dispute, is the most complete in the dispute, is the most complete in the dispute, is the most complete in the complet the strife which has been going the Eighth would have smouldering ever since the death of Henry the Eighth would have ended, and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and party would have had to choose between submit and the sub ever since the death of from the defeated party would have had to choose between submission the defeated party would have had to choose between submission as a separate society. Precisely the same the the defeated party would and setting up as a separate society. Precisely the same thing and setting up as a separate society the same thing the same than and setting up as a separate with the parts exchanged, if the report would have happened though with the parts exchanged, if the report would have happened the subsequent action of Convocation and of the Committee and the subsequents the position claimed to of the Committee and the Advertisements the position claimed for them Parliament had given the Advertisements the position claimed for them Parliament had given the Such a recommendation would have been by the Low Church party. Such a recommendation would have been by the Low Church party. High Churchmen to quit the Care been by the Low Church party.

tantamount to a notice to High Churchmen to quit the Church of the Church England. The notice might not—I might go farther and say would not—have been accepted; but if the victorious party had been in earnest it would have mattered little whether it was accepted or not. A short but decisive series of prosecutions would show the impossibility of holding out against a law for the first time made unmistakable, and upon this discovery disruption must have followed. Whatever the ultimate consequences of that disruption might have been, it would have meant the end of the Church of England as it has been known for more than three centuries.

I may be asked why I waste my readers' time by imagining such impossible catastrophes. Who has ever proposed, or even wished, to push the ceremonial dispute to either of these extremes? This very report is a proof that such a way out of our difficulties has not occurred, and is not likely to occur, to any reasonable person. The solution for which it asks consideration is expressly designed to give the victory to neither party. So careful have the Committee been to avoid even the appearance of anything of the sort that they have not done what the Letters of Business authorised them to do. They have not considered the form and contents of a new Ornaments Rubric. They have left the existing rubric as it is, and have contented themselves with suggesting a resolution framed on what may be called the 'whichever you please principle.' It is to this effect: 'Whereas the Eucharistic Vestments commonly so-called cannot be rightly regarded as symbolic of any distinctively Roman doctrines, and whereas the historical conclusions underlying the ruling judgments in regard to the vestments appear to be liable to reasonable doubt, it is expedient that two alternative vestures for the minister at the time of celebrating the Holy Communion, viz. (1) the surplice with stole or scarf and the hood of his degree, (2) the Eucharistic Vestments commonly so-called, be recognised as lawful under proper regulations.' In their desire to be comprehensive the Committee have rather lost sight of accuracy. I am not aware the not aware that anyone has contended that the Eucharistic Vestments doctrines, What are symbolic of any distinctively Roman doctrines.' What has been contended is—I borrow the words from the dissent signal. the dissent signed by the Dean of Canterbury and Canon Henson—that

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they are 'used and valued as symbolical of doctrine respecting the they are used which is repugnant to the convictions of large Holy of Churchmen.' The truth of this statements of large numbers of Churchmen. The truth of this statement is beyond The vestments are used and valued as symbolic not of question. The Question doctrines, but of a doctrine common to the Roman and the Greek and Russian Churches, and to the separated Roman and the East. Nor is the use of them persisted in from any Churches of the 'historical conclusions underlying the ruling judgments doubt as to the 'historical conclusions underlying the ruling judgments doubt as to them. They are worn because they are believed to be ordered in the rubric, and because no judgment to the contrary has been pronounced by any court whose decision the High Church clergy can accept as binding on them.

This, however, is only by the way. What I am really concerned with is the device proposed in the report—the express legalisation of both the dresses now used in the Church of England. This expedient has the intention and the fault that belong to so many compromises. It is meant to please everybody; it will succeed in pleasing nobody. Or rather—for the last statement is a little too sweeping—it will please no one whom it is important to please. Those who think the dress of the clergy a matter of no moment will be quite satisfied. they would have been equally satisfied by any other recommendation. or by no recommendation at all. Those who think that the question is important-not in itself, but in the ideas which are associated with it-will only be irritated by a proposal which bids the two combatants find peace in a common recognition that they have been fighting all this time about nothing. 'One of you,' the resolution says in effect, 'thinks himself a sacrificing priest, and for that reason puts on a chasuble; the other thinks himself only a minister of the Word, and for that reason puts on a surplice. Both of you are right, and both of you are wrong-right in wearing what you or your congregation like best, wrong in thinking that it is of the least consequence what you wear. We are not going to trouble ourselves about a question so infinitely little. You are quite welcome to dress yourselves up as you like. We only ask to be allowed to stand aloof from your quarrels and to give our attention to matters of real importance.'

I doubt whether language of this kind has ever satisfied serious men. I am quite sure that it will not satisfy them in the present instance. It runs counter to the tradition which, as I said at starting, keeps the Church of England one Church instead of two. That condition, I repeat, is that both parties honestly believe that the Prayer Book is on their side. The consciences of both being thus at ease, each can hope in the end to convert the other, and can tolerate the other during the interval. If the proposed resolution be appended to the O to the Ornaments Rubric, it will in future make for neither party. The High Churchman will no longer be in a position to claim that the vestments are ordered; the Low Churchman will no longer be in a

position to claim that they are forbidden. When either theory is per both will have lost the significance which alone makes of the significance which alone which al position to claim that they are missible, both will have lost the significance which alone makes them missible, both will have position and character of the Churchen missible, both will have loss which and character of the Church of the C worth having. The whole possible have been accustomed to take in their own son England will be changed.

Churchmen alike have been accustomed to take in their own sense at all. The effect of the control of the change of t Churchmen alike have been to have no sense at all. The effect of such have been formally declared to have no sense at all. The effect of such have been formally declared to create a new Church—a Church—a Church which a revision as this would be to create a new Church—a Church which a revision as this would be as regards doctrine, which as regards ceremonial, and in the end as regards doctrine, will be as regards ceremonial, and the pleasure of each individual ineither Catholic or Hotelast resort of each individual congregation, or in the last resort of each what will be the attitude of the Property of each cumbent, or of each matrice will be the attitude of the Evangelical individual bishop. What will be the attitude of the Evangelical party in presence of this change I do not presume to say. Of the High Church party I can speak with some knowledge. For them at all High Church party I can be events to sit quiet under such a revolution would be impossible. It would be bad enough if the use of the vestments so intimately associated would be bad enought with the conflicts of the last forty years had been forbidden. It will be far worse to have them relegated with other antiquarian survivals to the region of ecclesiastical art. High Churchmen have no wish to enter upon the task of revision; on the contrary they think that in the present circumstances of the Church that task is at once unnecessary and perilous. But if so wanton an experiment is persisted in they will be bound to do what in them lies to ensure that the Prayer Book, if revised at all, shall be revised in a Catholic sense. They are no believers in 'our incomparable liturgy.' They are fully alive to the grave imperfections and omissions of the existing book. If revision is to be the order of the day they will have no option but to put forward far larger proposals of their own, and to call upon the Church to make her choice between the two. What is likely to be the nature and effects of the discussions thus

provoked? If the bishops would but frankly put this question to themselves, I do not think we should hear much more of the Letters of Business.

D. C. LATHBURY.

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# WILLIAM BECKFORD'S ADVENTURE IN DIPLOMACY

AN UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

WILLIAM BECKFORD was a many-sided man. As an author he gave proofs of his humour in that elaborate jest, the History of Extraordinary Painters; of his imagination in the famous story of Vathek; and of his powers of observation and picturesque description in his two books of travel. He was one of the greatest of English connoisseurs, collecting most kinds of works of art and vertu; his library was one of the most magnificent ever brought together by a private man; and, further, he was, to a great extent, the architect of his Oriental palace of Font-hill. Something of him in all these aspects is known, but hitherto every one has been ignorant that he dabbled unofficially in high politics, and actually endeavoured, by the unaided efforts of himself and his agents, to arrange a basis for a treaty of peace between France and England in the year 1797.

An announcement inserted some months ago in the daily and weekly papers, to the effect that the present writer, being engaged upon a biography of Beckford, would be glad to be allowed to inspect any existing correspondence of that personage, had the happy result of inducing Mr. John Macnamara, of Brighton, to forward (among others) the letters that are here printed by the generous permission of that gentleman. The correspondence came into Mr. Macnamara's possession many years ago from his great-uncle, John Pedley, a friend of Beckford, and brother to that Robert Deverell, formerly Pedley (1760–1841), for some years from 1802 Member of Parliament for Saltash.

The letters have been carefully copied, but Beckford's handwriting is not always very legible, and, though they were examined under a magnifying glass, it is conceivable that some names may here be misspelt. The correspondence is now printed with the object to make public Beckford's interesting adventure in diplomacy, but it also throws some light upon Beckford's activity and thoroughness as collector.

William Beckford, at Fonthill, to Nicholas Williams, at Paris.  $M_{\rm ay}$ 

I perfectly agree with you in the propriety of your remaining in I perfectly agree with your remaining in France till the Mouron business &c. &c. &c. is settled. Methinly

Follow up closely the great point of restitution & amongst other Follow up closely the great China bason mounted on 3 griffing objects enquire after a certain China bason mounted on 3 griffing objects enquire after a consider a consider on 3 griffing of gilt bronze which was amongst my effects at Calais. I believe this of gilt bronze which was amongst the first specimens of porcelain piece of China may be ranked amongst the first specimens of porcelain piece of China may be the property lay at Calais I recome. As the great mass of my property lay at Calais I recome.

There were the property lay at Calais I recome. mend yr utmost vigilance in hunting it out. There were two small mend y' utmost vigitation. Japan Cabinets at Calais, one in the shape of a sort of a baby House Japan Cabinets at Catalan, with Galleries & Sliding Doors &c. The other with rich folding with Galleries & Sliding Doors &c. The other with rich folding doors inlaid with Mother of pearl & gold Mosaic in the style of the Box Wyatt bought for me. Both should be gotten back if possible. the first was the gift of my relation the late Dss of Queensbury.

I am extremely happy to hear of the Claudes & the Japans-obtain, I particularly desire the best information & proposals you can concerning them.—I have set my heart upon them. You will take care no doubt to add proper fewel (sic) to Sanrages Zeal by thanking & remunerating him with cordial Liberality. For material points I make no doubt of your acting with the same caution & yet energy as in those of smaller import. Nothing can be more grateful, more satisfactory to me than the style of your proceedings.

. . . My ideas (though I never had the plaisir of seeing the friend of the rough gentleman) coincide intirely with yours. Watch Auguste well & take care his debts to me are faithfully paid. He is a slippery Eel; but if he escapes your harpoon I shall be much mistaken. I rejoice in the safe arrival of the passport, power of Atty &c. . . .

You know how to act in every particular, in every occurence. The public are well primed and I cannot help flattering myself some thing might still be effected towards the accomplishment of the great object of our wishes. Of one thing at least I am certain that it will not be your fault if our Country is not benefited by my exertions at this momentous juncture.

With every friendly & cordial good wish believe me most sincerely Yrs W. B.

Nicholas Williams, at Paris, to James Goddard, at Salisbury.

DEAR SIR,—I am favor'd with your kind letter of the 25th ulto. and thank you for your observations about the House, I had written Mr. Boucher on that subject previous to your letter and have given Mr. White of Line with the letter and have given mr. White of Line with the letter and have given to your letter and have given the l Mr. White of Lincoln's Inn instructions to act with him in my behalf.

Your kind attentions to my family will not be forgotten, and your friendly wishes for my speedy return I am equally thankful

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for; that period I hope is not far distant tho' the changes and comfor; that period which you have no doubt heard of, will retard the motions here, making in the affairs with which I am entrusted. progress I was in the Patriots I consider decisive and the Republic The late victory of firmer ground than ever, therefore I hope, unaninow established themselves, and, arising out of that, Peace with their mity amongst themselves, and more probable ground at their mity amongst the looked for on more probable grounds than hereto-You and our friends at Salisbury will I know be gratified fore. You whatever party prevail'd, Mr. B. has ever been held in the to hear that the same estimation and his interest remained undiminished, and the every other Englishman have been sent out of Paris, I remain with the most positive assurance of protection in secure possession of his property. This friendship has arisen, from his known abilities and moderation, and the great encouragement he gave to Arts and Manufactories while he was in the Country, and might have been made use of on our side the water to the most beneficial purposes; but alas, personal enmity and individual prejudice have in this particular been much more prevalent than patriotism or sound policy, and the real good of the nation has been sacrificed to personal prejudices unworthy the Councils of a great Kingdom.

I beg you will present my thanks to the Mayor for his kind invitation, and assure him and all our friends that I very much regret I cannot have the pleasure to be of their party the 13th; I hope however the time is not far off when I shall see them all in perfect health, and that we shall have frequent opportunities to more firmly cement that friendship which it will be my pride to cultivate.

I desire you will present my particular Compliments to Mrs. Goddard and be assured of the most friendly regard of

yours very sincerely NICHS. WILLIAMS.

Paris 9th Sept 1797.

Nicholas Williams, at Paris, to William Beckford, at Fonthill.

Paris Octr 10th 1797.

It is very distressing to me My Dear Sir to have been obliged to keep you so long in suspense since my letter to you of the 20th Ulto., I have not yet been able to accomplish the great work I was in hopes to have done and explained to you in person before this time; many unforseen obstacles have fallen in the way which we then had no idea of. I can do a great deal here by money but I cannot sport with your property without a solid prop for the Leaver I want to work by it; I have frequent interviews with the Minister of Foreign affairs and had I power I could at this moment as your Agent make a peace that I think would be very satisfactory to England, but it must be done in a very different stile to that of our Lord who is returned.

Presumably the coup d'état of 18 Fructidor (September 4).

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They demanded of him as their Ultimatum a restitution of all continuous the English since the commencement of the Work. They demanded of him as the quests (made by the English since the commencement of the War) to and its Allies, and as he had not power to comply with a quests (made by the English shad not power to comply with this, France and its Allies, and as no little property of the comply with this he was sent home to have the resolution of his Court, for which they he was sent home to have the 16th of the present month, for which they have consented to wait till the 16th of the present month, and the have consented to ware the have consented to ware the have recalled from Lille till after that

iod.
The Minister of Foreign affairs has declared to me that they have the The Minister of Folding and Walmsbury, but would have the greatest repugnance to treat with Lord Malmsbury, but would have the greatest repugnance to negociate with you or L<sup>d</sup> S<sup>t</sup> Hellens invite. greatest repugnance to distance with you or Ld St Hellens inviting you as great pleasure to negociate with you or Ld St Hellens inviting you as great pleasure to negociate with you or Ld St Hellens inviting you as great pleasure to negociate with you or Ld St Hellens inviting you as great pleasure to hegociation, and expressing the aversion of the Nation to this Negociation, and expressing the aversion of the Nation to to this Negociation, and the Nation to the Nation to Ld. Malmsbury; he will also authenticate by plain language in those Ld. Malmsbury had frequent interviews with him upon the Ld. Malmsbury, no una letters, that I have had frequent interviews with him upon the subject he has authorized me to inform the Co. of peace, and that he has authorized me to inform the Government of England the Preliminaries of a treaty, which they are ready to of England the 110 or Ld St Helens to Negociate upon immediately, and speedily conclude a peace on liberal and honorable terms to the both Nations. These Preliminaries are expressed in the paper No 2 inclosed, the original of which is now in the hands of the Minister, they cannot be given to me by him in writing, but as I have said before he will express upon the letters which he will give me, that I have had conferences with him upon the subject of peace and am authorized to declare that the Preliminaries are which they expect to be the Basis of the treaty; and he will assure to me upon his honor that for one Month after my departure from Paris they shall not be receded from, nor will they in that time attend to any application, nor treat with any person through any other channel but your interest: I pushed hard to confine him to you only, but after a consultation at the Directory, that could not be complied with; but as I am to bring those letters to England open, La St Hellens's need not appear till we are assured nothing can be done by yours. It is promised also that I shall very confidentially have interviews with the Directory before I go who will confirm to me how desirous they are of treating with you in the most friendly manner.

As these transactions are, and must be kept perfectly secret, and are principally carried on by Secretaries and upper Clerks (the Government being supposed to know nothing of the money part of the business) these Gentlemen expect the immediate deposit of £6000 on the condition expressed in No 2, the greatest part of which will be divided amongst themselves and without which nothing can be done.

Tho' I consider it is hardly possible Mr Pitt will refuse to make peace on the terms here offered, yet £6000 is too large a sum of money for me to risk without your particular orders, nor is it I find in my power to do so without a Credit superior to that which I hold, as the letter of £3000 Credit which Mr Wildman obtained for me is worthy nothing, the House refusing to advance a shilling upon it, nor can Mr Perreguax at present supply me with a quarter of it without

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the suspicion of being employed improperly by England as he is the suspicion of the su already denoting the dest to remain here and endeavour to keep this my Dear Sil I can have your answer, and have dispatched your old affair open the who you will be so good as to order to return to me Servant with all possible haste the moment you have decided. It certainly with all possession that in this interval another person may arrive from is very flact, the Negotiation may be renewed, but unless they can get into the channel that I am connected with and use the private means I have laid down it is not likely they will be successful. great point you know we have to procure is the appointment of yourgreat Point of your-self to this Embassy which I will undertake to say may be concluded in a week after your arrival, and I hope our rulers will not oppose it after the expence and infinite pains you have taken and the advantages of Preliminaries you have obtained beyond those of their Negociator. But if it should be illiberally refused to you and LASt Hellens appointed who through the information you communicate makes the peace, you will have done a Glorious service to your Country which they shall not withold from the knowledge of all Europe.

The information (if possible) at present the most desirable on vour side, is to know to a certainty if our Cabinet will make peace upon the terms offered to me, for if that was certain, there is no risk in advancing the £6000, as it will be repaid out of the Million whoever may be Negociator; but I need not add how necessary caution and secrecy in this inquiry is, for if the smallest knowledge was to reach them of our progress and by their spies they were to get at the persons with whom I am concerned, they would no doubt by intrigue snatch the business out of your hands and take the honor of it to themselves. It may not perhaps be imprudent at last to convey by a proper person to some of the Council, or by yourself if you think proper to the Duke of Portland, that by the connections I have made here through your interest, overtures have been made to me which if they will authorize you to encourage might be conducive to the most beneficial purpose; anything of this sort will enable us to proceed on sure grounds: It is proper for me to add for your information (but which must by no means transpire) that the persons I am concerned with are the same who made peace with Portugal, and in the same way they have offered to proceed with me; but the Portuguese Embassador (after the manner of his country) having failed to perform some of his private engagements, they are more particular in binding me to so large a payment at first than would otherwise have been expected, Indeed I could not bring them to hear of anything less than Ten thousand pounds till a few days since when they gave me their Ultimatum as above.

Your other concerns here are quite at a stand, and according to a new Law since the change of Government, must remain so for a fortnight yet to come, as every person without a possibility of distinction,

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that was ever upon the list of Emigrants is placed upon it again and must be shewn why they were erased, before it that was ever upon the list of the deponit again and good reasons must be shewn why they were erased, before it can be this law a list can good reasons must be shown good for the shown good reasons must be shown good for the shown good reasons must be shown good for the shown good for the shown good for the shown good fo be confirmed by the Directory be placed upon the Door of the persons in this situation is to be placed upon the Door of the print of the Police every month, and in that space of the print of the Police every month. persons in this situation to persons in the pe cipal Bureau of the Folio Directory expressing the reasons which appeal must be made to make the erasure: The former appeal must be made to the appeal must be made to make the erasure: The former part of induced the Department to make the erasure: The former part of induced the Department this process we have already gone through and nothing remains but this process we have already gone through and nothing remains but this process we have an ending remains but the time which the form requires to compleat it, till then no effectual the time which the form 10 the property we have not yet got possession requisition can be made of the property we have not yet got possession A greater rogue than Auguste I believe is not upon the face of

A greater rogue that the face of the earth, he will cheat you of every thing if he can, and nothing but force I see will bring him to any sort of reason; he takes advantage of the present situation of affairs, but I am assured the time is not far off when I shall be able to compel this rascal to make restitution.

I have had the favor of your letter of the 17th Ulto., nothing could give me greater pleasure than the account of your reception at Salisbury which I have heard of from several quarters. The disposition of the Still's I am perfectly well acquainted with; but I am rejoiced that Mrs Williams's attention on that day gave you satisfaction.

Mr. Perreguax has undertaken to get good wine for you of the sorts you mention, which will be sent to England at the same time he is sending home to La Malmsbury.

Inclosed you will receive a letter from Doctor Scholl, it was accompanied by one to me equally curious, he must be intirely void of judgement or observation to send such letters by the post into France at this moment more dangerous, because more investigated in this particular, than any period heretofore. His remarks both in your letter and mine regarding my long stay in France, are equally happy with his other observations, and proves him a man of profound know. ledge and penetration; the only information I was desirous of obtaining from him was of the Wine he had spoken to you of, and how to get the Acoustic he had recommended to assist Dr Lettices hearing, both of which, notwithstanding my letter was written to him in good french, he has been totally deficient in.

My health is by no means good. I have constant head ache and pain in the Stomach, occasioned no doubt by uneasiness of mind and little exercise, I have been so much employed for this nearly a week past that I have [not] been outside the door: Suppose the great affair even out of question, you will easily judge of my feelings, when after all my difficulties about your other concerns was as I thought just concluded satisfactorily, a Revolution takes place compleatly overturns everything I had done and leaves me, according to the decrees which are past which are past, very nearly in the same situation I was three months ago, nav in some ago, nay in some respects worse, for every person that was ever upon

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forms will perfect the forms will perfect to I sincerely hope the English Government will wisely listen to I sincerely hope the English Government was not incline to peace, for they may be assured this Government was never so strong and active as at this moment; and tho' their Finances are not in the best situation, their Troops are in the highest spirits, and their preparations for the commencement of hostilities are dreadfully formidable; Great indeed would be the merit and praise due to that man who could avert from mankind the horrid devastation that is ready to overspread the face of Europe.

I am

am
My Dear Sir
with sincere attachment
your obliged Hble Servant
Nichs Williams.

Nicholas Williams, at Paris, to William Beckford, at Fonthill.

My Dear Sir,—I hope the letters I forwarded to you a few days since by a person going to England, will have reached you in due course before you receive this; they will give you the fullest information possible of your affairs here, which cannot be changed for the better, till I have the pleasure of hearing from you.

The report of the Lawyers whom I consulted regarding Auguste, is, that we can do nothing by him till the Erasement is compleatly confirmed, when there will be no difficulty of constraining him to embursement.

I have understood to day that all expectation of a peaceable nature thro' the former channel of Negociation is totally at an end nor does any hope of that description now remain but through the mediation you are acquainted with; According to the former, I have reason to believe they will persevere in having the full restitution they have demanded, but by the latter I can venture to say, still better terms may be obtained than those you are already informed of: Had I power at this moment I am sensible I could open a communication of a most desirable nature, for they are in reality yet peaceably inclined; but the preparations are so formidable and their determination so desperate, that I believe a very short period will banish the Olive branch from their consideration. From every motive that ought to have possession of the breast of an Englishman, I sincerely pray that our Cabinet will not risk the destruction of what I conceive to be the most happy Constitution, on the uncertain termination of another Campaign.

Vol. LXV-No. 387

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I am well acquainted my Dear Sir no one will see with more just than yourself the portentous cloud that at this more just the portent of England and the portent of the portent I am well acquainted my boat and was your power to will see with more just apprehension than yourself the portentous cloud that at this more just apprehension than yourself the political horizon of Europe, and was your power to will be used by the contract the political horizon. apprehension than yoursen the potential that at this moment overspreads the political horizon of Europe, and was your power equal overspreads the political horizon be dispersed by the sunshine of your horizontal it would soon be dispersed by the sunshine of your horizontal in the political horizon of Europe, and was your power equal to the political horizon of Europe, and was your power equal to the political horizon of Europe, and was your power equal to the political horizon of Europe, and was your power equal to the political horizon of Europe, and was your power equal to the political horizon of Europe, and was your power equal to the political horizon of Europe, and was your power equal to the political horizon be dispersed by the sunshine of your horizon. overspreads the political north overspreads to your power equal to your believe to your believe to your believe to your believe to great the political north overspreads the political north overspreads the political north overspreads the political north overspreads to your believe to yo to your will it would soon so the following to your believe to go our Governors may yet listen to reason, and lence. I pray to God our Governors may yet listen to reason, and lence would be reason, and lence. I pray to God out accept of your interposition, which I am fully convinced would at this

ment produce the most standard I shall feel till I can hear from hour is big with events but will assure you My D. I need not ten you with events but will assure you My Dear from you as every hour is big with events but will assure you My Dear firm you make the most sincere Attachment

Your much obliged Humble Servant [NICHOL'S WILLIAMS].

Paris Octr 12th, 1797.

I beg my kindest remembrance to Drs Lettice & Errhart and if you will be so good as to say for me the same to Mr Wyatt and Mr West

Nicholas Williams, at Paris, to William Beckford, at Fonthill.

Paris, in the Temple Oct 224, 1797.

Distressing as my situation is at present My Dear Sir, it is very considerably aggravated by a reflection of the uneasiness the receipt of this letter will give you. But as I conceive it is possible the account of my Arrestation may reach England by the News papers or that you may hear of it by some other channel, I thought it best to give you the information myself least it might come to you with a worse aspect than it really merits.

Previous to the writing of my last letters of the 9th & 12th, I had been informed I was denounced as an Agent of the English Government who came here to distribute money and otherwise encourage a Counter Revolution. As I had no concern with anything of this nature and knowing no words nor actions of mine here had any tendency of this sort, I paid very little attention to it, believing the connections I had and the circumspection of my conduct would if an examination was to take place, be a sufficient protection against the attempt of any ill designing persons, nor can I now have any doubt, but after a proper investigation, justice will be done me and I shall be soon at liberty.

I have been already here five days and my papers have been in the possession of the Police the same time, the examination of which does not give me the least apprehension, for I am confident nothing will be found in them that can be construed to have any interference with the Government.

As I have not been yet examined my confinement is very strict, no person but Bertie is suffered to have communication with me,

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nor can I according to the rigid measures of the present moment, expect por can I according to the present moment, expect from any interest or event but the admitted proof of my Innorelease from any many release from any in a specific release from a specific relea cence. And article of the injustice I have already experienced, makes yet a reflection yet a reflection with confidence rely on your goodness to the Dear Sir me admit the protection me admit the protection lam sure I can with confidence rely on your goodness for the protection lam sure I can be situation otherwise must be truly miserable: Proof a family inserable: Pro-fessions are now useless, but I may say, there is not one of them, so far fessions are the first state of I have written Mrs. Williams I have been imprisoned, but am

again at liberty, I shall be much obliged by your encouraging her again at his belief, as I am afraid the contrary idea would almost be fatal to her, and I hope many days will not elapse before I shall be able to confirm to you the reality of it.

I am told the Room I am confined in is the same the late unfortunate King occupied. Sir S. Smith is above me, I hear him frequently and we see each other in the yard but can have no communication together: Strong Bolts and Iron Bars are not the most agreeable objects, but as Bertie is permitted to go in and out, I am as well off as can be expected in a situation of this sort.

I remain My Dear Sir

with most sincere attachment your very obliged Hble Servant

NICH: WILLIAMS.

I am informed I was denounced by two different persons, I have great suspicion one is Mr. Auguste; and I think I am not mistaken when I conclude the other to be Mr. Stone, who I have no doubt you will remember fled from England some time since to avoid the Attorney-General. I had the honor to see this Gentleman once, who I learn was offended because I did not ask him to dine with me.

Nicholas Williams, at Paris, to William Beckford, at Fonthill.

Paris, Hotel d'Harcourt Nov' 1st, 1797.

I hasten My Dear Sir to remove the anxiety my letter from the Tower of the Temple of the 22 October, has I am sensible occasioned you; I was an inhabitant of that dreary mansion twelve days while my papers were translated, I then went through a very close examination at the Police and was acquitted, with these words from the Judge. We have thought it necessary, from a knowledge of the enmity your Government bear us, to examine into the true motives of your residence in our country, and we are perfectly convinced by your papers and other inquiries, that the Mr. Beckford and yourself are Patriots of your own country, you are not private enemies to this, and by everything we can discover you have either written or said regarding public affairs, you have shewn you have had no view but

a wish of being instrumental in restoring the blessing of peace to the confinement you. a wish of being instrumental in leave to the confinement you have two Nations; we therefore are sorry for the confinement you have May two Nations; we therefore and two Nations; we therefore and liberty to pursue the concerns that suffered, and you are again at liberty to pursue the concerns that suffered, and you are again as suffered as a suffered as a suffered again again as a suffered again brought you to France.

brough a very severe tryal without dishonour either to you or

I am now excessively anxious to hear from you in reply to my I am now excessively the specific of the 9th & 12th Ulto, I sincerely pray they may have reached letters of the 9th & 12th Ulto, I sincerely pray they may have reached letters of the 9th & 12 cm, may have reached you without accident, as I consider you will be thereby in possession that may lead you to great exertions towards as you without accident, as a constraint of information that may lead you to great exertions towards restoring of information that may lead you to great exertions towards restoring

I shall again enter into your business which was the occasion I shall again the country, and as the number of my friends are of my friends are of my coming to this contains the state of my coming to the contains and the state of the contains and the contains the contains a successful termination of my coming to the contains a successful termination of my coming to the contains a successful termination of my coming to the contains a successful termination of my coming to the contains the contain I hope I shall yet make a successful termination of my mission and to my family con return, to my country, to you, and to my family I remain

My Dear Sir

with most sincere attachment your obliged Hble Sert.

[N. WILLIAMS].

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Nicholas Williams, at Paris, to William Beckford, at Fonthill,

It is now my Dear Sir near two months since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, the reason of which I cannot imagine; I have written you in that time six letters, some of them I conceive of more than ordinary import to our Nation; one in particular of the 10th October I sent by your old servant Collin, and it was full of that sort of information which I warmly hoped would have enabled you to have been very instrumental in restoring the blessing of peace to our country. I know they were all safely sent from Calais and I have reason to believe they were as safely landed at Dover, if you have not received them, I am at a loss to know what sort of policy could induce the Post-Office or Government to withhold them from you, but if that should be the case, I now sincerely hope they will benefit by the information, and embrace the opportunity therein pointed out, to avert the dreadful calamity which I fear will other wise very shortly be at their door. It cannot be doubted that the peace with the Emperor will enable the enemy to seriously menace us with, if not effect, the worst of evils, and I know they are determined to all what mined to collect their utmost force for one decisive enterprise, what indeed may not be expected from an army so numerous, accustomed to victory, and whose leaders never suffer the probable loss of men to deter them from any project they have once resolved upon; and notwithstanding the superiority of our Fleets we have seen the possibility of evading their diligence.

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BECKFORD'S ADVENTURE IN DIPLOMACY 798

By the deprivation of communication, I have suffered, with you, By the depition and my other friends, I conclude all my letters with my raining my letters subject to public investigation, be it so, however hurtful this are subject to Pull must bear it, and, I am somewhat consoled by is to my leerings I have under your influence, in that case, conveyed itive and useful intelligence that might have the reflection and useful intelligence that might have been depended upon and converted to the best of purposes.

I yet have pride that I am an Englishman, and a comparison of our Constitution with that of others increases my partiality; of our conditions of our series of seriously seriously seriously interest of seriously seriously you Ministers are going too far, and if the same system is persisted in, dreadful I am persuaded will be the overthrow; with this convicin, deadth in the conviction, how much do I deplore that illiberal and unjust prejudice by which you are deprived the power of rendering those essential services to your country which I am sensible cannot be accomplished in that degree by any other man.

You will easily conceive my Dear Sir how distressing my situation have been for some time; the changes that have taken place here, the anxiety of hearing from you and the difficulty of conveying that sort of information which I hoped would be beneficial, without incuring censure from one side or the other, have been truly perplexing. I have undergone a severe scrutiny on this side without dishonour, and I have too high opinion of the equitable justice of my country to doubt their approbation of my conduct if ever it should be thought proper to bring it before them.

Your private affairs here are now in that train which cannot be hastened by any exertion in my power and it will yet be five or six weeks before a final settlement can be made, I therefore only wait to hear from you, when, if you communicate nothing to the contrary, I shall immediately return.

I remain My Dear Sir with the sincerest attachment your obliged Hble Sert, [N. WILLIAMS.]

[Paris] Novr 12th, 1797.

To Nicholas Williams, at Paris, to Mon. Grandsire, at Calais.

Paris 17th Novbr 1797.

Dear Sir,—I received Your esteemed favour of the 14th instant, which informs me of Your safe arrival at Calais and of Your being well.

I have only to answer on Your Remarks, that You have not been deceived in the Business You know of. The Conditions proposed are sincere, and every thing should have soon been agreed, if it had been in V been in Your power to finish. This is still the case; though one's friend with the case; though one's friend, who returns You his Compliments, assured me again to day,

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that he would answer for almost every consequence, provided Yourself to get the other side of the water, in order to other that he would answer for any hasten Yourself to get the other side of the water, in order to obtain with which You did flatter Yourself before hasten Yourself to get the other hasten Yourself to get the other those pieces, with which You did flatter Yourself before You those pieces, You therefore to make every haste possible left those pieces, with which I can those pieces, with which I can those pieces, with which I can be pieces, with a can be pieces, Paris. I beseech You energy and still less certitude that You cannot pretend the as long as there is no appearance and a solution as long as there is no appearance as long as there is no appearance will be enabled to make real proposals, You cannot pretend that You will be enabled to make real proposals, You cannot pretend that You will be enabled to make real proposals, You cannot pretend that You will be enabled to make real proposals, You cannot pretend that You will be enabled to make road in the pretend that the offers, which could be made from other hands, shall absolutely be However I can assure You, that whatever the offers, which could be made assure You, that whatever they he refused here. However I can assure You, that whatever they may about a Messenger from Leg, no real negociation. refused here. However they may have told You about a Messenger from Leg, no real negociation have

As to us and all those who are, and who have been concerned As to us and an entribute to make Your return probable and will be done, which can contribute to make Your return probable before done, which can constitute possible, in order that no other but you shall have the merit to conclude a final arrangement.

Dear Sir,

Yours sincerly

G. H. NAGEL.

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Mr. Dubois presents You his compliments and hopes

You will have received the Letters he brought over and send to You at Calais; he delivred the books to Mr. Perregaux, but did not write You by fear to compromise You.

Beckford evidently took a keen interest in his agent's attempts to set on foot these negotiations for peace, and the neglect of which Williams speaks was probably due, not to the fact that he did not write, but that the censor of correspondence coming to Paris through the ordinary channels may have suppressed his communications. Williams' efforts at this time had been so far crowned with success that he was able to send his employer a 'Note of the Terms' that would be acceptable to France as offering a basis for negotiation:-

The Cape of Good Hope to be ceded to the English who are to continue to hold Gibraltar and all other possessions they had before the War, and the French to have no interference with the limitation of their Navy nor Armies.

England to restore to the French and their Allies (Spain and Holland) every other Territorial conquest it has made in the present war. France will immediately receive from England an Embassador who is to consider these as the Preliminaries, and who will arrange and settle with a Negociator on this side, every difficulty that may Amity and District on this side, every dimensional arise, and endeavour to conclude between the Nations, a Treaty of Amity and Friendship.

Upon receipt of this Note Beckford thought the matter sufficiently advanced for living why he far advanced for him to approach the Duke of Portland. Why he Digitized by Arva Sam in 1754 Nobel Chiennai and 1969 PECK FOR DY Arva Sam in 1754 Nobel Chiennai and 1969 PECK FOR DY Arva Sam in 1754 Nobel Chiennai and 1969 PECK FOR DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PR

should have written to the Duke, who was at the Home Office, rather should have with Secretary, can only be explained on the assumption than the Foreign Secretary, can only be explained on the assumption than the responsible acquainted with the former.

William Beckford to the Duke of Portland.

Grosvenor Square [London], Wednesday, November 18th, 1797.

My LORD,—Having, by a channel to myself perfectly authentic, been given to understand, that the French Government, so lately as the 9th and 12th October, were disposed to open a new Negotiation the year and finding from the Declaration of our Government, for react, and public just after the time my Intelligence was allowed to reach me, that the Basis, on which the French offered to commence another Treaty, was much more advantageous for Engli than that of the last Negotiation, & such a one as would probably be thought honourable by our Country at large, I hastened to Town on the general appearance of the Declaration, in order to impart to his Majesty's Ministry the Communications which I possess. But no sooner had I, on my arrival, finished a Letter, in which I meant to convey them than I received an Account dated the 22 Ult:, from Mr. Williams. my Agent at Paris, thro' whose hands had passed the Communications alluded to, that his Papers were seized and himself, upon some secret & false accusation, was put under Confinement by Order of the French Government. Yesterday, my Lord, in a Letter from Paris of the 1st Inst: he acquaints me, that, as soon as his Papers had been translated & investigated, & he himself had undergone a close Examination, he was very honourably acquitted of the Charges invented againtst him, & immediately set at Liberty with permission to prosecute the Concerns, which had brought him to France.

As there is the strongest reason to believe, that Copies of all that has been communicated to me, relatively to the Basis, for a new Treaty, had appeared amongst his papers, & as he mentions not the slightest disavowal, on the part of the French Government, of anything which had passed through his Hands of a public Concern, I think it my Duty, without further delay, to communicate to your Grace the new Basis or preliminary Terms confidentially proposed thro' my Agent.

They are precisely as follows:

That England shall remain in the possession of the Cape of Good Hope & Gibralter & be undisturbed in the limitation of her Fleets & Armies, on consideration that England gives up all other Territorial Conquests, made in the present War, to France & her Allies.'

I find Encouragement moreover held out in my papers, that though the preliminaries above are to be considered as the Basis of the m of the Treaty, the French Minister will upon certain conditions. give Hopes, that something more favourable will be complied with.

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Joseph Closely connected with the above Statement and Stat I am in possession of some distributions of very consider. able moment, closely connected with the above Statement, which the Honour of a personal Interview with your Grace, in other statement, which able moment, closely connected a personal Interview with your Grace, in order to the connected ask the Honour of a personal Interview with your Grace, in order

As it appears from various Quarters, that Mr. Williams, during As it appears from various that Paris, has, with the exception of a few a residence of five Months at Paris, has, with the exception of a few a residence of five Suspicions had clouded, conducted himself. a residence of five months at clouded, conducted himself in a chean extraordinary Consideration, Esteem a Days which false Suspictory. Consideration, Esteem & C manner to obtain extract, with two successive Ministers of foreign fidence with the Directory, with two successive Ministers of foreign that no English fidence with the Directory,
Affairs & several Members of the Councils; & that no Englishman Affairs & several Brown time been treated with any comparable Degree in France has for some time been treated with any comparable Degree of Privilege or Respect; I submit it to your Grace & his Majesty's of Privilege of Itespect,
Ministers, whether, all Circumstances considered, his Services may Ministers, whether, and not be rendered useful to Government in the present awful Crisis, and the Region of the Re To obtain all the requisite Authenticity to the Basis above stated, To obtain an one requirement to take any steps, should his Majesty's Ministers think it expedient to take any steps, upon my Communication, towards a new Treaty, it only remains, that they give their sanction to a Deposit of six thousand pounds, with certain persons at Paris, connected with the French Government. I am so entirely convinced of the Sincerity of these Overtures, that I am ready, without Delay & at my own risk, if any can be supposed, to advance the Deposit in question with the consent of our Government formally & explicitly given.

I have the honour

&c. &c. &c.

His Grace The Duke of Portland.

WILLIAM BECKFORD.

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Beckford's suggestion was not cavalierly dismissed, for, as will be seen from the second of the 'Questions to Council' printed below, the matter was put before Pitt, presumably by the Duke of Portland. Indeed, these 'Minutes for Recollection,' drawn up by Beckford with his own hand, suggest that the ministers desired further information. or were at least willing to consider it.

### Minutes for Recollection.

1. The Minister's Note—8th Vendemiare i.e. /29th Sept.

2. Mr. Williams's No. 2 of Oct. 5th together with all Nagel's Letters and Mr. Beckford's, to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt.

3. The Offer of shutting Mr. W. up at the Temple. 4. Minister's Office with Lord M—— Correspondence.

5. Sight of Mr. W.'s Papers relative to Correspondence with Mr. Beckford on the Overtures &c. by the Police at Paris without their disclaiming and the Cyclic of disclaiming anything which appear'd in them on that Subject of Peace. Peace.

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6. The honourable Declaration in Mr. W's favour when liberated from the Temple.

7. The different Visits of Mr. W to the Minister. The confidential Conversation with him.

8. Access to the Minister allowed whenever he should judge

necessary to demand it. g. The Permission for Mr. W's continuing in Paris and going g. The Policy of the pleased when all other Englishmen were obliged to be anywhere he pleased when all other Englishmen were obliged to be at ten Leagues Distance.

10. His continual Communication and Intercourse with the first and most confidential Secretary of the Minister & some of those of

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11. His personal Acquaintance with Albert, Bartlemy, & Thevellraye, the Confidence of the Former and great Civilities of the latter.

12. Mr. W. must authenticate the Disposition of France to Peace up to the 17th—it having been declared to have continued so long at least in the Letter to L. Thurlow.

### Questions to Council.

1. Can the Statement if published implicate Mr. B. with the Fr.

Correspec Bill? or any other Law?

2. Will not the Duke of P's and Mr Pitt's having corresponded with Mr. Beckford on the subject of the Letters from France, as they related to Peace, prevent their taking any steps against him. if the above Bill would otherwise authorize them not to mention their passport for M'. Williams going to France.

3. Is not their conduct so far a Sanction to Mr B's and Mr

Williams' Proceedings?

4. Can the Correspondence with France between Mr W and certain Secretaries be safely continued without Ministerial Sanction and it should inform the Continuance of the same good disposition to negotiate.

At this time Nicholas Williams came to London, probably summoned by Beckford so as to be at hand if first-hand evidence of the conversation of the French ministers should be required by the Duke of Portland or Pitt. Williams apparently arranged with Nagel to represent him in his absence.

G. H. Nagel, at Paris, to Nicholas Williams, at Mr. Beckford's, Grosvenor Square, London.

Paris 1st Decbr 1797.

Dr Sir, I have just now received Your esteemed favour of the 28 Ulto, and have not had time to see the Parties. I can however assure You the matter is still open as when You was here, but You know the conditions, on which You was to have the papers You

ask for, and which were promised to You, these not being fulfilled, ask for, and which were promised to the property of the parties with You, and if you see a probability of Specific to the parties with You, and if you see a probability of Specific to the parties with You, and if you see a probability of Specific to the parties with You, and if you see a probability of Specific to the parties with You, and if you see a probability of Specific to the parties with You, and if you see a probability of Specific to the parties with You, and if you see a probability of Specific to the parties with You at present. they cannot be sent You at probability of Succession and if you see a probability of Succession Engagement sounding the parties with Tox, and sounding the parties with Tox, and procure immediately the means of fulfilling Your Engagement, and procure immediately that on Your return here, You shall be fundable fundabl procure immediately one Mour return here, You shall be furnished I will answer for it that on with every paper necessary to convince the Parties with You, the transaction. I repeat to You that the parties with You, the with every paper necessary reality of the transaction. I repeat to You that the parties here would be glad to see You again to settle this business, and if any would be glad to see Total Sound by Your Principals, and if any other person should be appointed by Your Principals, it would be other person should him. You shall soon hear from me other person should be appeared by a shall soon hear from the again, well, You accompanied him. Your speedy answer with Your speeds again, well, You accompanied and in expectation of Your speedy answer with Your sentiments, and in expectation of Your speedy answer with Your sentiments,

Mr. Hofmann received yr Letter and the books, he will leave this in a fortnight.

Your very hble S't G. H. NAGEL 19

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With the following letter the correspondence concluded:-

Nicholas Williams, at London, to William Beckford, at Fonthill.

My Dear Sir,-Inclosed I send you a copy of a note I received from Mr. Pitt last evening, by which you will see they are resolved to have no communication upon this subject and are undoubtedly obstinately bent on carrying on the War till they are compleatly blown up. The overtures that have been made to Government through you are talked very generally of, and on the subject of the Assessed Taxes there seems to be but one opinion, that they will create the greatest disturbance and cannot be collected.

As I have received this note from Mr. Pitt I conceive it likely you will alter the Paragraph sent me for the papers by Doctor Lettice; though I have but a very slight opinion of the utility of anything that can be put into the papers upon this subject at present and believe that the disorders a public knowledge of the truth might occasion would lead to that violence which might ultimately be as injurious to you as any one, yet I think the observations that have lately been made in several of the papers, as well as one in the Times of to day, calls for some sort of reply couched in careful but positive terms; and I think if D" Lettice was to get this done through the channel of Mr. Jas. Goddard (who is very warm upon the subject and may be trusted) it will find its way better than through any method I can take here, he has told me he has no difficulty with any of the Editors.

As soon as this bustle of S. Paul's is over (for nothing is to be done in any way till then) I shall endeavour to see Mr Baldwin, Wyatt with most as I can, and try to bring Myatt with most as I can, and try to bring he Wyatt with me to Fonthill as soon as possible; but as I am told he

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cannot quit London sooner than Thursday or Friday I shall hope to hear from you any other determination you may make.

I remain My Dear Sir

with the sincerest attachment your obliged Hble Ser<sup>t</sup>

NICHS WILLIAMS.

Grosvenor sqr Decr 18th, 1797.

#### Enclosure.

#### William Pitt to Nicholas Williams.

Downing Street Decr 17th, 1797.

Mr Pitt presents his compliments to Mr Williams. He has received his Note inclosing a letter from Mr Beckford, but as does not think any advantage likely to arise from the Communication proposed, He will not give Mr Williams the trouble of calling on him; and begs the favor of him to convey the Contents of this Note to Mr Beckford.

LEWIS MELVILLE:

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# THE AËRIAL PERIL

There is a German proverb to the effect that the best judges of anything are those unbiassed by knowledge. Fortified by this paradoxical dictum I proceed to give my views upon the use of aerial machines in war.

It is apparently usual to start with an historical hors-d'œuvre, 80, conformably, I observe that it is now over 3000 years since Daedalus flew, or said he did, and his pupil, in the person of his son Icarus, suffered a disintegration of his machinery in mid-air and reaped the consequences.

In spite of this implied warning nothing has since then exercised such a fascination upon humanity as trying to fly, presumably because 'it wasn't its job.' The epoch-makers, however, are few and far between, and, putting Daedalus aside as a liar (it is his fault for living so long ago), one may safely say that Montgolfier's efforts mark the only real advance in all that vast space of time. Since Montgolfier's day the attack upon the upper air has waxed ever faster and more persistent, until with the advent lately of small light high-powered internal-combustion engines the problem seems solved so far as fundamental principles are concerned.

It is difficult to ascribe to any particular man or machine the honour of marking the latest epoch, though Sir Hiram S. Maxim's aëroplane flying-machine might possibly be singled out much in the same manner as the steamship *Great Eastern*; that is to say, it lived a little before its time. His machine, however, never attained a true free flight, and doubtless posterity will attach more importance to the efforts of Santos Dumont and Zeppelin in the airship line, and De la Grange, Farman and Wright as regards aëroplanes.

Do not let us, however, forget an old friend, Jules Verne, who anticipated, on paper, the modern submarine in his evergreen Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea, and also, if I mistake not, in his Clipper of the Clouds (which was what is generally now called a helicopter), has forestalled some of our future inventors.

The broad divisions into which aërial machines may be divided up are: the aërostat, or ordinary spherical balloon; the airship, of which the Santos Dumont, Zeppelin and 'Patrie' are types, i.e. an aërostat

May

1909 of clongated form provided with small subsidiary planes and rudders, of clongated form? of clongated by a propeller worked by a motor; the aëroplane, of innumerable; the helicopter, which consists in the and actuated by the helicopter, which consists in the main of a types more of propellers mounted upon axes which types innumeration to the main of a types in more of propellers mounted upon axes which are vertical or pair or actuated by a motor and designed to screen it vertical or pair or more and a motor and designed to screw itself up into the air; once at any desired height a tilted position can then be the air; once the propellers, thus enabling the machine to travel in any particular direction or hover over any selected spot.

of the above types, the aërostat, being at the absolute mercy of the wind, and dependent upon the amount of ballast it can dispose of, seems hardly to come within the realms of practical utility except of, seems have to Monday divertissement, whilst its more attenuated brother, the airship, has limitations which handicap it severely except under certain favourable conditions. The aëroplane has, at any rate in some quarters, been welcomed with an enthusiasm which would

be more refreshing were its centre in this country.

Broadly speaking, the lines on which experiments with aëroplanes have run seem to divide themselves into two. First, the aëroplane which primarily depends for its successful flight upon the adroitness in manipulation of the operator, who, by an intelligent anticipation of the direction of the diverse air currents or winds encountered, or by a prompt conformation thereto, balances his machine to suit the immediate necessity of the case, or, in short, 'trims his sails' like the perfect politician. With apologies to Mr. Wright for the latter illustration, of such type is his famous machine. Second, the type which endeavours, by a scientific arrangement of planes, tails, &c., to adjust itself automatically to the diverse conditions which arise, thus sparing the manipulator as much as possible.

It is, of course, and always will be, impossible to make an aëroplane absolutely automatic so long as nature is what it is; and this being so, it will never be possible to travel through the air in any machine without long and careful training, which is a matter I shall refer to later.

The helicopter is at present very much in its infancy (in fact, in the literal meaning of the expression, it is not yet en l'air), owing to the very low efficiency of its propellers; but if we recollect what motorcars were, even only ten years ago, the present difficulty as regards helicopters may, in ten years' time, be looked back upon with pity and surprise. Certainly of all the classes of flying-machines, short of the actual bird, the helicopter offers the greatest potential advantages. It should be able to rise direct from an enclosed space, to hover over any desired spot, at any height desired, to advance, retire, or move to one side without a wide sweeping movement, and descend at any desired place, even if surrounded with high objects. None of the above desiderata can at present be obtained with an aëroplane, and

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nces by an aërostat or even an nees by an aërostat or even an aërostat or eve Considering now the uses to the considering now the uses to the must be uppermost in the put; first and foremost, undoubtedly, there must be uppermost in the put; first and foremost, undoubtedly, there must be uppermost in the put; first and foremost, undoubtedly, the first and foremost, undoubtedly, the first and foremost, undoubtedly, the first and foremost in the mind of every thinking person the effect which such will have in war; but think that there exists a very exaggerated idea with of every thinking person the exists a very exaggerated idea with the I venture to think that there exists a very exaggerated idea with the I venture to think that the effect in certain phases of war. Principal majority of people as to the effect in certain phases of war. Principal majority of people as to the damage which can be done by among these misconceptions is that of the damage which can be done by among these misconceptions are towns, ships, docks, or particular bedone by 'dropping explosives' upon towns, ships, docks, or particular build. 'dropping explosives upon Anyone who has been up in a balloon will ings, such as magazines. Anyone who has been up in a balloon will admit the extreme difficulty of distinguishing any particular building admit the extreme unless previously he has intimate knowledge amongst a mass of others unless previously he has intimate knowledge amongst a mass of others amongst a mass of oth of its position with received by some peculiarity which would imply that the aëronaut had been there before.'

It must be remembered that a promiscuous destruction of a few ordinary buildings by the disruptive effect of explosives will confer little or no tactical or other advantage upon the attacker, though it is true that there exist certain buildings, &c., the destruction of which, in bulk, would certainly have a vast effect upon other phases of war, which I propose to analyse presently.

I will suppose, however, for the moment, that the object of attack is a powder magazine, a favourite topic in up-to-date invasion stories. Now, in order to make certain of hitting the same by means of an explosive dropped from the sky, it is necessary that the aërial machine shall approach within a short distance above the object aimed at and hover motionless for a short time to make sure of its aim, As the magazine would probably (with certain important exceptions) be in a fort, the approach of the aerial machine would be heralded by its bombardment from a fusillade of rifles, and quick-firing gunson specially constructed mountings which allow of fire at any angle. This fusillade ought to put any correct aim on the part of the aëronauts out of the question, added to which, if they are in an aëroplane, which cannot properly hover, they would find it extremely difficult to launch their missiles at speed with any hope of attaining the object aimed at.

Granted that they overcome all these difficulties and succeed in dropping their explosive on the roof of the magazine, it by no means follows that they are going to do any material damage, as in these days of smokeless powders the contents of magazines do not explode: they merely burn harmlessly away with a kind of glorified puff without approaching an explosive disruptive effect, so beloved of black-and-This is supposing the roof of the magazine to be white illustrators. of modern, i.e. of light, comparatively flimsy, construction, which does not confine the products of combustion of the contents. If however, the missile from above should happen to alight on the roof an old-fashional of an old-fashioned magazine made of solid concrete or earth several

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thick, nothing serious would happen, as the missile would not feet thick, nothing they choose the path of least resistance is that, penetrate to any they choose the path of least resistance. The explosive in exploding, they is a missile would exert its principal force upwards, and probably do more damage to the aëronauts and their machine than probably do my thing else. The only possible solution of the difficulties of the problem from the aëronauts' point of view, so far as the explosive of the problem of their missiles is concerned, would be to enclose their explosive effect of their explosive in a very strong heavy envelope such as is typified in an artillery shell. and provide the same with a delay action fuse in order to allow time for the projectile to penetrate the concrete or earthen roof before the fuse ignited the explosive contained in the shell.

But who is going to carry heavy shells about in an aëroplane or any other aërial machine on the very off-chance of destroying a few thousand pounds of explosive in a magazine? The same remarks apply to the attack on a war vessel, with the added difficulty that the vessel itself would be on the move, possibly as fast or faster against

wind than the aërial machine itself.

The power of explosives from the disruptive point of view is generally much overrated by those who have never had an opportunity of studying the matter and of watching the results of experiments. My personal experience must be my excuse for having somewhat enlarged upon these details.

The transport of masses of troops by means of airships is a matter which has apparently exercised a considerable attraction on manufacturers of illustrated serial literature, but I am bold enough to say that I do not believe this phase need be taken seriously. I grant, however, that under certain circumstances a raid attack from a squadron of airships each carrying a few men would have far-reaching consequences if properly directed. I shall illustrate this later by an example.

Dealing now with the question of the transport of an army of, say, 100,000 men by airship, I am of opinion that although the Zeppelin airship carries nearly thirty men, it is inconceivable that any real practical use can be made of such ships for this larger purpose. Granted, for the sake of argument, that it is proposed to construct an airship to carry 100 men, it would require 1000 of such to transport 100,000 men. The quantity of gas for each would be something stupendous (the present Zeppelin alone requires, I believe, 400,000 cubic feet of gas), and I ask how is this going to be supplied to all the airships in a few hours? It is impossible to suppose that they can be filled more than a few at a time in any one place, as the gas-making plant sufficient to fill all in a short time would in value alone tax the resources of any nation, whilst the necessary stacks of coal or chemicals would be unthinkable.

The answer might be made that they would in all probability be

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filled all over a country in different places and then assemble at some filled all over a country in united that you may fill as many airships 'rendezvous'; to which I reply that you may fill as many airships in different places, but who is going to arrange 'rendezvous'; to which I tops
'rendezvous'; to which I tops
as many airships
as you please in different places, but who is going to arrange the
as you please in different places, but who is going to arrange the as you please in different party so that such a rendezvous, general weather all over that country so that such a rendezvous, general weather all over time? Much has been made of the can be assured within a definite time? Much has been made of the can be assured within a december of the Can be assured within a december of the Zeppelin's recent journey from Friedrichshafen to Munich, weathering details of wind velocity given) in the open details of wind velocity given in the open details. Zeppelin's recent journey and velocity given in the open without out a 'gale' (no details of wind velocity given) in the open without out a 'gale' (no details of a stable, and eventually returning to Friedrichshafen, several hundred a stable, and eventually returning to Friedrichshafen, several hundred a stable, and eventuary rotations are stable, and eventuary rotations and a regiment of cavalry the poor dear, miles in all. But it social aregiment of cavalry, the refractory with several special trains and a regiment to descend at the refractory with several special data wain attempt to descend at the proper airship being chased, after a vain attempt to descend at the proper airship being chased, at the proper platform at Munich, for forty miles beyond. The larger the airship platform at Munich, for forty miles beyond. platform at Munici, for the difficulty of handling it in anything of a the greater becomes the difficulty of handling it in anything of a breeze, and an airship intended to transport 100 men will, I dare to say, be of such stupendous proportions and cost as to completely defeat the net result for which it was designed. As usual, the almighty law of compromise here again presents its inexorable front,

To sum up. The game of dropping explosives (as such) for disruptive purposes from airships seems hardly worth the candle, and the transport of troop masses through the air is surrounded by so many difficulties, both mechanical and natural, as to be impracticable,

So far I have dealt with negative evidence, principally with a view to removing possible false notions, in order, so to say, to clear the air; but I now propose to deal with the other hostile uses of aërial machines. which will, I trust, bring home to the apathetic the importance of bestirring themselves and taking their part in a movement to arouse interest in the vital necessity for this country to take a lead in matters aërial, and to emulate, and indeed surpass what has been done abroad.

The part which aërial machines will play in the matter of reconnaissance, scouting, &c., for their own side, will be sufficiently recognised without fully dilating thereon, but I would observe that this rôle depends entirely upon the given fact that the Navy and Army are not rendered practically useless by the Promethean method of attack, which I will describe later, and their effect and usefulness thereby stultified. Granted, however, that such a terribly chaotic state of affairs, such as I will attempt to depict, has not been arrived at, one is led to inquire as to the manner in which communication can be kept up from aërial machines on reconnaissance work, with any desired centre, and one is at once led into the speculation as to whether it will not eventually be possible to fit such machines with wireless telegraphy apparatus. It would not appear to be a difficult matter for an aërial machine, once it has attained a certain height, to let down a set of wires in Girls, once it has attained a certain height, to let down a set of wires, in flight, suitable for transmission of Hertzian waves by the Marconi or other systems of wireless telegraphy. From an airship the matter is the matter is one of extreme simplicity, provided, of course, the

pecessary precautions are taken to guard the sparking from contact These speculations, however, lie in the domain of with the gas. future experiments.

I now come to what, in my mind, is the greatest potential form of danger of a hostile attack from the upper air, a form of attack of danger way you look at it, can only be met, and that not which, what which, which, which, by a similar system of counter attack, or by the threat of such in an intensified degree.

All the 'safes' in which our Navy keeps its valuables, such as Portsmouth, Plymouth, Dover, &c., being fortified, can be trusted to look after themselves. Doubtless, with their well-known desire to anticipate events, the Admiralty and War Office have already taken steps to provide ships and forts with suitable guns, designed to fire at any angle, though I believe, as already pointed out, the game of attacking such prey as ships or forts is hardly worth the candle. But all England cannot be fortified in like manner, and our huge towns and commerce lie open to a varied assortment of attacks, the result of which might well paralyse the whole machinery of Government and thus render nugatory our predominance in warships. Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, at the Mansion House meeting of the Aërial League of the 5th of April, very graphically illustrated the point by prophesying that in five years' time our insularity, geographically speaking, would no longer exist. This view is of such vital importance to our very existence as a nation that it is earnestly hoped every Englishman will try to realise what it really means. Of what use are all our Dreadnoughts, past, present and 'future ghosts,' if they can be contemptuously disregarded by the bold aeronaut? I will try to illustrate my meaning by an example.

Consider the Thames from, say, Hammersmith Bridge down to below Gravesend. Every day within this space of about fifty miles lie, either in dock or stream, many thousand merchant vessels of every sort, size and description, from ocean liners to 'dumb' barges, whilst the river's banks are honeycombed with wharves, docks, canals and basins, round which are grouped millions of pounds' worth of factories, warehouses, stores, gasworks, oil stores, &c., &c.; and last, but certainly not least, there is Woolwich Arsenal, containing the Royal Gun and Carriage Factories and the Royal Laboratory, forming one of the chief sources of supply of warlike material for the Empire. The latter department alone is practically the only place in the United Kingdom where the cartridges for our Navy are made up, without which our Dreadnoughts are useless. Hard by lies the Royal Torpedo Factory, and not far off are the huge magazines containing hundreds of tons of cordite and other warlike explosives. and yet, with these millions of pounds' worth of civil property and vital supplies of warlike materials, all of which are singularly susceptible to a supplier of warlike materials, all of which are singularly susceptible to a supplier of defensive

tible to destruction by fire, there is not one single fort or defensive Vol. LXV-No. 387

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work from London to Gravesend except the solitary antiquated work from London to Clark memory. The supposition is, of The supposition is, of that the forts at Sheerness and in the vicinity thereto. Tilbury Fort, of revered Elizabeth and in the vicinity thereto would course, that the forts at Sheerness and in the vicinity thereto would course, that the forts at Sheet suffice to keep an enemy's marine fleet out of the Thames suffice to keep an enemy's marine fleet out of the Thames. But suffice to keep an enemy suffice to keep an en suppose they came via the suppose via the su This whole fifty miles of control or aërial machine which could absolute mercy of even a single airship or aërial machine which could absolute mercy of even a single airship or aërial machine which could absolute mercy of even a bush spots in certain pre-selected spots. I shall plant a dozen incendiary missiles in certain pre-selected spots. I shall plant a dozen incendiary must I would guarantee that, given a certain not mention such spots, but I would guarantee that, given a certain not mention such spots, sate and the including ships, wharves, warehouses, and the including ships, what is a second ships. wind and certain incoloring ships, wharves, warehouses, and the Arsenal whole riverside, including ships, wharves, warehouses, and the Arsenal in a blaze in a very short time.

Once a certain number of selected centres were alight at about the once a certain ration of the London Fire Brigade, nor any same time, not all the powers of the London Fire Brigade, nor any number of fire brigades, could deal with such a conflagration, and with an easterly wind (which is just the most favourable for an attack by airships coming from certain parts of the Continent) and a rising tide, the smoke and sparks and burning ships carried up Thames would soon render the principal portion of London untenable and eventually engulf it in the general holocaust. Anyone who has been to a fairly big fire well knows how practically the whole of the available strength of the Fire Brigade is sometimes concentrated on one pile of buildings alone in an attempt to isolate the fire. What would be the result if say even only a dozen fires were well started up-wind at spots which had been specially selected from a previous knowledge of their susceptibility to combustion, their effect on the subsequent spread of the fire, and by reason of their position being such as to hamper the concentration of fire engines whether afloat or ashore?

Suppose, for the sake of example, there existed, on the banks of the lower Thames, stores containing many hundreds of thousands of gallons of oil, and that an airship carrying a small well-armed crew descended upon this store in the early hours of the morning, blew holes in the huge oil containers, which stand up, usually well above ground, like gas-holders, thus allowing the contents to flow into the Thames. A single match does the rest, and there we have, with a rising tide, a river of flame from bank to bank (oil spreads very quickly and burns, floating, on top of water), surging up through the commercial heart of London, devouring everything that comes in its path, ships, wharves, warehouses, stores, &c. In a few hours the most important part of London is a furnace. Of what avail then, even at the start, would be the Fire Brigade? Nothing could stop such a fire, all caused by a party of fearless, resolute men with the help of an airship and one match. The brain reels at the thought of the awful wholesale doctors in the shout. wholesale destruction which could thus simply be brought about.

There are more than the property of the could the simply be brought about the could the simply be brought about the could the simply be brought about the could be simply be There are many other ways of attaining the same object which the reader can himself reader can himself suggest, all rendered easy by aerial machines.

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Think of the loss of human lives, apart from the ruin of our com-Think of the would ensue. It is difficult enough even now to get merce, which would during a holiday time when there are crowds at a away from London ablaze and everyone trying to

It is needless further to press the point I wish to make by piling This point is that by destroying the heart the other members up horrors.

will cease to function, for it is inconceivable that, with such a chaotic will cease to such a chaotic state as would follow the destruction of London, any coherent state as direction of affairs, either official or commercial, could continue. direction of Government might doubtless be removed to another town, but with the destruction of the London banks and of all postal and telegraphic communication it would be impossible to 'carry on.' Even suppose the seat of Government removed to another town, a similar state of affairs might be brought about there by a few bold agronauts. It is quite possible to paralyse this country by other means than by causing a fire of London, but I do not propose to give the show away ' by saying how it can be done. I have no hesitation in stating that it would be quite possible by secondary means to render both the Navy and Army powerless in a very short space of time with half a dozen air-ships acting under a certain plan. I am not romancing, and I make the above statement in all seriousness.

Having sufficiently acted the part of the Fat Boy in 'Pickwick,' I turn now to the means of combating the dangers I have attempted to describe. There can only be one possible solution, and it is to have. as Sir Percy Scott said at the Mansion House, a two-Power standard This would have a two-fold effect-first by in aërial machines. putting fear into a possible enemy that two can play at the game of aërial raids, and thus cause their own aërial fleet to be kept in home airs for reconnaissance, scouting, and defence work; and secondly, by keeping a moiety of our own air fleet for this purpose, and despatching the remainder to act as raiders, or as scouts for our marine fleet, if such things as marine fleets survive the next few years' changes in methods of warfare. There is no reason why our battleships and big cruisers should not carry aërial machines as part of their equipment in the not very distant future, in the same way in which (in the form of captive aerostats or kites) they at present form part of the equipment of an army. These naval addenda would be of very great value, not only for reconnaissance and scouting work, but also for the pur-Pose of assisting in the accurate direction of the artillery fire of the ships for long-range bombardments. A further use of aërial machines working as the eyes of a fleet would be for the purpose of giving warning of the approach and movements of submarines and of the position of mines, as it is a comparatively easy matter to 'spot' a submarine or mine field from a position in the air some distance above the water. During loggy weather, too, the aërial machines could rise above the fog bank

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and thus act not only as scouts but also as pilots, the necessary and thus act not only as south and aërial machine being kept up by communication between ship and aërial machine being kept up by communication between supported the support of the means which do not present any means will doubtless present themselves.

Many other spheres of usefulness will doubtless present themselves themselves. Many other spheres of user and air ships both in war and peace.

Many other spheres of user and air ships both in war and peace.

such a combination of the such a combination of the such a combination of the such as the such a combination of the such as the such a combination of the such as But what are we doing . The Germans, all honour to them, study this pregnant question? The Germans, all honour to them, study this pregnant question in a few weeks nearly 200 co. constimulated by Count Berr tributed by public subscription in a few weeks nearly 300,000l to tributed by public subscription of all this enthusiasm in Country subscription assist him to retrieve his former disasters and push forward with fresh assist him to retrieve his at the root of all this enthusiasm in Country subscription. assist him to retrieve his at the root of all this enthusiasm in Germany? experiments. What is at the root of all this enthusiasm in Germany? experiments. What is decreased instinct? It is due solely to Is it due to a sporting the conviction, right or wrong, that if Germany can gain command of the the conviction, right of the sea. There is no getting away from the fact that the whole population of Germany realising that the victory in the game of Dreadnought building must lie with the nation possessing the longest purse, sees in the airship a way of becoming supreme at less expense and very soon; and the frenzied haste to subscribe is stimulated by the knowledge that it will be many years before we or others can attain the experience they already possess. They very rightly recognise what is apparently not generally recognised in this country, especially when anything new is in question, that money will not buy experience.

The Wright brothers, I believe, worked for eight years on their machine, and now look at the result; every failure they recorded was an advance in experience. Does any one suppose that if we ordered a hundred Wright machines, they would be of any use to us? By no means; but a hundred Wrights would be a national asset of untold value.

The training of an aëronautical corps is a long and arduous task, and if a start were made now it would be months, nay years, perhaps, before we possessed a body of men competent to handle an aërial fleet, even if we had the machines; for it must be remembered that only a small percentage of students will ever become experts. There is an extraordinary trait in the English character, dating from early Anglo-Saxon times, the essence of which is that we appoint certain gentlemen to look after the government of ourselves, 80 that we may pursue our particular avocations in peace and quiet. Consequently there is a strong tendency metaphorically to fold our hands and say 'Oh, I suppose it is all right; the Government will take it and 'Oh, I suppose it is all right; take it up'; whatever 'it' may be; or, 'The Government ought to take it up.' This is evidenced in many ways, and it is practically left to the newspapers to create public opinion: a wrong principle, as dangerous passions are often aroused, particularly if party questions are at issue. Provided the party questions are at issue. are at issue. But there are occasions when the Press should as a duly call attention to call attention to a certain state of affairs, and endeavour to stir up the

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great heart of the people to a sense of the danger of apathy and the great heart of the rection. Such an occasion arises when no question meed for immediate action and the object is the safety. need for infined thereon and the object is the safeguarding of the Empire.

To-day that occasion is present, and the danger which threatens To-day that is a very real one. There is not a moment to lose; this land of our to lose; the must strain every nerve each one of us to do all that lies in our to remove the terrible handicap of lost time and we must strain that the terrible handicap of lost time and regain the laps we have lost in the race. Our rulers, who, after all, are the servants of the public, must be made to appreciate what the nation feels is of the public of them. In their hands the people have placed their trust, and look to them for immediate action. For the price of a Dreadnought we could purchase many an aërial machine. What matter if they are out of date in a few years' time; battleships soon become antiquated, but that is no reason for not building them. The early possession of a fleet of aërial machines and a properly trained corps of aeronauts may at no very distant date save us the value of many Dreadnoughts, and perhaps, indeed certainly, ward off the heavy blow which we shall receive in exchange for our unreadiness and want of forethought.

It is usual to end a 'stir-up' article with a peroration. My mind is so full of them that I cannot choose; therefore I content myself by saying that whilst writing this I read in a newspaper at the commencement of an article on the Flying-Machine Trade, 'The builders of aëroplanes in Paris and its neighbourhood could be counted on the fingers of one hand six months ago. To-day there are fifteen "factories" in full operation . . . and over 60,000l. in prizes will be

open to competition in the course of the year' (in France).

In another newspaper, tucked away in a corner, and shouldered out of place by two full columns, one a detailed account of the feelings of certain members of the crews of the 'Varsity boats, the other an article on golf, is a small paragraph to the effect that in a short time Germany will have twelve dirigible airships. If this be true!

T. G. TULLOCH.

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## DECENTRALISATION OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

In September 1907 a Royal Commission was appointed by the In September 100.

Secretary of State for India 'to enquire into the relations now existing for financial and administrative purposes between the Supreme Govern. ment and the various Provincial Governments in India, and between the Provincial Governments and the authorities subordinate to them, and to report whether, by measures of decentralisation or otherwise, those relations can be simplified and improved, and the system of government better adapted both to meet the requirements and promote the welfare of the different provinces, and without impairing its strength and unity, to bring the executive power into closer touch with local conditions.'

The Commissioners finally appointed were:

C. E. H. Hobhouse, Esq., Under-Secretary for India, now Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

Sir F. S. P. Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., late I.C.S., Bombay, and formerly Acting Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces.

Sir S. W. Edgerley, K.C.V.O., C.I.E., I.C.S., and Member of Council, Bombay, now Member of the Council of the Secretary of State.

R. C. Dutt, Esq., C.I.E., late I.C.S., Bengal.

W. S. Meyer, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Madras, and Secretary to the Government of India, Finance Department.

W. S. Hichens, Esq., formerly Financial Adviser to the Transvaal Government.

H. Wheeler, Esq., I.C.S., Bengal, Secretary to the Commission.

With regard to the constitution of the Committee it is to be regretted that while two members were chosen from the Bombay Civil Service, and a member and the Secretary from the Bengal Civil Service, there was no representative taken from the United Provinces and from the Punjab to ensure a just equilibrium in the examination of witnesses and in the weighty consultations among the members of the Commission. Such representatives would have been of special value in discussing the extremely important question of substituting

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Governors in Council for Lieutenant-Governors, and the less prominent Governors in Countries of the utilisation of village communities but fundamental problem of the utilisation of village communities but fundamental provinces in administration. Sir Philip Lely represented the Central Provinces as well as Bombay.

The Report of the Commission was issued at the end of February, The Report and most carefully and conscientiously compiled and is an end was drafted in the main, it is understood, by Mr. W. S. Meyer, who possessed special qualifications from his long secretarial Meyer, who is to be a secretarial with the Government of India, and experience of India generally, derived in the from his editorship of the Imperial Gazetteer and the long tours undertaken in connexion therewith.

Throughout the Report references are given to the answers of the

numerous witnesses who were examined.

The Commission assembled in India on the 18th of November 1907. They held public sittings during seventy-one days, and examined 307 witnesses. They visited all the major provinces, the N.W. Frontier Province, and Baluchistan, and travelled 12,300 miles for the purpose. They obtained information from all sources, official and non-official, that could afford assistance, and invited directly and through the Press to give evidence various persons believed to be specially interested in the scope of the enquiries. Most of the official witnesses were selected by the various Provincial Governments.

For the purposes of this article the Report readily lends itself to division into two general aspects which are of wider interest to the public, if not to the official expert, than the departmental divisions which the Commission were perforce obliged to adopt.

These aspects are:

I. Changes recommended to secure greater efficiency in administra-

II. Changes recommended to secure political education of the natives of India in self-government.

One important topic—that of the gradual substitution of Governors in Council for Lieutenant-Governors—is common to both.

Before entering into details a few observations are necessary on this question of 'efficiency.' There has been no more eloquent, conscientious and convincing advocate of efficiency than Lord Curzon, during his Viceroyalty of India. In his speech on receiving the Freedom of the City of London (the 20th of July 1904) he said:

I agree with those who inscribe on their administrative banners the motto efficiency.' But my conception of efficiency is to practise as well as to preach it. It is with this object that we have conducted an enquiry in India into every aspect of the administration. First, we began with the departments themselves themselves. . . Then we proceeded to investigate every branch of the Government in turn.

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In his sixth Budget speech (the 30th of March 1904) he said:

Efficiency of administration is, in my view, a synonym for the contentment of affecting the people in their bases. Efficiency of administration is, in any first the content of the governed. It is the one means of affecting the people in their homes, of the governed only an atom perhaps, but still an atom, to the happiness of the happiness of the content of the content of the state of the happiness of the content of th of the governed. It is the one means of the governed. It is the one means of the governed. It is the one means of the people in their homes, and of adding only an atom perhaps, but still an atom, to the happiness of the and of adding only an atom perhaps, but as a statement of fact, that reform has masses. I say in no spirit of pride, but as a statement of the administration masses. I say in no spirit of price, and department of the administration, that been carried through every branch and department of the administration, that been carried through every away, anomalies remedied, the pace quicken, that been carried through every branch been carried through every branch and been carried through every branch and been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, that abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and abuses have been swept away. abuses have been swept away, and standards raised. It has not always been a popular policy, but if I am at liberty standards raised. It has not always to say so, it has been whole-hearted and sincere. And yet what criticism to say so, it has been whole-hearted and sincere. And yet what criticism to say so, it has been whole-need to say so, it has been say so, is now more familiar to his that the only benefactor of the people is he who gives then reform at all, and that the only benefactor of the people is he who gives then reform at all, and that the only zero not my views. I sympathise most deeply political concessions? Those are not my views. I sympathise most deeply with the aspirations of the Indians towards greater national unity, and with with the aspirations of the India is to be sought on the field of politics at the sought of the sou their desire to play a part in the field of politics at the present that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present and it is not my conception of statesment. that the salvation of finding so-called boons for which the country is stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of her development, that a cheap application of the stage of the stag and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price,

Finally, in his farewell speech at Simla (the 30th of September 1905) Lord Curzon said: 'If I were asked to sum it [the work] up in a single word, I would say "efficiency." That has been our Gospel, the keynote of our administration.'

Every energetic administrative officer in India will have felt the imperative call to worship at the shrine of this god-efficiency; to do all that in him lay to achieve the utmost in the duty that falls to him, to deal impartial justice, to collect the revenue to the last rupee, to arrest the criminal, to make railways, roads, bridges, schools, irrigation dams and channels, and so on through all the innumerable forms of work that material improvement and modern civilisation require.

But all these things are done by initiative from above, by the abundant energy of the ruling race. They are improvements effected for the people at the instance and by the command of the governing race. In the initiation of them the people themselves have little if any share.

Let us now take another point of view. As the result of the Western education which for the last fifty years we have given to the favoured upper classes a new spirit has been evoked. It may at once be admitted that we have blundered badly in our system of education, allowing almost the entire stream to be absorbed by literary and legal studies, to the neglect of science, mechanics, engineering, medicine. But the men we have educated on the lines we have They number only 1 per cent. of the entire chosen are there. population; but though in number they are insignificant they exercise an enormous influence through the Press, the platform, the school and the college, on the uneducated masses within their reach. The party of modern That: of modern India now desire to put into practice the principles of

self-government that we have taught them, to share in the governself-government that the solution of the country, to help to do things for themselves instead of nend of them.

ving every thing of the part at least truly said, that if these claims are It is said, and will suffer, and the amazing material progress conceded emotions the last century will slacken speed. If in England a of India during bally managed urban or county council were informed that a trained bodly manager in administration from India or elsewhere could be provided expert in administration from India or elsewhere could be provided expert in additional power, would run the whole administration for them who, it gives success, what would be their reply? They would say that they preferred to manage their own affairs; if they made blunders that they provided be their own look-out, and they would profit thereby and train themselves for better results in the future. Much the same feeling is abroad in India among those who have been infected by the spirit of the West. The rulers of India have realised that changes must be made in the methods of administration to meet the new conditions, 'to unite,' as John Bright said in 1858, 'the Government with the governed.' It is at this point that British reformers. including so many Anglo-Indian experts, find that they must part company with Lord Curzon. A stage has been reached at which political reforms have become necessary, and the granting of these reforms may involve some falling away from that administrative efficiency which has been the Englishman's ideal.

The reforms in the Executive and the Legislative Councils of India on which Lord Morley and Lord Minto are agreed, and which have so recently been before Parliament, relate to the highest administrative machinery of the Government. Meanwhile the Decentralisation Commission have completed work which is mainly of another order, and to their Report we must now turn. The rest of this article will be an examination of the question of centralisation in the Government of India versus decentralisation in the Provinces, which affects administrative efficiency pure and simple. The measures which have been proposed, mainly to further political education in self-government, must be postponed to another issue of this Review.

If any official pronouncement were necessary to justify an enquiry into methods of decentralisation in India, it will be found in the speech of the Viceroy, Lord Minto, in closing the Budget debate on the 23rd of March 1907. Referring to Sir S. Edgerley's speech, the Viceroy remarked:

in all he said as to the evils of centralised administration he will find himself in entire accord with many an overworked public servant in this country. Perhaps I speak feelingly as one who is called upon to overrule a Local Government on such as of a horse valued ment on such weighty matters as the extravagant purchase of a horse valued at Rs. 70 at Rs. 70, or to check the heavy expenditure entailed by the unpardonable demand of some distant collector for the erection of a bathroom, and simultaneously to taneously to guard the interests of India in connexion with the administration of a world of a world-wide Empire. I do not think we can go on as we are. We can,

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I hope, do something to shake off the unnecessary chains that bind us.

By the Government of India Act, 1833, the Governor-General in By the Government of Superintend Superintend and Control Council is invested with full power to superintend and control Council is invested Governments in all points relating to the circle Council is invested with the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in all points relating to the civil and the subordinate Governments in the subordinate Government of the the subordinate Government their respective Presidencies, and those military administration of their respective Presidencies, and those Governments are required to obey the orders and instructions of the Governor-General In Court of Directors, however, were careful to warn the Government of India Directors, however, we between a just control and a petty, vexatious, to distinguish carefully 'between a just control and a petty, vexatious, meddling interference.'

At the present time the Government of India retain in their own At the present that the foreign affairs, the defences of the country, hands matters relating to foreign affairs, the defences of the country, general taxation, currency, debt, tariffs, posts and telegraphs, railways, accounts and auditing. The Provincial or Local Governments (the terms are used indiscriminately) nominally control ordinary internal administration, police, civil and criminal justice, prisons, the assess. ment and collection of the revenues, education, medical and sanitary arrangements, irrigation, buildings and roads, forests and the super. vision and control of municipal and rural boards. But even in these matters the Government of India exercise a general and continuous control and check. It is clear that the Provincial Governments must remain subject by law to the Government of India, and through the same channel to the Secretary of State, but there has been a general consensus of opinion among the witnesses examined that an excessive interference by the Government of India has prevailed in matters of detail. The Commission point out the difficulties of administering a vast sub-continent—as large as Europe with Russia omitted-from a single headquarters, the diverse nationalities of the various provinces with different languages, traditions, interests, planes of development, the need for a stronger feeling of responsibility in provincial and local authorities, the importance of strengthening the Provincial administration and educating the people by a knowledge of public affairs. They affirm that future policy should be directed to enlarging the provincial spheres of administration, and to entrusting those Governments with a steadily increasing share of the ordinary work of government. The various branches of administration are separately examined.

Finance.—In the year 1904 an important change was made in the financial arrangements between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. This was the introduction of a quasi permanent assignment of definitely fixed revenues to each Provincial Government for the administrative needs of its Province. These assignments will not be administrative needs of its Province. ments will not be altered save in the case of grave Imperial necessity, such as war or made such as war or prolonged and wide-spread famine, or if the assignment

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should prove by experience to be largely too great or too small for the should prove by the Province. The result is that a Provincial Governnormal needs of the control of the c ment need not to the ment need not to the ment need not to the past, annex its surplus balances, acquired probably by its with a view to some special project. It in times past, with a view to some special project. It will enjoy the economies, with economies, and will not be hurried or driven, as has also beppened, into ill-considered expenditure merely to avoid the accumuhappened, in a large balance at the end of the official year. I have seen in the grounds of a house built by Government for the use of a public officer elaborate and very expensive cut-stone stables of a character officer enacted of a character quite unnecessarily costly, which were erected to prevent such a dilance being created. The officer in residence very naturally protested against having his rent raised to meet the interest on this protested as interest on this useless expenditure of capital. The Imperial Government under the present system improves its relations with Provincial Governments by escaping the controversy that invariably arose under the old system at the end of the five years for which financial settlements were then made.

An important and welcome change has also been made with respect to famine expenditure. Until recently all famine expenditure was compulsorily debited to the Provincial Government concerned, until the resources of the Province were so depleted that the Government of India had to step in and rescue it. Within my own recollection a case occurred a good many years ago when the Government of India sent an order directing that all the resources of a certain rural board should be made available to meet the cost of a threatened famine. This order, if literally carried out, would have meant the dismissal of almost the entire permanent staff-schoolmasters, vaccinators, hospital establishment, clerks, &c.—of a rural board administering a district as large as the kingdom of Saxony. Under present arrangements the Government of India will credit the province exposed to famine with a definite sum calculated with reference to the probable famine expenditure, and the Provincial Government can expend this amount on famine before trenching on its normal revenue. When the credit is exhausted future famine expenditure will be equally divided between the Government of India and the Province.

Certain heads of revenue, such as opium, salt, customs, mint, railways, post and telegraphs, are retained entirely by the Government of India, while others, such as fees from registration, receipts from police, education, law and justice, and medical, are entirely Provincial. Lastly, the receipts from land revenue, excise, stamps, income tax, forests and irrigation are divided between the Government of India and the Provincial Government. Some witnesses before the Commission desired to end the system of sharing revenues and to require a definite contribution from the Provincial to the Imperial Government Government. A very important objection to this proposal is that

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such payment would soon be regarded in the light of a tribute, and controversy had such payment would soon be result of a tribute, and would be the cause of irritation, ill-feeling and controversy. More. would be the cause of first makes both the Governments interested over, the present arrangement makes both the Governments interested over, the present arrangement of these heads of revenue in the progress and development of larger powers to the in the progress and developer that the grant of larger powers to the Processing Commission consider that the grant of larger powers to the Processing Councils will render it desirable to discount the process of the Processing Councils will render it desirable to discount the progress and developer that the grant of larger powers to the Processing Councils will render it desirable to discount the progress and developer that the grant of larger powers to the Processing Councils will render it desirable to discount the progress and developer that the grant of larger powers to the Processing Councils will render it desirable to discount the processing that the grant of larger powers to the Processing Councils will render it desirable to discount the processing the Commission consider that the Commission consider that will render it desirable to diminish by vincial Legislative Councils will render it desirable to diminish by vincial Legislative Countries of revenue at present divided degrees the number of the sources of revenue at present divided degrees the number of India and the Provincial Governments, between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, between the Governments. Sir S. Edgerley and Mr. Hichens specially emphasise the view of Sir S. Edgerley and that the ultimate aim should be to give the the whole Commission that the whole Commission independent sources of revenue and some Provincial Governments independent sources of revenue and some Provincial Governments subject to the general control of the Government of India.

Of late years the Government of India, being in possession of surplus revenue, have made large grants to various provinces for surplus revenue, surplus revenue, police, sanitation, specially named purposes, such as agriculture, police, sanitation, This policy of 'doles' is strongly objected to in various quarters, as it increases the control of the Government of India over the Provincial Governments, and leads to undue centralisation. The Commission, however, consider that the policy of special grants should in present circumstances be continued, subject to the conditions that the grant should not involve any greater administrative control by the Government of India than before, and that the views of the Provincial Government should be considered as to the relative urgency of schemes for expenditure. Sir S. Edgerley and Mr. Hichens consider that the policy of 'doles' is demoralising, and should be abandoned at the earliest possible date, but special powers of Provincial taxation are a pre-requisite. The greatest safeguard for economical expenditure is that the authority which is responsible for it shall also be responsible to the public for raising the necessary funds. Sir P. Lely also dwells on the centralising tendency of the policy of 'doles.'

The Commission draw attention to the minute criticism of the Government of India in various financial matters with which the Provincial Governments are concerned. In reviewing the Provincial budget estimates, for instance, the Finance Department of the Government of India make alterations down to so low a figure as Rs. 1000, and much detail is required in regard to 'civil works,' which the

Public Works Secretary admitted were not required.

A number of witnesses advocate giving Provincial Governments power to borrow in the open market, and the Chairman of the Commission. mission, Mr. Hobhouse, considers the present system, by which Provincial Governments are obliged to raise loans for all purposes through the modification. through the medium of the Government of India, to be clumsy, dilatory, and uneconomical and and uneconomical. The Commission as a whole, however, point out that the Government of India, to be clumsy, with the the Government of India, to be clumsy, with the commission as a whole, however, point out that the Government of India, to be clumsy, with the commission as a whole, however, point out that the Government of India, to be clumsy, with the commission as a whole, however, point out that the Government of India, to be clumsy, with the commission as a whole, however, point out that the Government of India, to be clumsy, with the commission as a whole, however, point out that the Government of India, to be clumsy, with the commission as a whole, however, point out that the Government of India, to be clumsy, with the commission as a whole, however, point out that the commission is a commission of the commission as a whole, however, point out that the commission is a commission of the commiss that the Government of India require to draw on the whole available money market for the largers and money market for their loans for productive works, railways and

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The Provincial Governments have no separate sources of irigation. The borrow, as all are already pledged for the Governrevenue on winds, and as the Government of India could not allow provincial Government to go bankrupt, the independent raising any Provincial of loans could not be permitted. These reasons do not apply to the of loans could not apply to the raising of loans by the majority of the municipalities, which have their raising of loans of taxation and revenue, but they can borrow more own sources of the Government of India than in the market. The capital cheaply of the chief Presidencies do, however, raise loans in the market, with the prior consent of the Government of India. Provincial Governments are under restriction as to the creation of new appointgovernments carrying more than Rs. 250 a month. The Financial Secretary to the Government of India concurs with the Commission in thinking that Provincial Governments should have the same powers in this respect as the Government of India, provided that the cost is debitable in whole or in part to Provincial revenues. Mr. Dutt, with good reason, in my opinion, hesitates to accept this view, as he considers the Provincial Governments more liable than the Government of India to influence and pressure.

The Commission demur to the minute criticism of other details to which Provincial Governments are subjected by the Government of India. They instance a case mentioned by the Bombay Government. who stated that proposals for the reorganisation of their subordinate forest establishments submitted to the Government of India in 1890 were still under discussion, owing chiefly to alternative proposals from the Supreme Government which the Provincial Government was unable to accept. This seems obviously a case which the Government of India should have left entirely to the disposal of the Provincial Government.

Excise Administration.—It is unnecessary to follow the discussion of this subject throughout. The object of the excise is to put such a duty on alcohol as will prove a deterrent to consumption, but will not lead to illicit methods of distillation and supply. 'The Government of India have more than once pledged themselves not to regard the increase of revenue from excise as an object to be sought per se.' On this, as a former Commissioner of Excise, I would remark that in my view the really effective method of discouraging the consumption of alcohol would be to make the revenue entirely Imperial, as in the case of salt, and give to Provincial Governments no inducement to increase the revenue for the benefit of the province. At present if the receipts from the excise on spirits or toddy (fermented palm juice) show a falling-off in any district, the subordinate officers concerned are should be consider it a reflection on their own efficiency, which they should earnestly set about to remedy. The Commission, however, do not appear to have formed any similar opinion to that which I have

Public Works.—The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces Public Works.—The Chick departments of the Government of stated, 'among the particular departments of the Government of stated, 'among the better to be too rigid in limiting the discretion of the contral provinces stated, 'among the parotesian limiting the discretion of the Public Works Deposit India which appear to be too Light that the Public Works Department head of the province, I consider that the Public Works Department head of the province, I consider the province the province the province the province that the province the provin is the worst offender; they have the public Works Department which is often irritating.' The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma gave similar evidence. The Secretary to the Public Works Department of the evidence. The Secretary
Government of India supports the view that the time has arrived for the Provincial Government of the Provinc Government of India support of the Provincial Governments, a substantial devolution of powers to the Provincial Governments, a substantial devolution of the latter to sanction expenditure should, The independent power of the latter to sanction expenditure should, The independent power of the independent power, be greatly raised, and the Provincial Government discretionary authority to refer to the the Commission consider, as a ments should be given discretionary authority to refer to the consulting ments should be given discretionary authority to refer to the consulting ments should be given disconsulting architect to the Government of India at their pleasure, instead of being architect to the Government of India at their pleasure, instead of being bound to consult him with regard to all buildings costing more than Rs. 50,000. All Lieutenant-Governors should have the same power of sanction which is now possessed by the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The powers of Provincial Governments to accept tenders and pass contracts should be enlarged, and greater delegation of authority to superintending engineers should be permissible. The restrictions with regard to building houses for officials where private houses cannot be obtained, and with regard to fixing the rent to be paid, should be removed. In the single province of Bombay there were over a hundred references on these questions in five years. Provincial Governments should be allowed full discretion to employ outside agency for the repair of petty buildings when for any reason the employment of the Public Works Department is inconvenient or unnecessary. All major Provincial Governments should have the same power of appointing their chief and superintending engineers as is now possessed by Madras and Bombay.

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Land Revenue.—The Commission recommend that the major Provinces should have the same power as Madras and Bombay with regard to the re-settlement of the land revenue; that is to say, they should submit their proceedings for the information of the Government of India, instead of obtaining sanction beforehand. This was indeed laid down by the Secretary of State in 1875.

Alienation of Government Lands, Mining Concessions, &c .- With regard to mining concessions complaints were made of undue restrictions imposed on Provincial Governments, but after hearing the evidence of Sir Thomas Holland, the Director of Geological Survey, the Commission decided that no changes were at present desirable. The rules as to mining leases have been recast since the time, which I remember, when one of the conditions was that on the termination of the lease the surface of the ground should be restored to its primitive A notable instance of an office-made rule.

Forests.—An important change recommended is that the Inspector General of Forests should cease to be a Deputy Secretary to the

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Government of India. That officer should be merely an adviser to the Government of India and to the Provincial Governments, and all the Government of The Governments, and all the administrative functions he now performs should be undertaken by the administrative and Agriculture Department. The danger of administrative Revenue and Age the Inspector-General on the proper functions of encroachments will thus be removed. In certain matters of provincial the Revenue Secretary and the Inspector-General agree that

detail the Iteration of India may be abolished.

The Home Department.—This department, the Commission observe, is responsible for some unnecessary encroachments on the sphere of is responsible on the sphere of detailed administration proper to Provincial Governments, such as detailed additional detail the Province. Lord Curzon's Government proposed to curtail in at least one Province the judicial recess, which is a valued privilege enjoyed by the judges who lead a sedentary life in a trying climate and in crowded courts, but the proposal became merged in a scheme for revision of salaries, and will not, it is to be hoped, be carried out. In one Province during the same period the Government of India interfered to cancel a concession of very long standing, much valued by public servants in out of the way localities, by which those of them who could be spared from their posts were allowed leave for a week or possibly ten days about Christmas and New Year's Day. In the public offices generally urgent work was attended to. The Commission consider that in the matter of public holidays it is unnecessary for the Supreme Government to limit the discretion of the Provincial Government in meeting the reasonable wishes of any class of the population, and the Secretary in the Home Department agreed that delegations of this sort might reasonably be made.

Police.—In 1902 Lord Curzon's Government appointed a Police Commission which travelled throughout India and eventually submitted a Report for comprehensive reform. The Decentralisation Commission desire to record their opinion that the general results have been accepted throughout the country as, on the whole, decidedly beneficial. They consider, however, that the Government of India have been over-rigid in insisting on uniformity in Provinces with widely differing conditions, and not sufficiently tolerant of departures, which the local authorities thought necessary, from the general scales laid down as to number and pay. Certain modifications are regarded as necessary in law and in practice to do away with various restrictions in matters of detail. The Commission comment on 'the undesirable activity, of the Director of Criminal Intelligence with the Government of India. When this officer was appointed in 1904, it was with the object of providing a central agency for the conduct of special enquiries into note-forging, counterfeit coining, illicit traffic in arms, interprovincial smuggling, and the operations, in Provinces distant from their home. their homes, of gang robbers and criminal tribes—all of which had been

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very greatly facilitated by the extension of railways and telegraphs. very greatly facilitated by the Secretary of State, the Govern.

In proposing this appointment to the Secretary of State, the Govern. In proposing this appointment to the proposition that the Government of India distinctly rejected the proposition that the functions ment of India distinctly rejected the proposition of general police. ment of India distinctly rejection of general police work of the Director should extend to the inspection of general police work of the Director should that his tours in the Provinces should be represented by the provinces of the Director should extend to general police work throughout India, and held that his tours in the Provinces should be the purpose of procuring information on the matter. throughout India, and need the throughout India, and need the throughout India, and need the throughout India, and need through India, and need throughout I The Lieutenant-Governor of which his post was spectrum which his post was spectrum and the authorities of other Provinces, complained the United Provinces, and the authorities of other Provinces, complained the United Provinces, and the authorities of other Provinces, complained the United Provinces, and the authorities of other Provinces, complained the United Provinces, and the authorities of other Provinces, complained the United Provinces, and the authorities of other Provinces, complained the United Provinces and Unit of encroachment by the Director on the legitimate administrative of encroachment by the functions of the Police, and the Home Secretary to the Government functions of the Police, and the Home Secretary to the Government of India admitted that in one case at least the complaint was justified,

Education.—On this subject the Commission point out that as the result of Lord Curzon's Educational Conference in 1901, the generally beneficial results of which may be freely admitted, an endeavour was made to introduce a uniform code for European schools, and no Provincial Government can modify any of the provisions of this code without the consent of the Governor-General in Council. Bombay and Bengal have both complained of this educational bed of Procrustes, and the Director-General of Education has admitted the validity of the objections. A case is quoted in which the Government of India actually interfered in such a detail as to whether there should be a joint or two separate playgrounds for two adjoining colleges in one of the Provinces. From Burma came the complaint that the general educational system of India was being forced on that Province without regard to its special conditions. We certainly should avoid repeating in Burma the blunders of our educational system in India. The Director-General of Education admitted the narrowing effect of affiliation with the University of Calcutta upon education in Burma. The Commission recommend that Burma should have a University of its own, and—a wise provision—that the indigenous monastic schools should be preserved and fostered.

Medical and Sanitary.—The superior personnel of the Civil Medical and Sanitary Departments is drawn from the Indian Medical service and is recruited at home. It is primarily a military organisation, and the officers who select civil employ are liable to be recalled to military service in case of war. The Provincial Governments are under stringent control by the Government of India with respect to these public servants, and so irksome has this been found that both Madras and Bombay have urged the formation of a separate medical service for civil requirements. The superior economy, as regards the army, of the existing arrangements has been the chief reason for negativing these proposals. The head of the medical administration of each Proposals. of each Province is an officer known as the Surgeon-General in Madras and Rombon is an officer known as the Surgeon-General in other and Bombay, and as Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in other Provinces. Some years ago a Provincial Government which had the right of noming the ri the right of nominating an officer for this appointment, and of making

from a distance public appointment in England. Such contretemps

a second nomination if the first was rejected, proposed for this high lay a second honous a second honous as secon oh<sub>8</sub> office a discrete discrete discrete acquainted with the Province. The Government of India disallowed the nomination, and m. province. Provincial Government to a second nomination, and ignoring the right of the Provincial Government to a second nomination, generally directed the appointment of a somewhat senior officer

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peremptorial Province. The superseded officer afterwards obtained

are not always easy to avoid under a centralised system, but they present a forcible argument in favour of a method of decentralisation present a solver which the Government responsible for the administration of a Province shall have the power to select its own agents, officers, and subordinates.

As regards this branch of the service the Commission recommend that the Provincial Governments shall have full freedom of selection from among the officers who have been promoted by the Government of India to be Colonels, and this reform should certainly be adopted. Great pains are taken in the Home Department, as I know from my own experience when in charge of it, to ascertain the merit of the various medical officers throughout India and Burma, and their fitness for promotion to the rank of Colonel. The Director-General of the Indian Medical Service is of course the adviser of the Government of India in these matters, and submits with his recommendations all the evidence procurable regarding the officers concerned. The Commission make a number of other recommendations for lessening the interference of the Government of India with the staff in the different Provinces. One of the most important of these is that medical officers employed in jails, in sanitary work and in medical instruction, and as chemical examiners, &c., should all be selected and promoted by the Provincial Government concerned. The Government of India will prescribe general qualifications, and if a Provincial Government cannot find a suitable man among its own staff, will assist in obtaining one from another Province. The Commission comment adversely on the order of the Government of India withdrawing the discretionary power of the Provincial Governments relating to the acceptance of fees for private work by particular medical officers. The tendency towards centralisation is shown in a proposal of the Imperial Sanitary Commissioner that sanitary officers throughout India should be directly appointed by the Government of India and that an Imperial service of Sanitary Engineers should be created. The Commission point out that these proposals invade the administrative functions of the Provincial Governments, and are not in accord with the terms of the

that Provincial Governments should appoint their own Sanitary Commissioners, and à fortiori the Deputy Sanitary Commissioners. A very salutary recommendation is that the Sanitary Commissioners of the several Provinces should meet occasionally in conference

Imperial Sanitary Commissioner's appointment. They recommend

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to compare notes and communicate experiences, ideas, proposals

The same course might with advantage be pure. notes and communication, ideas, proposals The same course might with advantage be pursued in Engineers, Directors of Agriculture and of proposals and results. The same course in a surface of Agriculture and of Pullice and other Provided in the case of Irrigation Engineers, Directors of Agriculture and of Public and other Provided in the case of Irrigation Engineers. the case of Irrigation Engineers, 22 the case of Irrigation Engineers, 23 the case of Irrigation Engineers, 24 the case of Irrigation Engineers, 24 the case of Irrigation Engineers, 24 the case of Irrigation Engineers, 25 the Case of Instruction, and Inspectors conferences of this nature have, within my heads of departments. Conferences of this nature have, within my heads of departments. Control heads of departments. Have, within my knowledge, already been occasionally held with excellent results. The Committee of the control has more frequently called together. The Committee of the control has more frequently called together. knowledge, already been called together. The Commission and should be more frequently called together. The Commission and should be more frequency and should be encouraged recommend that Provincial heads of departments should be encouraged recommend that every assistance of Imperial research, and that every assistance of the commission of the c recommend that Provincial research, and that every assistance should to visit centres of Imperial research, and that every assistance should

The Report contains an important chapter on Imperial Inspectors. The Report contains at the Provincial Inspectors. General, of whom there are now ten who affect the Provincial Government, in the Medical and the Sanitary the Report Contains at the Sanitary the Report Contains at the Provincial Government of the P General, of whom there are the Medical and the Sanitary, the Education ments' sphere of work, in the Medical and the Sanitary, the Education ments' sphere of work, in Education and the Veterinary Departments, Criminal Intelligence, Forests, and Salt, and Geological S. Agriculture, Irrigation, Excise and Salt, and Geological Survey. The prime duty of these functionaries is to act as advisory officers to the Government of India and to the Provincial Governments, and it is clearly laid down that their appointment is not to involve administrative interference with the latter. In their favour it is urged that as decentralisation progresses the Government of India must have some machinery to keep them informed of what is going on in the different Provinces, and to bring to their notice matters which can be learnt only on the spot. Their knowledge of the various Provinces will occasionally enable them to advise the Government of India against prescribing for one Province methods suitable to another, a drawback which is to a certain extent inevitable with a member of the Viceroy's Council or a Secretary to his Government whose previous experience has been in one Province only. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson drew attention to the danger that the appointment of these expert Imperial Inspectors-General might result in the centralisation of administrative functions in the Government of India. The Provincial Governments and their chief officers were almost unanimous in their apprehension of administrative interference by Inspectors-General, and the Commission express the opinion that this dread of official intrusion 'loomed so large in some Provinces as to obscure the undoubted benefits which might be secured.' I remember that one Provincial Government in its alarm refused to permit the head of one of its departments to have any semi-official correspondence with the appropriate Imperial Inspector-General, and required all the resulting official correspondence to be forwarded for its perusal. This was certainly an exaggerated instance of official mistrust. The next step logically would be to forbid a personal interview between the functionaries except in the presence of a shorthand reporter! The Commission define the functions of the Inspectors-General to be the charge of experiment and research undertaken by the undertaken by the Government of India, and the supervision and co-ordination of culture of supervision and the supervision and co-ordination of subsidiary research in the Provinces, the establishment

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of bureaux of specialised knowledge and the dissemination thereof, the furnishing of information and advice to the Government of India, the ready assistance of Provincial Governments and their officers, and inspection throughout India. The Inspectors-General should have no administrative authority in the Provinces, or be regarded as in any way the executive head of their special departments. Government of India should avoid all appearance of using their expert advisers to coerce Provincial Governments to adopt reforms which the latter are not ready to welcome. It is recommended that if on the advice of an Inspector-General a Secretary to the Government of India proposes that a Provincial Government should be overruled. the case should be forwarded to the Provincial Government with the remarks of the Inspector-General and the Secretary for consideration. before the Government of India finally deal with it.

The Commission emphatically recommend occasional visits by members of the Viceroy's Council and Secretaries of the Government of India to the Provincial capitals, and would like to see some relaxation of the restrictions which have been imposed on the tours of these functionaries. These tours take place during the interval occupied by the transfer of the Government of India offices between Calcutta and Simla, and afford the members of Council the only means of a brief respite from work during their five years' tenure of office. The Viceroy himself tours during the same interval and his Executive Council does not meet during his absence. these days the telegraph enables free communication to be made on all important matters of business. The restrictions referred to were introduced towards the close of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, but the objections to what on the face of it appears to be an admirable method of enabling high officials to meet and discuss personally important matters of business have remained an enigma. The absence of secretaries on tour is open to the criticism that they are the mouthpiece of the Government and should therefore be available at headquarters, unless special arrangements are made for their absence. But even in their case journeys to other Provinces may be desirable, as, for instance, in the case of the Secretary in the Public Works Department, whose opinion as an engineer may have been requested on some work designed or in progress. As regards the Members of Council the restrictions on their touring were so far as my experience went little else than nominal, and are now, it is to be hoped, nothing more. The wise suggestion is made that when any question of general reform is under consideration it is better for the Government of India to appoint Commissions or Committees to deal with it, rather than to act on the advice of Inspectors-General. Any development of policy or increase of efficiency resulting from a Commission's labours should enable the future control of the Government of India to become more general and less centralised.

Legislation.—It is obvious that the existing control over Provincial

Legislation, in so far as the power of veto is concerned, must be main. Legislation, in so far as the positional as under Lord Morley's new reforms tained, and this is the more needful as under Lord Morley's new reforms tained, and this is the more needed majority in the Provincial Legislative there will no longer be an official majority in the Provincial Legislative no longer be an onlear major to longer be an onlear major to legislative the proposals for decentralisation made throughout the Councils. The proposals for the councils are throughout the Report will involve a very large amount of legislation on details, and discuss at some length whether this should be a some length whether this should be a some length. Report will involve a very some length whether this should be done, the Commission discuss at some length whether this should be done, the Commission discuss at the containing in schedules all the (a) by a general Decentralisation Act, containing in schedules all the (a) by a general Decementary (a) by a general Decementary (b) and someones all the sections which have to be amended in every Act which is involved; or sections which have to be legation, which would allow sections which have to be all sections which would allow executive (b) by a general Act of Delegation, which would allow executive (b) by a general Act of Design a higher to a lower authority by functions to be transferred from a higher to a lower authority by functions to be transferred authority by notification in the Official Gazette of the Government of India or of notification in the Olivers the Provincial Government concerned. The decision (Mr. Dutt dissenting) is in favour of the latter course, which has various prece. dents in its favour, the last and most important being the new Indian Civil Procedure Code, which includes in the body of the Act only general and uniform principles, while minor matters are relegated to rules which are to be framed by each High or Chief Court. Proposed delegations of authority will be published for a reasonable period to allow of objections being made and heard, and no delegations will be permitted in the case of Acts which have been in force for less than five years.

Reports and Returns.—Much good was effected by Lord Curzon in curtailing the number and the length of administrative reports and returns, but much still remains to be done. The fact is that every authority which receives and has to review a report feels bound to say something, and the easiest, though not the most sensible, thing to sav is that the report is deficient in this, that, or the other detail, and that in subsequent reports these defects 'should not be allowed to recur.' But no one, or hardly anyone, eyes a report with a view to curtailing it in future. Occasionally returns of an absurd character find their way into the list. Many years ago I remember having to fill in an annual return to be sent to the Secretary of State showing in pounds avoirdupois the quantity of carpentry executed in the district!

Parliament is now responsible for throwing an increased amount of work, sometimes of a very troublesome character, on the Indian administration. In the five years ending 1902 the number of questions asked on Indian affairs was 198; in the five years ending 1907 the number asked was 486. The number of communications sent to the Secretary of State in connexion with questions in Parliament was 53 and 309 in the same two periods respectively. The Commission would institute fresh enquiries, such as Lord Curzon made, with a view to reduce further the present mass of returns and reports, and would do this periodically a discontinuous and reports. this periodically at intervals of a few years, and would also ascertain the necessity for all the the necessity for all the reports and returns now furnished to the Secretary of State Secretary of State, some of which might in the opinion of the Secretaries to the Government of The Secretaries to the Government of India be dispensed with. The Commission end

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n e Part I. of their Report with a proposal to condense into manageable compass the various administrative codes and manuals. Those issued by the Bengal Board of Revenue for instance number between twenty and thirty volumes. On the military side the Indian Army Regulations filled a similar library until they were examined and condensed some years ago by General De Brath during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty.

Comments on another department not dealt with by the Commis-

comments on the department not deant with by the Commission, and on the recommendations in favour, under certain conditions, of Governors-in-Council in lieu of Lieutenant-Governors, and with regard to wider self-government for villages, rural boards and munici

palities, must be reserved for another issue of this Review.

A. T. ARUNDEL.

## THE END OF A LEGEND!

WHAT a striking book might be written on the irony of events! And What a striking book may be pardoned by the posthumous history what a pregnant example of Thomas Carlyle! If we may judge from his works, no man ever lived who held in more utter contempt what is called public opinion; no man who would have shrunk with greater loathing—the word is not too strong from allowing his private affairs to be canvassed by the 'twenty. seven millions of people, chiefly fools,' as he esteemed them, among whom he dwelt. But no sooner were his old sad eyes closed in death than his own familiar friend, in whom he trusted, began to divilge to all mankind his most intimate and personal concerns. The Reminiscences achieved such a succès de scandale—the most profitable kind of success from a pecuniary point of view—as to encourage Mr. Froude to proceed with a Life in four volumes, which had a greater success still-of the same kind. Further revelations were made by Mr. Froude in the Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle, which appeared in 1883, and in the pamphlet My Relations with Carlyle, published by his son and daughter in 1903, after his death. It is not now necessary to discuss in detail these performances of Mr. Froude. The 'twenty-seven millions'—the original figures may as well be left to stand—are not such fools as Carlyle took them to be. When the world thinks long enough about a thing, it generally comes to a right conclusion. 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum' is true in another sense than that in which the words were written; and the judgment on this matter has been given with no uncertain voice. Still a few words about it are necessary here, in order to make plain the position of those who have published the two volumes now before me, and to vindicate their action in so doing.

The greater part of the second volume of the Reminiscences is made up of what Carlyle called 'A Bit of Writing,' entitled 'Jane Welsh Carlyle,' the publication of which he had most solemnly forbidden in a most characteristic document. Mr. Froude asserts that this stringent prohibition was subsequently cancelled by oral community.

The Love Letters of Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh, edited by Alexander Carlyle. Two volumes. John Lane. London, 1909.

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nications made to him,<sup>2</sup> but produces no evidence in corroboration of his assertion. We have only Mr. Froude's word for it. Now what is the value of Mr. Froude's word? That is a question which I was led to consider fourteen years ago, when writing in this Review,<sup>3</sup> and I prefer to repeat now what I said then, because I much doubt whether, with the larger knowledge which I have since gained of Mr. Froude's methods, I could express myself anew with the same gentleness and moderation.

I take it that Mr. Froude may properly be ranked among the greatest masters of word-painting in the English language. There are passages in his writings which have seldom been surpassed in splendour of diction and dramatic power. But here all the praise that can be honestly bestowed upon him ends. He was incapable of critically investigating facts. Nay, he was incapable, congenitally incapable, I believe, even of correctly stating them. A less judicial mind probably never existed. There is hardly a page of his which is not deformed by passion, prejudice, and paradox. He is everywhere an advocate, and an utterly unscrupulous advocate. His predecessor in the Chair of Modern History at Oxford once said: 'When we have read Mr. Froude's account of any matter we know, at all events, one way in which it did not happen.' I think this was too strongly said. According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the father of lies himself sometimes tells the truth: 'Interdum diabolus veritatem loquitur.' I would put the matter somewhat differently. It has happened to me, in the course of my own poor historical studies, to go over much of the ground trodden by Mr. Froude. And the conclusion to which I was long ago led is that it is never safe to accept any statement upon Mr. Froude's mere word.

The Life of Carlyle, in the first volume of which Mr. Froude used the prenuptial letters of Carlyle and his wife—notwithstanding his strict command, 'Let no printing of these or any part of them be thought of by those who love me '—was undertaken in the teeth of the sentence in the Will: 'Express biography of me I had really rather that there should be none.' It is unquestionable that these words set forth a view strongly held by Carlyle. In his Life of Sterling he wrote, 'Why had a biography been inflicted on this man? Why had not no-biography and the privilege of all the weary been his lot?' And again: 'How happy it comparatively is for a man of any earnestness of life to have no biography written of him, but to return silently, with his small sorely foiled bit of work, to the Supreme Silences who alone can judge of it or him, and not to trouble the reviewers, or greater or less public, with attempting to judge it.'

In which event I solemnly forbid them each and all, to publish this Bit of Writing as it stands here; and warn them that without fit editing no part of it should be printed (nor as far as I can order, shall ever be); and that the fit editing of perhaps nine-tenths at it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It is this: 'I still mainly mean to burn this Book before my own departure; but feel that I shall always have a kind of grudge to do it, and an indolent excuse, "Not yet; wait, any day that can be done!"—and that it is possible the thing may be left behind me, legible to interested survivors—friends only, I will hope, and with worthy curiosity not unworthy!

nine-tenths of it will, after I am gone, have become impossible.'

In October 1895. The article was called 'The New Spirit in History,' and now finds place in a volume entitled Essays and Speeches.

And so in his Diary, under date December 29, 1848, there occurs the

Darwin said to Jane the other day in his quizzing-serious manner, 'Who will be a set me thinking hours.' The word reported to me, set me thinking hours. Darwin said to Jane the other day ...

Darwin said to Jane the other day ...

write Carlyle's "Life"? The word reported to me, set me thinking how imposes the condition of the write Carlyle's "Life"? The word Top will connict the sible it was and would for ever remain, for any creature to write my impossible it was and would for ever remain, for any creature to write my Life; sible it was and would for ever remain, for any creature to write my Life; sible it was and would for ever remain, it all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny have all along lain deep below view or the chief elements of my little destiny or the chief elements of my little el the chief elements of my fittle description to any son of Adam. I would say to surmise, and never will or can be known to any son of Adam. I would say to surmise, and never will or can be the such a task, 'Forbear, poor fool say to my biographer, if any fool undertook such a task, 'Forbear, poor fool; let no my bewildered wrestlings lie buried have my biographer, if any 1001 underteed my bewildered wrestlings lie buried here, and be life of me be written; let me and my bewildered wrestlings lie buried here, and be come be written and life world. If thou write, it will be mere deland life of me be written; let me and my forgotten swiftly of all the world. If thou write, it will be mere delusions and forgotten swiftly of all the world never understood, nor will produce the confused world never understood, nor will produce the confused world never understood. forgotten swiftly of all the world never understood, nor will understand, hallucinations. The confused world never understood, nor will understand, hallucinations. The confused state hallucinations. The confused state hallucinations hallucinations after the persons nearest me could guess at them; me and my poor affairs; not even the persons nearest me could guess at them; me and my poor affairs; now is it now, for any but an idle purpose, profit.

Silence, and go thy ways elsewhither to the state of them; able, were it even possible. Silence, and go thy ways elsewhither.

These utterances—they might be multiplied if space allowed—are quite in accordance with the words which I have quoted from the Mr. Froude's assertion of their verbal withdrawal utterly lacks corroboration.

The manuscript of the Letters and Memorials of his wife, a Selection prepared by Carlyle, was bequeathed to Mr. Froude, the testator solemnly requesting him to 'do his best and wisest in the matter,' and leaving to him, in conjunction with the two other trustees (Mr. Forster and Dr. Carlyle), the decision of the question 'How, When (after what delay—seven or ten years) it or any portion of it should be published.' Mr. Forster and Dr. Carlyle predeceased Carlyle, so that the question had to be decided by Mr. Froude alone, who, within two years of Carlyle's death, published something which purported to be Carlyle's Selection- prepared by Thomas Carlyle for publication' appeared on the title page-but was not. He omitted more than half the letters which Carlyle had collected, mutilated, more or less, those of them which he printed, and for that portion of Mrs. Carlyle's Journal which Carlyle had prepared, he substituted another portion, saying no word to apprise his readers that he had done this.5

4 Mr. Froude, referring to this passage, avers, 'Carlyle had said, in his Journal, that there was a secret connected with him unknown to his closest friends'—which is not what Carlyle said. The authors of The Nemesis of Fronde well observe, 'To the common man, to say nothing of the student of Carlyle's writings, but one interpretation of the student of Carlyle's writings, but to interpretation of this [passage] is possible: it refers not to one secret but to many—to the bewildered wrestlings of the writer's soul with the mysteries of being, to those incommunicable stirrings that agitate the depths of every human heart,' p. 57.

It is contended by some of Mr. Froude's partisans that Carlyle entrusted him han unfettered discount But this is not with an unfettered discretion in dealing with Mrs. Carlyle's papers. But this is not so. Carlyle wrote this is not not carlyle wrote the contract of the carlyle wrote the car so. Carlyle wrote, 'The manuscript is by no means ready for publication. Nay, the questions How. When (at questions How, When (after what delay, seven or ten years) it or any portion of it should be published are at the seven or ten years. should be published, are still dark to me. But on all such points James Anthon Froude's decision is to be tel-Froude's decision is to be taken as mine.' Note the words which I have put in italics. Mr. Froude was not authorical as mine.' Note the words which I have put in italics. Mr. Froude was not authorised by Carlyle to make a new Selection and pass it off as that made by Carlyle himself.

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The general effect of these performances of Mr. Froude was, in a high degree, unfavourable to Carlyle, as all the world knows. Sir James Crichton Browne truly observes: 'They depicted Carlyle in his darkest and least amiable moods, ignoring the bright and genial side of his nature, and gave prominence not merely to the biting judgments he had passed on public men, but to the sharp and wounding things he had said about a few private individuals still living. They opened the flood-gates of malevolence, supplied all the shams, and quacks, and fools—twenty-seven millions in number and sects and coteries whom Carlyle had scourged in his lifetime, with nasty missiles with which to pelt his memory, and shocked even fair-minded people by the contrast they suggested between the nobility of his teaching and the seemingly crabbed and selfish temper of his life. Froude first shattered Carlyle's reputation in the Reminisgences, and continued through the subsequent volumes, although, it must be admitted, with diminuendo movement in the last two, to grind it to powder.' 6

Mr. Froude's defence of his achievement appears to have been two-fold. He contended that in exhibiting Carlyle to the world as he did, he was fulfilling a public duty. He tells us in the Preface to the first volume of the *Life*, 'The public will not be satisfied without sifting the history of its men of letters to the last grain of fact which can be ascertained about them.' 'This,' he asserts, 'is not curiosity; it is a legitimate demand.' 'The publicity of their private lives,' he declares, 'has been, is, and will be either the reward, or the penalty, of their intellectual distinction.'

Keep nothing sacred: 'tis but just The many-headed beast should know,

sang Tennyson, in fierce scorn. The words express Mr. Froude's serious contention. In his Introductory Pages to Carlyle's Life in London he tells us, 'No concealment is permissible about' him. No concealment! However, that is the theory of biography upon which he professed to proceed, and he cited in support of it a long passage from Carlyle's article on Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, in order to prove that it was Carlyle's theory also. But this passage by no means bears out Mr. Froude's contention, as the following extract from it may suffice to show:

The biographer has this problem set before him: to delineate a likeness of

7 For now the poet cannot die, Nor leave his music as of old, But round him ere he scarce be cold Begins the scandal and the cry:

'Proclaim the faults he would not show, Break lock and seal, betray the trust, Keep nothing sacred, 'tis but just The many-headed beast should know.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle. Intro. p. 8.

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the earthly pilgrimage of a man. He will compute well what profit is in it.

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ereatures will surely not be forgotte side of his account, that many an enterpression of the rule before all rules shall require to be renounced. But once taken up, the rule before all rules shall require to do the ghost of it. In speaking of the man and men to the rules of the man and men to the rules of the rules shall require to be renounced. But the shall require to be renounced. But the shall require to be renounced. In speaking of the man and men he has is to do it, not to do the ghost of it. In speaking of the man and men he has is to do it, he will of course keep all his charities about him, but all k: is to do it, not to do the gnose of the state of the stat to do with, he will of course keep and the set of the s open. Far be it from him to set do...

Open. Far be it from him to set do...

But having found a thing or things and leave in oblivion, much that is true. But having found a thing or things and leave in oblivion, much that is an arrange sound a thing or things essential for his subject, and well computed the for and against, he will in very essential for his subject, and well computed the for and against, he will in very essential for his subject, and well computed the for and against, he will in very essential for his subject, and well computed the for and against, he will in very essential for his subject, and well computed the for and against, he will in very essential for his subject, and well computed the for and against, he will in very essential for his subject, and well computed the for and against, he will in very essential for his subject, and well computed the for and against, he will in very essential for his subject. essential for his subject, and went complete doubting, having, he will in very deed set down such thing or things, nothing doubting, having, we may say, the deed set down such thing of things, he had been set down such thing of things, he had been set down such thing of things, he had been set down such that the set of God before his eyes, and no other fear whatever. Censure the biographer's fear of God before his eyes, and no definition he made, or agree with it; be all malice prudence; dissent from the computation he made, or agree with it; be all malice prudence; dissent from the computer avoidable inaccuracy, condemned of his, be all falsehood, nay, be all offensive avoidable inaccuracy, condemned of his, be all falsehood, nay, be all offensive avoidable inaccuracy, condemned of his, be all falsehood, hay, be an and consumed; but know that by this plan only, executed as was possible, could and consumed; but know that by this plan only, executed as was possible, could and consumed; but know that by this plan only, executed as was possible, could and consumed; but know that by this plan only, executed as was possible, could be all falsehood. and consumed; but know that by that by and blame him not that he did that the biographer hope to make a biography; and blame him not that he did that

Carlyle's disciples and admirers maintain that Mr. Froude did set down about him much that was untrue. I will touch upon that hereafter. But supposing for a moment that Mr. Froude's account of Carlyle is veracious, the charge against him will still lie that he did not 'keep all his charities about him'; that he did not 'abstain from and leave in oblivion' much that should have been abstained from and so left; that he had not 'the fear of God before his eyes' in delineating the likeness of Carlyle's earthly pilgrimage. Apart from theological considerations, for which this is not the place, there is a rule of right—to observe it was what Carlyle meant by fearing God-in biography, as in every section and segment of human activity. The moral law, no deduction from the Sacred Books of any religion, but the sum, in the words of Suarez, of 'those dietates of natural reason which are intrinsically necessary, and independent of all volition, even the Divine,' rules everywhere, and among the virtues which it prescribes is what ethical writers call Fidelity. One of the greatest of such writers teaches, 'To reveal secrets to the injury of an individual is against fidelity-not, however, if they are revealed for the public good, which is always to be preferred to the private good.' 8 That the pretended secrets revealed by Mr. Fronde were to the injury of Carlyle, no sane person can doubt. And will anyone maintain that Mr. Froude in revealing them believed himself to be acting for the public good? He, beyond question, titillated thereby the public taste, depraved by the garbage of Society newspapers and the obscenities of the Divorce Court. But is pandering to a diseased appetite to promote the public good? Doubtless Mr. Froude supplied matter for which a demand existed—the large sale of his books above of his books above mentioned is a proof of that. But is it a sufficient justification for line wares! justification for him that there was a lucrative market for his wares!

St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, II.-II. q. 63, art. I. 3.

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Frankness in biography? Yes. But there is a limit to frankness in this province as everywhere. The great principles of reserve and reticence, which dominate civilised society, have their application To which we may add that the old dictum 'De mortuis nihil nisi bonum, false if construed literally, witnesses to the truth that for those we love, death is, so to speak, a lustration. Thus Carlyle in one of the Love Letters which have supplied the occasion for my writing: 'There is a strange mellowing influence in the mandate of that last gloomy messenger who changeth our countenance and sendeth us away. The hardest and sternest spirit appears with an imploring and tender look to our reflections when it has yielded to the stroke of death. Unkind feelings are forgotten, faults are cast into the shade, and love alone, sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, hovers round the tombs of our friends. The idea that all my deformities shall be hid beneath the grass that covers me, and I shall live like a stainless being in the hearts of those that loved me, often of itself almost reconciles me to the inexorable law of fate."

But, according to Mr. Froude, Carlyle's view of this matter completely changed in later years. We read in the Preface to the First Volume of the Lije that Carlyle wished 'to be known as he was, with all his angularities, his sharp speeches, his special peculiarities, meritorious or unmeritorious, precisely as they actually were.' That Carlyle, on the threshold of the Great Silence, entertained a wish so contrary to his whole tenor of thought, is wildly improbable-and we have only Mr. Froude's word for it. But certain it is that Mr. Froude went far beyond portraying Carlyle's angularities and special peculiarities and recording his sharp speeches. A more uninviting picture was never painted than that which Mr. Froude has given of his dead spiritual father, whom he fawned upon when living. It is, of course, relieved by lighter touches here and there-Mr. Froude was too good an artist to omit these; but on the whole he makes brutality and selfishness the keynotes of Carlyle's character. The stern preacher of righteousness, the apostle of veracity, the prophet of duty, is exhibited to us in his pages as a miserable egotist, hypocritical, neglectful of his plainest obligations to his charming wife; nay, as cruel to her, even to the extent of personal violence. And he alleges -again we have only his word for the allegation-a commission to do this from Carlyle himself, moved by unavailing remorse. Is it oredible that any man-that Carlyle of all men-should have entrusted such a task to any human being? If—which who can believe ?- Carlyle had thought public confession due for the private faults imputed by Mr. Froude to him, would he have made it posthumously and by the agency of another? A man must be a most despicable coward to do so; and even Mr. Froude does not charge Carlyle with cowardice. Can anyone believe that Carlyle said, in

<sup>9</sup> Vol. i. p. 284.

effect, to Mr. Froude, 'My kind, considerate, and ever faithful friend, beard, please proclaim to all the world what a effect, to Mr. Froude, My Kine, when I am dead, please proclaim to all the world what a scoundrel when I am dead, please it, and I have never met with any when I am dead, please productions and I have never met with any man, I was '? I cannot believe it, and I have never met with any man, the most thorough-going votaries of Mr. Fronds I was'? I cannot believe it, the state of Mr. Froude, who would even pretend that he could. And then could, or who would even pretend that he could. could, or who would even processary for me to say anything, 11 to part necessary for me to say anything, 11 with Carlyle,

Some words of Carlyle's in his Life of Sterling 'Let a man be Some words of Carry Some words of Carry Some words of Carry Some when he is dead, but let him not be misremembered in this forgotten when he is dead, but let him not be misremembered in this forgotten when he is doub, way,' doubtless occurred to many when they read the nine volumes—way,' doubtless doubt tenth—in which Mr. Froude has doubt way,' doubtless occurred to which Mr. Froude has dealt with him. to say nothing of the tenth—in which Mr. Froude has dealt with him. to say nothing of the count of John Sterling given by his co-trustee, Carlyle thought the account of the kindest and most appreciative Archdeacon Hare, though written in the kindest and most appreciative Archdeacon Hare, though the spirit, inadequate and unsatisfactory, and no real picture of the man, spirit, inadequate and unsatisfactory, testimony concerning to and determined to give his own testimony concerning his departed and determined to give a less skilled hand than Mr. Froude's would have had no chance; and where was it possible to find a hand as skilled? The only thing to be done, as it appeared to those most nearly concerned, was to publish the text of the documents upon which Mr. Froude had worked, and to let the public judge of his treatment of them.

Now, Mr. Froude's mode of dealing with documents is well known to all historical scholars. In a former paper of mine, contributed to this Review, and already referred to, I gave an instance of it which chanced then to be fresh in my memory. I mentioned that I had had occasion to compare what he euphemistically called his 'Abbreviated Translations' of letters of Erasmus with the original, and that I found, in wellnigh every page, distortions, more or less gross, of Erasmus's meaning: things attributed to him directly contrary to what he really wrote; things of which the Latin presented no trace at all. It is Mr. Froude's way in history; 'mendax audet in historiâ,' and he is as audaciously mendacious in biography. In dealing with Carlyle's and Mrs. Carlyle's papers, he resorted freely to suppressio veri and suggestio falsi, as his purpose might require; his pages are full of misquotations, garbled extracts, fallacious statements of fact, with a running accompaniment of calumny, detraction and malicious insinuation. In his Selection of the Letters and Memorials of Mrs. Carlyle—we must call it his Selection because, as I have already pointed out, it was not Carlyle's own Selection, though he endeavoured to pass it off as such—he took the most unwarrantable liberties with what she had written, amputating, disembowelling, and often altering the text itself. Professor Eliot Norton in comparing the Reminiscences, as printed by him, with the original manuscript, found a hundred and thirty-six corrections

It was sufficiently disposed of by Sir James Crichton Browne in the British dical Journal of June 27, 1999 Medical Journal of June 27, 1903.

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necessary in the first six pages. As regards the portions of the Love letters given by him in the first volume of the Life—in defiance of Carlyle's solemn prohibition—the Professor, a careful and conscientious critic, did not hesitate to lay to his charge divergence from the truth, assertions incompatible with the evidence, and the colouring by his own imagination of statements having the form of truth. Here, too, as in the Reminiscences, words, clauses and sentences, which sometimes seriously interfere with the meaning, are omitted without any notice to the reader.

The corrected edition of the Reminiscences was published by Professor Norton in 1887. The New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle—they are those which Mr. Froude mutilated or put aside—were given to the world in 1903. It is only now that the Love Letters have appeared. Mr. Alexander Carlyle's hesitation to print them was natural. Carlyle's prohibition of it was most stringent. But as Mr. Froude, in disregard of that prohibition, had dealt with them in the manner just mentioned, could it be regarded as being still in force? On this matter it will be well to hear what Mr. Alexander Carlyle himself says in his Preface.

The possession of these Letters I have long felt to be a heavy responsibility, and the question whether to publish or not to publish them has been for several years a subject of anxious deliberation. Only three courses seemed to be open to me: first, to destroy the original Letters, and thus allow Mr. Froude's account of the courtship and his inaccurate version of the Letters to be handed down to posterity as true and correct, practically unchallenged except on the limited scale of Norton's article. . . This course seemed an impossible one; I was not Vandal enough to destroy such Letters as these, even if there had been nothing to consider but their literary value. Secondly, to preserve the originals, and leave them behind me to be published, perhaps in later years, by someone who would probably know very little of the subject. This, too, seemed to be an inadvisable course, for many reasons, though it certainly would have been the easiest one for me to follow! Thirdly, to edit and publish them now. After deliberate consideration, and consultation with friends and relatives of Carlyle, I decided to adopt this last course. I have since been confirmed in my decision by the hearty approval of numerous literary men and women to whom I have at various times read a considerable part of these Letters. And the more I consider the question myself in all its bearings, the more I am convinced that the course I have chosen is the best and the wisest. Professor Norton in 1886 hesitated to follow this plan, for the reason that some of the Letters were in his judgment 'too sacred for publication,' though he did publish a few of them, and give extracts from others, enough to prove that Mr. Froude's story was the reverse of true on many points, but not enough to exhibit more than a mere fraction of his perversions, or tell the true story with anything like completeness. Much has happened, moreover, since 1886. Mr. Froude's story assumed, a few Years ago, another phase still more disreputable, and even disgusting. Reticence in the case of Carlyle's biography has unfortunately long ago ceased to be a virtue; it may easily degenerate into a vice. In the name, and for the sake, of truth and justice, it is now clearly advisable that every possible ray of light should be thrown on the subject. To withhold, much more to destroy, authentic and valuable evidence would be little short of a crime. . . . Had there been no brevious that nothing in the Previous infraction of Carlyle's interdict—I need hardly say that nothing in the

world or beneath it would have induced me to [infringe it]. But what would have world or beneath it would have induced me to [infringe it]. But what would have therefore, for publishing therefore, for publishing the standard of the standa world or beneath it would have induced in the altered circumstances, become been rank sacrilege at one time, has now, in the altered circumstances, become been rank sacrilege at one time, has now, in the altered circumstances, become been rank sacrilege at one time, has now, in the altered circumstances, become been rank sacrilege at one time, has help therefore, for publishing these Letters, become a pious duty. I offer no apology, therefore, for publishing these Letters, for pious duty. I one is needed. I should rather be inclined to apologise to apologise to the control of the co been rank star. I offer no apology, increase, the publishing these Letters, for a pious duty. I offer no apology, the rather be inclined to apologise for not in my judgment none is needed. I should rather be inclined to apologise for not

It appears to me that Mr. Alexander Carlyle's vindication of himself It appears to me that his ample. Their intrinsic excellence is for publishing these letters is ample. Their intrinsic excellence is for publishing these recent addition of much value to English very great; they are a permanent addition of much value to English very great; they are a permaner of the probability of course, that is no sufficient reason for disregarding literature; but, of course, that is a sufficient reason that the probability of the probability literature; but, or counter, and Carlyle's solemn promotes of an important chapter in Carlyle's life before us a true account of an important chapter in Carlyle's life before us a true account before us a true account most grossly misrepresented by Mr. Froude, who, with perverse most grossly misrepresented by Mr. Froude, who, with perverse most grossly misrepresentation in the perverse ingenuity, distorted the real significance of such portions of them as he published. In place of his legendary beings, they show us the real he published. In place of the published with the real man and woman, as revealed by themselves during the five years which passed between their first meeting and their marriage—years in which passed between that the characters of both were disciplined and formed (to borrow Carlyle's prophetic words) for the life yet all before them, the many proud hours when they would withstand in true and closest affection all its storms and perils, and be more to one another than all the universe besides. <sup>12</sup> Carlyle was twenty-five when, in 1821, he was introduced by Edward Irving to Miss Welsh, who was then not quite twenty. It is clear that he fell in love with her at first sight, as well he might; she was bright, 13 unusually well educated, and endowed with considerable personal attractions. 14 She, on the other hand, though admiring his intellect, was not inclined to regard him as more than a highly gifted friend, and checked his advances with some asperity. She expressed 'dislike' for his 'too ardent expressions,' adding, 'I have too little romance in my disposition ever to be in love with you or any man; and too much ever to marry without love.' But she was 'powerfully influenced by him,' to use her own phrase, from the first moment that she knew him. Time went on, and the influence grew stronger and stronger, and, as she wrote, he became more and more 'necessary' to her. She shrank from their marriage, but gradually became more familiar with the thought of it. Meanwhile Carlyle never faltered in the entire devotion which had become, and which always remained, the strongest feeling of his soul. The hackneved and beautiful lines,

> To love one maiden only, cleave to her, And worship her by years of noble deeds Until they won her,

are entirely applicable to him. Yes, entirely, for those five years of his

<sup>12</sup> Love Letters, vol. ii. p. 173.

The word spirituelle, for which there is no precise equivalent in English, exactly cribes her. 'Elle areit and the cribes her.'

A charming portrait of her at the age of twenty-five forms the frontispiece to ii. of the Love Letters describes her. 'Elle avait de l'esprit jusqu'au bout des ongles.' vol. ii. of the Love Letters.

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courtship were 'years of noble deeds'; years of plain living and high thinking, of strenuous and fruitful intellectual toil, of singularly beautiful acts of kindness and of love. At last she is conquered. Her doubts are dead. She writes to him, 'Oh, I do love you, my own Friend, above the whole Earth; no human being was ever half so dear to me, none, none.' And again, 'Oh, what a sad heart is mine this night.' 'What would I give to have you here within my arms for one, one moment!' And once more:

Our anticipated happiness is founded on no delusion: it is no love dream from which we must wake the first year of our marriage. In good sooth, we were either the stupidest or most deceitful of all living, if, at this time of day, we had either the we ach other as we are. It is now five years since we first met—five blessed years! During all that period my opinion of you has never wavered, but gone on deliberately rising to a higher and higher degree of regard; and (what perhaps is still more convincing of its well-groundedness) in the seventeen months that I have held myself your affianced Wife, I have never for a single instant doubted the wisdom of my choice. Nor has your attachment proved itself less steadfast than mine, tho' far more unaccountable. For you have loved me, not in blindness of my thousand faults, but in spite of them; for the sake of my one redeeming grace, the faith that is in me. Oh, without doubt, we shall be as happy as the day's long; happier in our little home at Comley Bank than kings and queens amid the gilding of Palaces. Are you believing? I could easily convince you with my eyes and my kisses; butink-words are so ineloquent! 17

On the eve of their marriage he writes to her:

Let us not despond in the life of honourable toil which lies before us. Do you not think, that when you on one side of our household shall have faithfully gone thro' your housewife duties, and I on the other shall have written my allotted pages, we shall meet over our frugal meal with far happier and prouder hearts than thousands that are not blessed with any duty, and whose agony is the bitterest of all, 'the agony of a too easy bed'? In labour lies health of body and of mind; in suffering and difficulty is the soil of all virtue and all wisdom. By and by, when we have put our house in order, and our hearts in order, and come to understand one another as indivisible portions of the same whole, I predict that we shall be the finest little pair imaginable! A truchearted, dainty lady-wife; a sick and sulky, but diligent, and not false-hearted or fundamentally unkind goodman: and these two fronting the hardships of life in faithful and eternal union, conquering the evils of their lot by wise effort and perseverance, and every conquest not for self but for another self far dearer! Let us but be true and good, and we have nothing earthly to dread. 18

It was a true prediction. She had a hot temper and a sharp tongue, 'full of comparisons and wounding flouts,' exercised, somewhat liberally, on all who came within the mercy of her wit—there are tokens enough of it in these 'Love Letters.' He was dyspeptic, irritable and absorbed in his literary work. I came upon a sentence the other day in a book of Lavedan's which is profoundly true: 'Les femmes de

love Letters, vol. ii. p. 164. love Letters, vol. ii. p. 164. love Letters, vol. ii. p. 164. love Letters, vol. ii. p. 164. love Letters, vol. ii. p. 164. love Letters, vol. ii. p. 299. love Letters, vol. ii. p. 299. love Letters, vol. ii. p. 299. love Letters, vol. ii. p. 200. Another begins vol. i. p. 370. love knew till now that you were such an adept in the "art of scolding."

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grands hommes ont un rôle supérieur et touchant : elles sont les païfs du génie.' Mrs. Carlyle undoubtedly realised this grands hommes ont un role bar grands hommes ont un role bar creusets naïfs du génie.' Mrs. Carlyle undoubtedly realised this, Yet twenty years of married life, she wrote to her bust yet creusets naïfs du genie.

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in 1846, after twenty years of married life, she wrote to her husband, now you the longer, the more, till now you the longer. in 1846, after twenty years of the longer, the more, till now you are the whole universe, God, everything, to me the whole universe to her husband, to her husband, are 'I have grown to love you the God, everything, to me; but in grown to be the whole universe, God, everything, to me; but in grown to be the whole this grown to be the whole the whole this grown to be the whole the wh proportion as I have got to have got to have got to have been losing faith in my importance to you.' How womanly that last been losing faith in my ill-founded! She was all the world to him been losing faith in my impossion been l touch! And how in-rounded.

The grim tragedy with her death the light of his life went out. The grim tragedy presented is unquestionably a legend; the product of him. her death the light of his and have been derived from the product of his own by Mr. Froude is unquestion. It could not have been derived from actual cynical imagination. It could not have been derived from actual cynical imagination. 20 intercourse with the Carlyles, 'because, until after Mrs. Carlyle's The way visitor to their house,' 22 The way. death, he was only a rare visitor to their house. The woman whose death, he was only a face haunted him in his dreams, as he alleges, pale, drawn, suffering face haunted him in his dreams, as he alleges, pale, drawn, suncting never had any existence out of them. Mrs. Carlyle lived for her never had any existence out of them. For his work. husband; he lived for her and his work. For his work first? It might seem so; but assuredly it was not so. Most assuredly neither of the two is open to the charge of selfishness. There are some words in one of Carlyle's love letters which may well be quoted here, as striking the keynote, so to speak, of their wedded life.

How wild are our wishes, how frantic our schemes of happiness, when we first enter on the world! Our hearts encircled in the delusions of vanity and self. love, we think the Universe was made for us alone; we glory in the strength of our gifts, in the pride of our place; and forget that the fairest ornament of our being is 'the quality of mercy,' the still, meek, humble Love that dwells in the inmost shrine of our nature, and cannot come to light till Selfishness in all its cunning forms is banished out of us, till affliction and neglect and disappointment have sternly taught us that self is a foundation of sand, that we, even the mighty we, are a poor and feeble and most unimportant fraction in the general sum of existence. Fools writhe and wriggle and rebel at this; their life is a little waspish battle against all mankind for refusing to take part with them; and their little dole of reputation and sensation, wasting more and more into a shred, is annihilated at the end of a few beggarly years, and they leave the Earth without

Mr. Froude's not too candid biographer owns: 'If he had leisure to think of what he was doing, Carlyle could be the most considerate of husbands. Irritable and selfish he might be, deliberately cruel he never was.' The Life of Fronde, by Herbert

There is a sentence in one of Carlyle's Letters which I must here quote: 'It is 10 girl-fondness which irradiates my path with false and transient splendour; it is the calm, deliberate love of a noble-minded woman who has given her generous self to me without reserve, the influence of whose fair spirit shines over my life with the warmth and light of a mild May sun.' Love Letters, vol. ii. p. 218.

These are the words of Mrs. Larkin, one of the best and most trustworthy witnesses conceivable, the widow of Mr. Henry Larkin, who for many years acted as Carlyle's honorary amanuensis and literary assistant. Mr. and Mrs. Larkin lived in the next house to the Carlyle affairs. the next house to the Carlyles, and were very fully informed of all their affairs. Mrs. Larkin adds that 'the relations between Carlyle and Mrs. Carlyle, despite occasional sharp words from the other. occasional sharp words from the one, and fits of gloom and irritability of the other, were always of the most were always of the most cordial and affectionate description. interesting paper from which I am quoting appeared in the Standard of September 3, 1903.

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ever feeling that the spirit of man is a child of Heaven, and has thoughts and aims in which self and its interests are lost from the eye, as the Eagle is swallowed up in the brightness of the sun to which it soars. Let us be wise, let us admit this painful but medicinal conviction, and meekly learn the lesson which it teaches us. O, Jane! Why should we murmur? Are we not rich in better things than silver or gold, or the vain babble of stupid men? We have found each other, and our hearts are one, our beings are one; for we love each other with a love not grounded on deception but on truth, and no force can part us, or rob us of that blessing! Heavenly affection! Heavenly trust of soul to soul! This can soften all afflictions, if it is genuine and lasting, as it is in noble hearts. The summer sunshine of joy is not its chosen place; it burns with its clearest light in the dark winter of sorrow, when heart is pressed to heart, and one has no hope but in the other, no care but for the other.<sup>23</sup>

These are words worth pondering. With them I close the volumes before me, and take leave of 'the noble letters of the dead,' which have made an end of an ignoble legend.

W. S. LILLY.

<sup>23</sup> Vol. ii. p. 158.

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## THE MISSING ESSENTIALS IN ECONOMIC

SECOND ARTICLE

I POINTED out in the preceding article—the first of the present series -that the essence of the modern capitalistic system of productionthe inner dynamic element which distinguishes it from the systems previous to it, and which Marx declares to consist in the simple fact of the labourers being divided, so far as ownership is concerned, from their implements—is really a division much more profound than this. It is a new division of effort, incomparably more efficient in augmenting men's powers of production than the mere division of labour, or individual task-work, to which Adam Smith credited nearly all industrial progress.

It is a division according to which the performance of individual physical task-work is assigned to one class of men, and the higher mental processes by which such task-work is directed to another class. This is the distinctive essence of the capitalistic system. This and this alone gives us any explanation of the fact that economic effort, since that system has been established, has become beyond all comparison more productive than it ever was before during the whole history of mankind.

The general fact and nature of this division of effort is what I have endeavoured in the preceding article to elucidate. I now propose to examine it more minutely, and shall first show how, as I have had occasion to observe already, this fact has so far escaped the analysis of the orthodox economists that they have not even provided themselves with terms in which it can be expressed intelligibly; and how Socialists, on the other hand, whenever it is put before them, endeavour to get rid of its unwelcome implications by obscuring it.

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The agencies involved in wealth-production are still described the orthodox in the orthodox economic text-books as being three in number land, capital and land, capital and land, capital and land to the land, capital, and labour. Such language, as applied to the

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productive system of to-day, is on a par with that of the products who divided the physical world into fire, water, earth, physicist. Each of these three economic terms is inadequate, and for misleading; but we will for the and are that reason misleading; but we will for the present confine ourselves to the term labour, as the only term in accepted use amongst economists for productive human effort, no matter of what kind. The use of this single term for efforts distinct and contrasted, and answering to classes of men whose respective rights or claims form the subject of most modern discussion, not only causes inconvenience in describing facts. It is the parent of endless ambiguities in economic thought itself, and has effectually prevented otherwise clear thinkers from perceiving systematically how basic facts are connected, which they do not fail at intervals to recognise in unrelated isolation.

Mill, for example, on ninety-nine occasions out of a hundred uses the term labour in its commonly accepted sense, as synonymous with the manual task-work of the ordinary wage-paid workmanas may be seen by the title which he gives to one of his chapters, namely, 'The Probable Futurity of the Labouring Classes.' On the other hand, from time to time he admits in some lucid parenthesis that amongst the chief causes by which labour is made more productive are the acquisition of knowledge by men who are 'decidedly exceptional,' and the application of this knowledge by the practical genius of others to the invention of industrial implements and the discovery of industrial processes. But for the efforts of such men he can find no place in his system except by the expedient of classifying them as kinds of labour. The result of this procedure is that it leaves him without any adequate means of explaining how labour of such exceptional kinds connects itself with, and affects the mass of ordinary manual effort for which, except on rare occasions, labour is his distinctive synonym. The best he can do, by way of getting over the difficulty, is to translate knowledge and genius into the 'labour' of industrial 'superintendence'; and, taking an employer who directs, and a multitude of labourers who are directed, he seeks to comprise under the category of wages of labour the rewards earned by the personal efforts of all. What the employes earn is, he says, the wages of labour. What the employer earns personally is the wages of the labour of superintendence. The important point to be noted here is as follows. Wage-paid labour, as was shown in the preceding article, is in its essence super-directed labour, or labour directed by the man who pays the wages; but the part of the employer, as Mill himself perceives, is not to be directed, but to direct; and thus by comprising the rewards received by both in the single conception of the wages of different kinds of labour he effectually obliterates the difference, the nature of which he had almost grasped.

The same want of any full fundamental analysis is shown by General Walker in a very remarkable volume, better known in

America, his own country, than in England. General Walker, in the whole heart of America, his own country, that is really the whole heart of the modern world is, he The augmented wealth of the modern world is, he says, matter. The augmented world is, he says, due, not to the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world world is, he says, due, not to the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world world world world is, he says, due, not to the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world world is, he says, due, not to the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world is, he says, due, not to the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world is, he says, due, not to the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world is, he says, due, not to the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world is, he says, due, not to the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world is, he says, due, and the labourer but to the 'entrepreneur,' by which world is a says, and who direct world is a says and wh due, not to the labourer but due, not the labourer but due, not to the labourer but due, not to the lab he means the men who contest the leaves standing by itself, and he But this part of his argument he leaves standing by itself, and he But this part of his argument the principles with which he starts.

Mill does with the old crude analysis. All weekt does nothing to correlate to the land capital, and labour; and he land he starts. He starts as Mili does the says, by land, capital, and labour; and he leaves labour duced, he says, by land, capital, and labour; and he leaves labour duced, he says, by rand, connect themselves as best they may. The and the entrepreneur to the signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he signalises is embedded in his system like a heart truth which he will be a heart trut which beats, but is unconnected with the veins that pervade the body.

And now, having seen how the great central feature of the modern and now, having both the division of effort into labour and capitalistic system—namely, the division of effort into labour and the higher tasks of directing it—is obscured by the orthodox economists and is incapable of being expressed in their language, let us see how the Socialistic economists, whenever it is forced upon their notice, do their best to obscure or get rid of it in their several different

Those of them who still adhere to the formal doctrines of Marx seek to perform this feat by distorting the difference, real so far as it goes, between the value of commodities in use and their prices or value in exchange. They are accustomed to explain their meaning by the following kind of illustration. They take two groups of men who, under certain given conditions, can produce in the same time commodities of two different kinds-boots, let us say, and travelling. trunks. Four men, who are all of them called Henry, can in a day manufacture one travelling-trunk. Four other men, who are all of them called Edward, can in the same time manufacture two pairs of boots. Under these conditions the exchange-value or the price of a travelling-trunk will be two pairs of boots; that of two pairs of boots will similarly be one travelling-trunk. Or, if we express these facts in terms of money, and suppose that a sovereign represents the exchange-value of four men's labour for a day, a travelling-trunk will be worth a sovereign, and a pair of boots ten shillings. Should, however—the disciple of Marx proceeds—conditions so change in respect of one of these industries that the Edwards can produce in a day four pairs of boots instead of two, the Edwards will be producing more values in use, but the exchange-value of the sum of them will be just relative be just what it was before. Four pairs of boots in exchange will be worth no more than two were. The price of each pair will have sunk from ten shillings to five; but the price of a travelling-trunk will still remain a pour description. remain a pound. The trunk will cost four pairs of boots instead of the previous two.

The moral drawn by the Marxians from this illustration is that, may be no matter how much the productivity of a day's labour may be

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augmented, the exchange-value of the products always remains unchanged, bearing an unalterable ratio to the labour-time required to produce them. Hence labour, they say, is obviously the producer, and the amount of labour is the measure of all exchange-values, or, in other words, of all wealth.

Now, to show the puerile fallacy latent in this argument it will be enough to carry the illustration but a single step farther, and suppose that the four Henrys find suddenly that their labour in trunk-making has doubled its productivity like that of the four boot-making Edwards. The four Edwards now with the products of one day's labour will be able to purchase not one travelling-trunk but two. The exchange-value of their one day's labour will have doubled itself, which has indeed been the case already with regard to the four Henrys. If, however, we desire to bring our illustration into closer accord with the realities of industrial progress, we must remember that boots and travelling-trunks, like all other commodities, cease, whether in use or exchange, to have any value whatever as soon as their number exceeds the number that can be employed or worn. If we suppose, then, that prior to the sudden increase in productivity undergone by the respective labours of the Henrys and the Edwards equally, the supply of boots and travelling-trunks was sufficient for all current needs-namely, one travelling-trunk and two pair of boots daily -- and that now two Henrys instead of four can produce the former, and that two Edwards instead of four can produce the latter, we must suppose further that the other men, instead of continuing their former and now useless avocations, will take to making commodities of other kinds. Henry III. will make four railway-rugs in a day; Henry IV. will make two pounds of tobacco; Edward III. will make four pairs of stockings; Edward IV. will make eight jam tarts. Under such conditions the exchange-value of the labour-products of the four Edwards, instead of being one travelling-trunk, will be one travelling-trunk as before, and a railwayrug for each of them, and eight ounces of tobacco as well; whilst the exchange-value of the products of the Henrys will have increased in the same way.

Now we have merely to express once more the situation in terms of money, and the nature of the change which has taken place will be plain. We started with supposing that the ratio of coin to commodities was such that day by day the products of four men had a value expressed by a sovereign. A sovereign in the hands of the Edwards would then purchase one travelling-trunk. A sovereign in the hands of the Henrys would then purchase two pairs of boots. It will now purchase in both cases many other things also. The Edwards can purchase with it railway-rugs and tobacco; the Henrys a pair of stockings and two jam tarts for each of them. This is what would happen on the assumption that, whilst the volume of

exchanged commodities increased, the amount of available sovereigns what it was before. In that case the nature of the change of exchanged commodities increased, a case the nature of the change remained what it was before. In that case the nature of the change itself in the fact that a sovereign had acquired remained what it was before.

remained what it was before.

would express itself in the fact that a sovereign had acquired any acquired would express itself in the term where the suppose the increased purchasing power, our illustration to actual fact yet farther, and suppose that the our illustration to actual the suppose that the sovereigns have increased correspondingly with the increase of the sound the nature of the sound t sovereigns have increased by them, and the nature of the change exchangeable goods represented by them, and the nature of the change exchangeable goods represented in question is stripped of its last disguise. Marxians are constantly in question is stripped of its last disguise. Marxians are constantly in question is surpped of asserting that, as human productivity is increased, individual comasserting that, as numer properties asserting that, as numer properties asserting that, as numer properties as not either cost or bring more which merely means that they do not either cost or bring more sovereigns or buys them. means that they do not sells or buys them. Who ever who sells or buys them. Who ever said they did? As everyone knows the result is the exact contrary; but so long as the same ratio between money and commodities is maintained, there are constantly coming into existence more sovereigns with which commodities at the same price can be bought, and more sovereigns also to be got by selling the products of the same amount of time-measured human effort. Thus by bringing the reasoning of the Marxians to its completion, we arrive at the very conclusion which they set out to refute, or, in other words, to the conclusion of common-sense, that whatever increases the productivity of ordinary labour increases the sum total of use-values and exchange-values also-that is to say, the sum total of wealth.

The tortuous ineptitudes, however, of the argument that seeks to obscure this fact would, even from the point of view of the Marxians, be for their own purposes useless if it stood alone. It is urged by them as a cover for or a step to the introduction of another. Their practical object is to show not that wealth is not increased by enhancing the productivity of labour, but that the enhancement of the productivity of labour is brought about by labour itself. Now it so happens that, while these pages were being prepared for the press, Mr. Hyndman, the most prominent exponent of the doctrines of Marx in England, has, in a letter to a well-known London paper, set them forth afresh with regard to this particular question. Mr. Hyndman so far condescends to the requirements of common reason as to admit that a commodity of a given kind and quality does not exchange invariably in proportion to the amount of labour which happens to be embodied in this or that individual specimen, but only according to the amount which is normally required to produce it if we consider the existing condition of the industrial arts as a whole. By labour, as thus qualified, he means, he takes care to tell us, 'simple hand labour. hand-labour working with perfected machinery.' Aided by such machinery, simple hand-labour may, he distinctly says, become so productive that only one hour of it is embodied, for example, in a given kind of box, whilst any individual labourer, without such machinery as a moduling machinery as a workfellow, will occupy twenty hours in producing

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a similar article; yet the exchange-value of this, he goes on to acknowledge, will not be greater than that of the box which was produced
in one hour. Hence any 'simple hand-labourer,' if he works with
'perfected machinery,' will, if he gets for himself the entire price of
his products, be twenty times as rich as any hand-labourer not more
simple, who for some reason or other has not such machinery to assist
him. Here, then, with Mr. Hyndman himself as our guide, we are
brought at last to the real heart of the problem. The increased wealth
is due to the efficiency of the improved machinery. To what causes
are we to ascribe the existence of the machinery itself?

Is a 'perfected machine' which, to use Mr. Hyndman's supposition, multiplies twenty-fold the efficiency of simple hand-labour as such, due itself to the simple hand-labour which uses it? The moment this question is put we see the deficiency which was signalised in the preceding article as underlying the whole Marxian argument. Mr. Hyndman, indeed, in his letter, is himself unable to pretend that the labourer's simple effort in using a machine improves it: and even he, since the perfected machine cannot be due to nothing, is obliged to take some notice of the problem which its existence raises. In a way, however, which is amusingly characteristic of his school, he slurs it over in a brief and shamefaced parenthesis. Obviously machines are due, he says, to scientific discovery and invention; but the 'progress of invention and discovery being obviously a social process,' the result is something or other which he hurries on to describe, hoping that this crucial postulate will be accepted without examination.

Now, even if we allow this assertion about a social process to pass, Mr. Hyndman has here given the whole Marxian position away. Wealth is no longer asserted by him to be produced by simple hand-labour only (together, if it is worth while to add this, with raw gifts of nature). He is admitting that it is due also to some generalised social process which is certainly other than simple hand-labour as such. But this being granted, the question which requires to be examined is—In what precise sense can this process be described as 'social'?

Here Mr. Hyndman, as representing the school of Marx, is brought into line with Socialists of other kinds, whose insight into the process of wealth-production is otherwise much clearer than his own. Their ultimate object and the object of Mr. Hyndman are the same. They all aim alike at expunging, or at all events minimising, the importance of the part in production played by the exceptionally gifted few; and Mr. Hyndman, like his rivals, seeks to perform this task by merging all men, however different their talents, in an undifferentiated mass collectively called society; the argument being that, however much one man does, he would be quite unable to do it apart from the conditions with which the mass of other men surround him, and

that therefore, whatever he seems to do individually, the mass in

lity does it and not ne.

Passing, then, from the paradoxes which are peculiar to the Passing, then, from the proposition with regard to the Marxian school, let us take this proposition with regard to society

As applied to certain facts we may admit that it is wholly true. As applied to certain most in what sense, it is applicable to The only question is whether, or in what sense, it is applicable to The only question is was applicable to the complicated process of wealth-production in the modern world, the complicated process of a rough footpath across a field the the complicated process of a rough footpath across a field, this generally If we take the case of a result indefinite number of persons have by results from the lace that are line in making their journey from one natural instinct taken the same line in making their journey from one point to another, and have worn away the grass by the reiterated pressure of their feet. Such a path is undoubtedly a social product, No one man, whatever his talents, does more towards making it than No one man, whatever have been as much as the tread of the sage. And when simple hand-labour directed by the labourers themselves, and assisted only by implements which such labourers themselves have made, is the sole productive agency, then all wealth, as was said in the preceding article, may be said correctly to be the product of labour as a whole, or of the labourers regarded as a society; for the labouring units will approximately be equal and interchangeable.

We may, indeed, carry our admissions further. Even when we come to a condition of things like the present, under which the productivity of the few who direct labour is indefinitely greater, if we take men as individuals, than the productivity of any one of the individual labourers directed, there is still a certain sense in which the efforts and products of the whole may be grouped together under the common name of social. But this sense will now be circumscribed by limits beyond which such a grouping becomes nonsensical.

If one country, in view of a possible war, desires to estimate the material wealth of another, it regards that country as a whole, or collectively as a single society; and its wealth as the wealth which its inhabitants, taken as a society, can produce. England would have no concern, in view of a war with China, in knowing whether some Chinamen contributed more than others to producing the cannon which Englishmen might have to face, for the production of these cannon would not be the business of Englishmen. But the moment they turned their attention from the Chinese to themselves, and considered the production of cannon for their own use, then the question of the different kinds of effort needed for the production of cannon of the most formidable kind, and of the men, many or few, by whom each kind of effort could most efficiently be made, would become the practical question by which all others would be overshadowed by overshadowed. The social aspect of cannon-making would fade

The complete irrelevance, as applied to practical life, of the contention that entions and discoveries are a specific practical life, of the contention that inventions and discoveries are social, and not individual products, is amusingly shown

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away like a dream, and the process would reveal itself as depending on interacting groups or individuals, the difference between whose several efficiencies would be far more important than the likeness. To secure the requisite labourers is a simple problem enough. But labour equally trained, and precisely the same in quality, will produce indifferently the worst cannon and the best, according as it is directed by the semi-competence of a smatterer or the genius of an Armstrong or a Whitworth. How are men of such rare genius to be found? The practical problem lies there; and to say that the process of producing the best cannon is in reality not individual but social, is utterly to obscure the one cardinal factor by which the production of the best cannon is differentiated from the production of the worst; for if the processes are social at all, the one is no less social than the other.

Socialists, however, if driven from the above position, have yet another argument in which they will seek refuge. Let it, they say, be granted that the great man—the Armstrong or the Whitworth is important; but it still remains true that, be he never so great, he could not do what he does in the making of cannon or otherwise if he were not surrounded by men, by implements, by means of knowledge, which owe their development to other brains and to other efforts than his own. This is perfectly true if we take it as a piece of purely speculative philosophy; but, as I showed at length in Book I. of my work, Aristocracy and Evolution, it has, as a practical proposition, no meaning whatever. It simply means that all men, great or small, who are living at the same time and in the same country, have the same general environment, and that without an environment of some kind nobody could do anything. Turner could not have painted his picture Rain, Steam, and Speed had there been no trains for him to paint; but the environment of all Turner's contemporaries was in this respect the same as Turner's. They all saw the same trains that he saw; but only a man possessed of his

by the very persons who urge it. Thus Mr. Hyndman himself is constantly seeking to add to the prestige of his own views by declaring them to be those of 'that great thinker,' Karl Marx—that man who has been revealed by his marvellous treatise on Capital as probably the 'greatest genius of the nineteenth century.' But if industrial inventions and discoveries are 'obviously social products,' and not the work of individuals, the same thing is true of books, and the theoretical discoveries contained in them; in which case Das Kapital was really not the work of Marx at all, but of society at large, and to talk of the individual greatness or genius of Marx is nonsense. Mr. Hyndman can hardly take up his pen without throwing his whole theory of 'social products' to the winds. That 'great man,' Karl Marx, did precisely the same thing. In a letter, which was published in a Socialist newspaper, Marx somewhat ungratefully attacked Mr. Hyndman, his disciple, as a writer 'who has, in a book called England for All, stolen his ideas without any acknowledgment.' If the ideas of Marx were nothing but social products, how could it have been possible for Mr. Hyndman to steal them? They were common property, and belonged to all men equally.

exceptional genius could translate this common spectacle into a picture our one picture exceptional genius could transcribe a picture our one practical of an unrivalled kind. If we want great pictures our one practical of an unrivalled kind. If we want great pictures our one practical of an unrivalled kind. of an unrivalled kind. If the state of the state task is to secure the exceptional property hard to discover, not to contemplate a common environment from which we cover, not to escape if we tried. If we want to ascertain we cover, not to contemplate a could none of us escape if we tried. If we want to ascertain why could none of us escape it is unhealthy, we do not content ourselves milk from a certain source is unhealthy, we do not content ourselves milk from a certain source is unhealthy, we do not content ourselves milk from a certain source of the fluid collectively. We analyse its with taking the attributes one from the other, till at last we identify elements, and separate one from the other, till at last we identify elements, and separate one qualities are due. If poisonous qualities other than those religional the germs to which its poisonous qualities other than those religional through the germs of the second many qualities other than those religional through the second many qualities of the second many qualities of the second many qualities of the second many qualities are due. the germs to which its poison qualities other than those which these milk did not possess many qualities other than those which these milk did not possess hand a would poison nobody, because nobody germs imparted to it, it but what doctor or analyst would be able to drink it; but what doctor or analyst would think would be able to drink by would think of telling a patient that bad milk had poisoned him because it was white and fluid? All milk is white and fluid; but what we require to know is not what elements are common to good milk and bad, but what are the peculiar elements, no matter how minute, the presence of which differentiates bad milk from good.

And the same is the case with economic production. Two equal groups of equally skilled labourers are producing cannon under the direction of two different employers; but one employer has been able to absorb and assimilate more scientific facts already ascertained than the other, and to recombine them in his brain to better practical purpose. The cannon produced by one group burst after the second firing; the cannon produced by the second shoot straight and endure. The work of both groups is in one sense equally social. It is indeed identical except for the single fact that the directing unit in one case

differs from and excels the directing unit in the other.

If, then, economics does not confine itself to explaining how a mass of equal labourers, so much land being given them, can produce such a minimum of wealth as was produced by them in former ages, but also aims at explaining how, under the direction of exceptional minds, this output of wealth is augmented, the explanation is to be found only by isolating these units from the multitude, just as, when we are dealing with unhealthy milk, our one object is to isolate the malignant microbe, instead of wasting our time on platitudes about

milk in general.

But the fatuities of socialistic logic are not exhausted even yet. Even if all this be granted, many of them are constantly urging that, however necessary to the result the exceptional man may be, the labour of the 'simple hand-labourer' is equally necessary also; and that, where all men are equally necessary—the stupidest as well as the wisest—the work contributed by each is in a practical sense equal. Here again we have an argument that is true within certain limits. If the result of such limits. If the result for which all are working happens to be of such a kind that it is all a kind that it is either accomplished completely or not accomplished at all, and if it converted at all, and if it cannot be accomplished at all unless everybody, strong

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or weak, contributes to its accomplishment such strength as he posor wearen the argument is true. Let us suppose, for example, that sesses, for a hundred people is packed in a single hamper which has to be raised from some depth by means of a rope or pulley, and that unless every one of these people, dwarfs and giants included, pulled at the rope together, it is quite impossible to raise the case at all. Then the smallest dwarf will be doing as much as the largest giant, for without his mite of energy the efforts of all the rest would be useless. But the farther a society advances in wealth and civilisation, the more widely does the condition of things differ from that which is symbolised by such a case as this. The question ceases to be one of getting a fixed minimum or nothing. It becomes one of getting indefinitely more or less. It is no longer a question of raising a quarter of a ton of bare necessaries, or of getting no necessaries at all. It is a question of raising in addition to this some indefinite weight of superfluities. These, to continue our illustration, cannot be raised unless to our original hundred persons others be added who, whatever their strength may be, will, in exact proportion to it, increase the weight of goods which they all of them can raise between them. But the position of the new comers will in one respect be radically different from that of the original hundred. If a dwarf adds himself to the group, the added result of the haul will be, let us say, two bottles of champagne. If a giant adds himself to the group, the additional result will be twenty-four bottles. If an average man adds himself, the additional result will be six. That is to say, the moment production reaches a point at which the products begin to vary above the absolute minimum in the absence of which the producers could not exist, and the question arises of whether more shall be produced or less, the amount contributed towards the total not only becomes ascertainable, as before no doubt it was not, but it also becomes the main practical question with which the practical economist, as regards the total, must concern himself. And the manner in which we must estimate the amount due to each individual is obvious. It is the amount by which the total would shrink were such and such an individual eliminated. Were a dwarf eliminated, we should lose two bottles of wine; were an ordinary man eliminated, we should lose six; were a giant eliminated, we should lose a couple of dozen.

A dramatic illustration of the truth of this reasoning is afforded by the history of the Jesuit Fathers in South America. They taught the natives a number of civilised arts—amongst them that of watchmaking. So long as the labour of the natives was directed by these men superior to themselves, their simple hand-labour was productive as it is in Europe. When the Jesuit Fathers were compelled to leave the country, the whole efficiency which directive talents had com-

municated to the labour of the natives disappeared.

But, since many Socialists have by this time come to realise the

general validity of the position here elucidated, which only affects in general validity of the position general validity of the position is produced, and base their socialistic itself the question of how wealth is produced, and base their socialistic itself the principles involved in its distribution, we will itself the question of now weards of its distribution, we will take conclusions on the principles involved in its distribution, we will take conclusions on the principles at the conclusions on the principles at the conclusions of the exceptionally able man—of the man—of th up again the original threat or up again the original threat of the man of the man who, industrial functions of the exceptionally able man of the man who, as an isolated individual, directs a multitude of others, and who, as an isolated marvitude, stands contrasted, both in the nature of his powers and in his use of stands contrasted, both in the nature of his powers and in his use of stands contrasted, both in the stands contrasted, both in the stands contrasted, both in the stands of them, to that multitude of others whose multifarious labours he them, to that multitude of which we have just been dwell; them, to that multitude them, to that multitude directs. The fallacies on which we have just been dwelling will be directs. The fallacies on which we have just been dwelling will be constantly exposed afresh as we pursue our examination further.

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General definitions or principles, however true in the abstract, are, when we come to apply them to complex practical matters, valuable only in accordance with the manner in which they are applied. It is specially requisite to bear this in mind with reference to that distinguishing fact or principle which is here being elucidated as the essence of the existing economic system—that is to say, the division of productive effort into the 'simple hand-labour' which is allocated to the average many, and the higher tasks of directing it which are allocated to the exceptional few. Accordingly, when the fact and the supreme importance of this division are emphasised, it must be understood that mankind are not being thereby classified into a herd of fools on the one hand, and a little knot of men gigantic in their genius on the other. Fools exist, men of genius exist also: and the latter are comparatively rare, whilst the former are comparatively common; but between these two extremes we find capacities of countless intermediate grades. The mere hand-labour of some labourers, directed entirely by themselves, involves faculties of a higher kind than do many forms of direction. Indeed, in the earlier stages of industry-for the division between labour and direction even there existed in its rudiments—the task of direction, in respect of the faculties required by it, was often actually inferior to labour of the commonest kind. The man, for example, who, when some winged Assyrian bull was being dragged into its place, sat between the monster's paws, and synchronised by clapping his hands the successive pulls or pushes of a hundred brawny slaves, may well have been unable himself to push or pull as the slaves did, whilst any one of the slaves could have clapped hands as efficiently as he. When such conditions exist—that is to say, when the faculties involved in the such conditions exist—that is to say, when the faculties involved in the direction of labour do not differ in quality from those possessed by the labourers, and when consequently the functions of labour and directions of effort, labour and direction are interchangeable—there is a division of effort, but there is no direction are interchangeable—there is a division of effort, but there is no division of classes. The division of classes develops itself by a notice of classes. itself by a natural process in proportion as the business of direction

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grows gradually more complex, and demands gifts and energies which are possessed by a few men only. It is in proportion as this happens that the productivity of industry increases relatively to the number of human units engaged in it. Development on these lines is mainly a matter of degree, just as the changes are from the darkness of night to daylight; but the extremes—namely, the condition of things in which the labour of the many is in the main directed by the many themselves, and the condition of things in which it is directed by the talents of an exceptional few—are none the less in sharp practical contrast. The nature of this contrast as developed under the existing system is vividly illustrated by the following well-known The trade unions, which may be taken as representing the higher grades of modern labour, have adopted the policy of forbidding the more active and dexterous of their members to do more in a given time than can be done by their less efficient 'mates.' An average of efficiency is established, which no one is suffered to exceed. policy may be in itself wasteful, but it has not prevented the increase of the productivity of industry as a whole. If, however, we should attempt to apply it to the efforts by which hand-labour is directed as well as to hand-labour itself-to the efforts, for example, of inventors and men of applied science--industrial progress it is obvious would at once come to a standstill. What future progress could the industrial world make if the greatest inventors were bound to suppress every invention which went beyond what could be produced by the stupidest?

Such being the case, then, it is impossible for economic science to deal intelligibly with the industrial system of to-day unless it provides itself with a recognised technical name for the kind of faculty involved in the effort of direction, which name shall be no less distinct and comprehensive than that of labour as used by economists and politicians in its commonly accepted sense, to designate the taskwork of an individual in so far as it is directed by himself. I have myself for this purpose used, and advocated the use of, the word 'ability,' or, for clearness' sake, the phrase 'directive ability,' for the various faculties and efforts involved in super-direction; and though this word or phrase is not yet consecrated by use so generally as is the word labour, it is acquiring an increasing vogue even amongst Socialists of the more thoughtful kind. When once its technical, as distinct from its ordinary import has been generally understood and recognised, it will serve our purpose as well as, perhaps better than, any other. But that its technical meaning, which is at once more limited and more extensive than its ordinary meaning, should be understood thoroughly, so that in economic discussion there should be no playing fast and loose with it (as there notably was in Ruskin's case with the word 'value'), is a matter of absolute necessity. It is a matter not merely of words, but of the things that words mean.

Let us consider, then, what the efforts, faculties, and forces designated

by the word 'ability' in its technique with an its word word 'ability' in its technique with an its word word 'ability' in its technique with an its word 'ability' in its word 'ability what they are by beginning with an its word 'ability what and 'ability what its word 'ability what its word 'ability what and 'ability what its word 'ability what its word 'ability what are word 'ability what its word 'ability what 'ability w objection which may be argued. Whilst ability, it may be said, grounds of mere verbal propriety. Whilst ability, it may be said, grounds of mere verbal property.

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grounds of mere verbal property. is a sufficiently suitable work is a sufficiently suitable work in a sufficiently suitable work is a sufficiently suitable work in a sufficiently suitable work is a sufficiently suitable work in a sufficient suitable w which distinguish mere inch specifically suitable for designating a number of higher faculties, such as those involved in the constructive imagination of the for designating a number of the constructive imagination of the great in scientific research or in the constructive imagination of the great in scientific research of in the great inventor. The results achieved by men possessing such faculties inventor. The results and the real progressive element whence all as these form, it may be said, the real progressive element whence all as these form, it may be total, those faculties applied immediately to the direction of labour derive those faculties applied the these men, it may be said—indeed it their whole efficiency; and these men, it may be said—indeed it constantly is said—occupy a plane morally and intellectually different from that occupied by those who make commercial use of their achievements, and who manage to appropriate most, if not all, of the material reward. This argument is used with regard to great inventors especially, Socialists frequently asserting that the inventor who, apart from the labourers, is in the modern world the one great productive agent, is typically a person who is left to die in poverty, and who further cares nothing for wealth, but invents for the mere pleasure of inventing.

Now I will not dwell on the retort which this last assertion provokes (for a discussion of the issue raised by it will find its proper place elsewhere), that if the typical inventor cares nothing for wealth he does not deserve much commiseration if he fails to get it. We will confine ourselves to the general idea which is at the back of the above argument. It is perfectly true that many of the exceptional efforts and faculties which are involved in modern wealth-production are remote, in point of character and motive, from those of the ordinary business man. Certain classes of men make scientific discoveries, not with a view to receiving pecuniary rewards proportionate to the commercial results which may some day arise from their application, but simply and solely because of their interest in the pursuit of truth; and no doubt there are men also of a closely similar temperament who find a delight in thinking out combinations of natural materials and forces—that is to say, in invention—for the simple reason that the process itself fascinates them.

But a great point to be borne in mind is this—that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, or the cognate process of invention as a fascinating speculative exercise, has in itself no effect whatever An invention, on the practical process of wealth-production. for example, so long as it only exists as an idea, or even as an idea illustrated by diagrams or a working model, is absolutely useless to the human race at large. Before it can affect wealth-production in the minutest of the minutest of appreciable degrees, it must be brought down from

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that superior region in which the purely speculative faculties achieve that sublime reward in the pleasure of their own self-exercise, and must pass under the dominion of faculties which, in themselves and in the motives which actuate them, we may say, if we like to do so, are of a relatively sordid kind. The idea of the inventor must be translated from a mere idea, from a sketch, or a mechanical toy, into a full-size structure, with regard to which countless questions will arise lying wholly outside the purview of the inventor as a mere thinker or theorist. The materials requisite for producing it in a working form, the precise shape of each one of its parts, the ease or difficulty with which this or that vital part can be so manufactured that it will not get out of order, the extent to which its various parts can be standardised, and the nature and cost of the machinery required for this purpose—all these are questions which must meet with their precise answer before the results of mere speculative invention can be more than a scholastic dream.

In what form, then, must the answer to these questions embody itself? It can embody itself in one form only, and this is the form of directions, given either by word of mouth, by writing, by full-size drawings, patterns, or templets, to a multitude of hand-labourers, each of whom has the movements which his hands and muscles must execute so minutely assigned to him that, in many cases, if they vary by so much as a hundredth of an inch from the course marked out for them, the result of such an error may render his task-work useless.

I have often observed elsewhere, and I may with advantage here observe again, that the most luminous example of the fact just set forth is afforded us by the production of an edition of a printed book. In this case the most important labour involved is that of the compositors, which may be taken as representing the whole of it. The book may be a sublime poem, or an epoch-making scientific treatise; and the genius of the writer, as he composed it, may have been soaring amongst the clouds and stars; but the book has no value, either morally or commercially, for the world until the genius of the writer comes down from its altitudes, and condescends to direct, as it does through the writer's manuscript, the minutest movements of the hands of a dozen or more skilled labourers in the task of arranging in so many parallel lines innumerable little pieces of variously shaped metal, called types. The highest efforts of scientific discovery and invention, the profoundest insight and foresight as to the needs and possibilities of the future, are absolutely useless, so far as the world in general is concerned, until they resolve themselves into this—a mass of minute directions issued to an indefinite number of hand workers, who are set to fashion or otherwise move with their hands such and such material substances in such and such prescribed ways. Nor does this process of direction end with the mere partition amongst the labourers of the specified tasks to which each has to apply himself.

A large part of it, and in certain cases the main part, consists in the serious and correlating the actions of these numerous unit A large part of it, and in occurring the actions of these numerous units that supervising and correlating the actions of these numerous units that supervising and correlating the minimised, and when occurring may be errors on their part may be minimised, and when occurring may be wasted by interest. errors on their part may be may be wasted by intervals at once corrected, and that no energy may be wasted by intervals at once corrected, and that he want of correspondence by intervals of forced idleness due to the want of correspondence in the various

It will thus be seen, when we consider the matter closely, that in It will thus be seen, interest the genius displayed in the act of imaginative invention the first place the genius displayed in the act of imaginative invention the first place the gentus day in itself useless, of the faculties invention is merely a part, and a part in itself useless, of the faculties involved is merely a part, and a part in itself useless, of the faculties involved is merely a part, and a part, and that if inventors fail to secure in the super-direction of labour; and that if inventors fail to secure in the super-direction of the super-direction a reward equal to that the inventors are not practical men, and the reason generally is taken by themselves, are uttaken and that their inventions, taken by themselves, are utterly immature and useless, like the poems conceived by a poet who is unable to write them. It will be seen in the second place that the inventor, unless he happens to be a practical man himself—as some inventors are, and a great many are not—is bound to ally himself with some partner or partners, whose natures, if less lofty, are more virile and strenuous than his own. It will further be seen that even these men of practical genius would be unequal, if they stood alone, to the business of directing labour on any important scale. They must secure a hierarchy of subordinates; and the faculty which enables some men to select the subordinates most fitted for the posts severally assigned to them is one of the most important of the many associated faculties which go to make up the great director of labour.

The degrees of importance attributable to the various faculties thus comprehended in the category of directive ability will be found to vary in different enterprises and industries. A complete science of economics will deal with this question in detail. Here it can only be

illustrated by a few simple examples.

Let us first take the case of a private household or an hotel. As every housekeeper knows, and as every manager of an hotel knows, the cost of the food consumed in either kind of establishment, apart from its amount and quality, varies very greatly according to the manner in which the business of supplying it is managed. In an hotel, meals identical in price and character, can, under one manager, be supplied to visitors at a profit, whereas under another they will involve systematic loss. Here we have a kind of ability whose action begins and ends with a direction of labourers which must be renewed from day to day. When the director ceases to direct, the specific results of his direction come to an end also. They are not embodied in any orthogonal to the state of the sta in any external form which will enable his talents to remain operative when he has himself ceased to exert them.

Let us next take the case of some structure such as the Forth Bridge. For the successful construction of such a bridge three kinds of ability are reasonable to the successful construction of such a bridge three kinds of ability are reasonable to the successful construction of such a bridge three kinds of ability are reasonable to the successful construction of such a bridge three kinds of ability are reasonable to the successful construction of such as the successfu of ability are necessary. First, we have the inventive effort involved

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in the conception of the cantilever—the root idea by which the whole in the total in the whole undertaking is dominated. Then we have the effort involved in that combination of various knowledge by means of which this idea is translated into terms of iron and steel, and pluralised into thousands of separate manual tasks. Lastly, we have the effort of personal supervision, just as we have in the case of the hotel manager, by means of which, when the task of every labourer has been specified, the punctual and accurate performance of each task shall be secured. But in a case such as this we have what in the case of the hotel manager we have not. We have a permanent something which survives the cessation of that active ability to which its existence is due, and which indeed only begins to be useful when the active exertion of that ability has ceased.

I have chosen as an illustration the case of a great bridge, rather than that of some manufacturing mechanism, because it brings into clearer light a fact which the logic of Socialism always tends to ignore. Persons like Mr. Hyndman, when they speak of 'the perfected machine,' and describe it as a 'social product' which is given automatically to the labourer, imagine that when it has once been made it will multiply itself according to circumstances in the same automatic way. The want of practical knowledge involved in such an idea could be easily shown by a not very elaborate analysis, but in the case of great bridges it can be shown without any analysis at all. The truth is revealed to us in the form of acted drama.

The first great railway bridge which was thrown over the Tay was, it will be remembered, blown down by a storm, and a train with all its passengers was lost in the waves below. What was the cause of this catastrophe? With whom did the fault lie? It did not lie with the labourers. These, we may safely assume, were not less skilled or more stupid than those employed in the construction of the Tay Bridge that now stands. The fault lay, as was shown with the utmost detail, first with the men who were responsible for the general design of the structure; and secondly with those who were responsible for the completeness of the separate parts. Inventive ability was at fault, and managing ability was at fault-and for this reason the labour of thousands of labourers was wasted. Quite recently another enormous bridge, precisely similar to the Forth Bridge in general design and principle, was begun in America, and while it was in course of construction a great part of it tumbled down. Why did it tumble Not because the labourers performed their separate tasks unskilfully. It tumbled down, not owing to any defect in their labour, but owing to some defect in the ability of those by whom their labour was directed.

How, then, can those faculties of design, of constructive knowledge and invention, on which even Mr. Hyndman perceives that the efficiency of 'simple hand-labour' depends, be described in any

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practical sense as generalised social products, when they failed to practical sense as generalised by practical sense as generalised to practical sense as generalised than in a disastrous manner on one of the exert themselves otherwise than in a disastrous manner on one of the exert themselves otherwise that exert themselves otherwise that the series exert themselves of the series exert themselves of the series exert themselves of the series exert the s greatest of recent occasions where the greatest of recent occasions where greatest occasions where greatest of the greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions where greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions and the greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions and the greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions and the greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions and the greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions and the greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions and the greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions and the greatest occasions where greatest occasions were greatest occasions and the greatest occasions where greatest occa a triumph? How can powers in the social if, after they have given us the monumental permanence of the Forth Bridge they have given us the monant prevent the counterpart of that bridge in Great Britain, they cannot prevent the counterpart of that bridge in Great Britain, collapsing before it was finished? Nothing in Great Britain, they cannot prove it was finished? Nothing could in America from collapsing before it was finished? Nothing could be a learly than this particular tragedy of engineering could in America from conapsing show more clearly than this particular tragedy of engineering that the show more clearly than that property that the powers which make up ability, however to the speculative philosopher powers which make up ability, however to the speculative philosopher powers which make up assistance, they may seem to be social in their origin, have for practical purposes they may seem to be social in so far as they are embals purposes they may seem to be social purposes no existence whatever except in so far as they are embodied in the no existence whatever chore isolated brains of individuals: and in proportion as the operations of isolated brains of individuals: and in proportion of these is its constant of the constant isolated brains of individuals are submitted to the direction of those individuals whose powers of will and intellect are most fitted to direct them, the whose powers of the wealth of the community, in relation to its numbers, increases, and preserved from maintained and preserved from having increased is maintained, and preserved from immediate shrinkage.

The next article will deal with the question of value, the respective relations of labour and ability to which will be considered in the

light of the facts dealt with in the preceding pages.

W. H. MALLOCK.

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## IRELAND AND THE BUDGET

MR. LLOYD GEORGE has never read the Act of Union. He made this bewildering admission in a recent debate in the House of Commons, but, truth to tell, nobody seemed much bewildered. The Chancellor of the Exchequer does not hold an exclusive patent of ignorance on the subject. Probably not more than ten English members of the present Union Parliament have ever read two lines of the solemn treaty under which Mr. Pitt pledged them to govern Ireland. That is a fact of some gravity. It is one of those undeniable, incredible facts which intimate a deeper explanation of political history and political hatreds than any front-bench pronunciamiento. There is indeed comfort in it for a Nationalist, for it is one more witness to the bloodless and phantasmal character of the Act of Union. As a Home Ruler I feel the same lift of spirit in considering it as when I read in the sober and undemonstrative pages of Whitaker's Almanack for 1909: 'The government (of Ireland) is semi-independent.' On the other hand, an admission of this kind will perhaps enable English people to understand the white indignation and hot protest which fiscal proposals invariably evoke from Ireland. Our complaint is that Ireland has never had a Union Budget. Lord Castlereagh's Act is to us detestable on two grounds: first because it was ever carried, and secondly because it has never been carried out. The Act of Union is in the nature of a fundamental law; and we maintain that if there were in the United Kingdom as there is in the United States a Supreme Court to vindicate the constitution against the legislature we could have had every Finance Bill, certainly since 1853, disallowed, so far as Ireland was concerned, on the ground that it violated the Treaty of Union. Such a tribunal would have quashed Mr. Gladstone's extension of the income tax to Ireland in 1853 as the Washington tribunal quashed Mr. Cleveland's Federal income tax in 1894. But we have enjoyed no such protection. We have been left to the hand-to-mouth methods of a Parliament which has never read the Act of Union; and treaty obligations have been steadily sacrificed to administrative convenience. It is an old story, and if I venture to recall it once more it is because of the extraordinary condition of affairs that must be presented by the Irish balance-sheet for 1909-10. That year will

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be for our national finance, far more than for that of Great Britain, be for our national mance, the area of Great Britain, a year of crisis, surpassing in significance any that has slipped over us since 1800.

since 1800.

Nationalist Ireland in this matter takes its stand, as has been said.

Nationalist Ireland in this matter takes its stand, as has been said. Nationalist Ireland in the Act of Union; it is necessary, therefore to recall the principles on the Act of 1800 effects of that measure. The Act of 1800 effects of the Act of 1800 eff on the Act of Union, it is measure. The Act of 1800 effected only and practical effect of that measure. Britain and Ireland Ir and practical effect of that in the property of the property o a partial and gradual Union of legislatures in 1800, there has partial, for while there was partial, for while there has never been a Union of laws, of administration, of judiciaries, or of never been a Union of It was gradual, for Union of Trace. military establishments. It was gradual, for Union of Treasuries did not come till 1817, Union of Customs till 1823, and Union of tares until 1853. As for any deeper and more grounded union of hearts or until 1853. Treatment of hearts or treatment or treatment of hearts or treatment or treatment or treatment or treatment of hearts or treatment or treatmen of interests, that has never come. Ireland still is, as a French journalist once said in what he took to be the native manner, 'a toothache at the heart of the Empire.' The Empire still is a wet blanket swathed round our national life. But for the moment we are concerned only with budgets and finance, and upon this point the provisions of the Act of 1800 can be expressed in a clear and familiar formula. The rule it established between the coalescing units is that which a certain school of Socialism seeks to establish between individuals: From each country according to its resources, to each according to its needs. Ireland was to pay what she could, and to get what she needed. There was to be no separatism in disbursement, no division such as that now adopted in the annual White Papers into 'Irish Expenditure' and 'Imperial Contribution.' On the other hand, there was to be separatism in taxation. Fusion of Exchequers was explicitly postponed until certain conditions should be realised. It could not even be attempted in 1800 because of the balance in favour of Ireland. Our annual taxation and National Debt per capita in that year were only 12s. 1d. and 5l. 14s. respectively as against 3l. 0s. 2d. and 42l. 10s. in Great Britain. Fiscal uniformity, if ever effected, was to be subject to such 'particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland '1 as circumstances should demand. Lord Castlereagh promised in terms that taxation would be founded on the principle of equality of sacrifice, and on the ascertained facts of respective taxable capacity. 'Ireland, he declared, 'has the utmost possible security that she cannot be taxed beyond the measure of her comparative ability, and that the ratio of her contributions must ever correspond with her relative wealth and prosperity.'

The essential element of the whole contract was that Ireland was o retain a corporate and separate existence for purposes of taxation. She was to continue to be, in the phrase of the Financial Relations Commission, 'a separate fiscal entity.' There was to be an Irib

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scotland was also mentioned, but Scotland must speak for herself. She has recomplained while an interest of the second maintained never complained; while, on the contrary, the protest of Ireland has been maintained without cessation, especially six another. without cessation, especially since 1853 in one regard, and since 1896 in another.

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Budget year by year, with special Irish clauses in the Finance Bill. Budget year by Jarrangement the Chancellor of the Exchequer for In token of the Exchequer for Britain is still raised to that position in Ireland by special and Great Britain But he does not introduce an Irish Budget separate approach the Act of Union; he does not even read the Act of framed under A solemn treaty, to which Lord Castlereagh pledged the Union. A senerosity of England, is treated as if it did not exist. the Report of the Childers Commission of 1894-6, by which English The Report of the English opinion became seized of all the facts, has been simply bundled into the lumber room of the Treasury. Now it is not alleged that this is done by way of deliberate malice

and considered extortion. The real truth is that convenience has prevalled over conscience. It was found troublesome to retain a separate Irish Exchequer and separate Irish Customs, and so both disappeared. It was found serviceable to assimilate the excise duties and income tax in Ireland to the same duties in England, and so Mr. Gladstone effected the assimilation with a rather foolish epigram in 1853. Since then we have been merely the victims of the blind automatism of a uniform fiscal system. One hears of legislation by reference and the like. The Finance Bill, so far as it touches us, is an admirable example of legislation by accident. The Chancellor budgets for Great Britain, calculates his expenditure and arranges his taxes, and automatically extends the scheme to Ireland without any consideration of what the circumstances of that country demand.' The Inland Revenue then drags this British-made net through Ireland, and counts the take; and the officials cheerily record the result in the White Paper issued in annual derision of Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh. The Union, to use an old image, was like an invitation extended by a rich man partly for security, partly for friendship, to a poor man to come and live in his house. We were to borrow his motor-car, and to get his name on the back of bills, paying to the expenses in proportion to our income. The arrangement worked in the fashion in which such arrangements always work. Our frugality of life has been destroyed, and we have been forced up to the champagne standard. Neither party has got much out of the bargain: the host complains that we do not even pay for the petrol, and we on our side live under the growing menace of the Bankruptcy Court. The standing paradox of fiscal, as indeed of political, Union is precisely this, that it hurts Ireland without helping Great Britain. Nobody gains by it except a horde of harmful, unnecessary officials and policemen. This has always been the inner drift and tendency of the prevailing system, but it appears in an extreme and critical form in the figures for the current year. The Old Age Pensions Act has produced a 'situation.'

Our national balance-sheet is, as I have said, contained in a White Paper issued from year to year about the middle of July. The latest Publication available therefore gives details of Revenue and Expendi-

ture for the year 1907-8. Taking these figures as our starting-point at a forecast of 1909-10 with practical certaining point ture for the year 1907-8. Laxing the same as our starting-point we can arrive at a forecast of 1909-10 with practical certainty. The

Total Irish Revenue for 1907-8.			
Total cost of government in Ireland			9,621,000
'Imperial Contribution'			7,810,000
MATERIAL PROPERTY OF THE PARTY			1,811,000

Proof will be led later to show that no substantial increase in Itish Proof will be led later to be exacted. Neither may we reduction of the 7,810,000l. Many new items of Revenue is to be expected of the 7,810,000l. Many new items of expendition of the 7,810,000l. Many new items of expendition of the 7,810,000l. Old Age Pensions will cost a minimum of ture must be added.

1,600,000l. Flotation of 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> per cent. Land Stock under Mr. Birrell's 1,600,000*l*. Protestion of a law may take it, must pass into law may be set down Bill—which, we may take it, must pass into law may be set down to 200 000*l*. The re-constituted of Bill—which, we may take to 200,000l. The re-constituted Congested as about 30,000l., rising to 200,000l. The re-constituted Congested Districts Board receives an additional endowment of 164,000l. a year. The Vote for Primary Education expands by 114,000l., and the Universities Act involves a new vote of 42,000l. Totalling these new items we may forecast, with substantial though not, of course, minute certainty, an increase in Irish Expenditure of some 1,800,000l. At one blow the 'Imperial Contribution' must fall to a mere 10,000l. a year, not enough to buy a gun for a Dreadnought. We shall not be even buying the petrol for the Imperial motor-car. But let no Englishman, confronted with these figures, break into the customary lyric in celebration of his own generosity to Ireland. This is the Imperial side of the case: let us now take the Irish side.

We in Ireland are accustomed to view all these matters through the perspective of the Report on Financial Relations. That Blue Book is to us somewhat in the nature of a sacred book. One still reads in the papers how some Unionist County Councillor or Guardian, who has been reading it, has made a public declaration of his belief that Ireland is being systematically robbed. Although the insurrection of Irish opinion which followed on its first publication in 1896 was bribed into quiet in 1898, the Report still holds a revolution slumbering in its pages that may at any moment awaken. The main finding of the Commissioners was this: Ireland is at present (1893-4) contributing one-twelfth part of the whole Revenue of the United Kingdom; her taxable capacity is not more at the highest than one-twenty-first. In other words Ireland was paying on an income of 81. 3s. in circumstances in which, under the Act of Union, she ought to have been paying on an income of 44. income of 4l. 7s. Expressed in terms of national revenue this finding meant that Ireland was taxed heavily and even enormously beyond her power to pay. Estimates varied somewhat as this or that figure of the Commission was taken as basis, but the minimum estimate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For reasons so urgent as to need no exposition. The figures given here will be re accurate if taken for the more accurate if taken for the year 1910-11, as the charges under Mr. Birrell's Bill will probably not begin to accurate will probably not begin to accrue till some date this autumn.

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stood at the crushing figure of 2,750,000l. a year. This was the verdict of the only Commission, vested with plenary powers, that has ever inquired into the equity of Irish Budgets under the Act of Union. There is little need to recall the criticism which was at that time directed against it. Mr. Balfour, echoed in this Parliament by Mr. Harold Cox, declared at once that the unit of comparison should be not the country but the individual citizen. Since the Irishman paid on an average not more but less than the Englishman, there was no genuine grievance. The reply came that, as for the first contention, the Act of Union put it out of court; as for the second, when one took not the absolute levy on the individual, but the levy in proportion to his resources, the claim of Ireland became not weaker but stronger. Then it was said that the heavy expenditure in Ireland was a set-off to the over-taxation. But it is no answer to a charge that money has been obtained by theft to say that it has been spent in profligacy. It was urged that tests of national income and relative taxable capacity must of their nature be somewhat speculative. Absolute accuracy could not be attained. The ample answer was that in all these matters one must be content with general estimates; that the case was established in substance, and that to niggle about details was merely another way of evading justice. Finally it was said that we had only to change our social habits, and the grievance would disappear. Let no tea, no spirits, and no beer be drunk, let no tobacco be smoked in Ireland, and she would no longer be over-taxed. To which Ireland gave the proper human reply—a shrug of the shoulders.

Since then the Treasury has opened a new line of defence, elaborated when Mr. McKenna was Financial Secretary. The proportion of the whole Revenue of the United Kingdom contributed by Ireland has, it is said, been declining year by year since the Commission. 1893-4 it was one-twelfth, in 1907-8 it was little more than one-six-Therefore, it is concluded, the injustice has been steadily disappearing. The facts are accurate, but there are other facts. relative taxable capacity of Ireland has also fallen year by year since The levy of one-sixteenth is probably harsher and heavier on her now than that of one-twelfth in 1894. Take the tests of population and national income. Since 1894 the population of Great Britain has increased by some five and a half millions; that of Ireland has fallen by 200,000. The gross assessment to income tax in Great Britain rose from 673,000,000l. in 1893 to 906,000,000l. in 1908. In Ireland the assessment remained stationary at 38,000,000l. The significance of this fact cannot be exaggerated. The national income of Ireland has remained fixed and frozen at the same level throughout the whole period, while that of Great Britain has risen by more than one-third. Any other test adopted shows a similar, though not perhaps so striking a divergence in the interval to the disadvantage of Ireland. A Commission sitting to-day could not place the taxable capacity of Ireland,

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taking the maximum and least favourable estimate, at more than taking the maximum and read the United Kingdom as a whole. That is to say, a paid one-sixteenth of the whole Revenue of the United Kingdom as a whole. 4 per cent. of that of the Chites the whole Revenue of the United whereas we paid one-sixteenth of the whole Revenue of the United whereas we paid one-sixteenth whereas we paid only one-twenty-fifth. We Kingdom in 1908, we ought to have paid only one-twenty-fifth. We Kingdom in 1908, we ought to have of 6,120,000l, or wenty-fifth. We paid 9,621,000l. instead of our due share of 6,120,000l., or were over. paid 9,621,000*l*. instead of 3,501,000*l*. The following table furnishes

Year	Total Irish Revenue	Population	Per capita Levy	Import		
1893-4 1907-8	7,568,649 9,621,000	4,600,599 4,378,000	£ & d. 1 12 10 2 3 11	1,966,094 1,811,000		

What has been called the standing paradox of Union finance manifests What has been cancer that the whole one side, so far from any reparation having been made to Ireland, her annual burden has been increased by more than 2,000,000l. on a diminished population. On the other hand, the 'Imperial Contribution' has fallen by more than 150,0001 In 1910-11 the Imperial Contribution will have all but absolutely disappeared. It is not my business here to enter into any analysis of the causes of this singular development. But, were one disposed to do so, much help might be derived from a comparison with Scotland, In 1908 the number of Government officials assessed for income tax in Scotland was 938, and in Ireland 4560. Their salaries were in Scotland 315,000l., in Ireland 1,435,000l. The whole national income of Scotland is about 170,000,000l., that of Ireland about 76,000,000l. But, as has been said, there is no desire to investigate the problem as to why these things should be. This paper attempts merely to show things as they are, and enough has been said to show that we were in presence of a crucial and critical situation. The wheel of British policy in Ireland has come full circle. The Act of Union is on the point of ceasing to pay a dividend to the Empire.

This forecast proceeds on the assumption that no fresh taxation, of any fruitful character, can be laid on Ireland in the coming Budget. An attempt to do so will no doubt be made. It will be resisted to the utmost by the Irish Party on the grounds already outlined. But even if their resistance be over-borne, the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot hope for any considerable increase of Revenue. Food taxes are The yield ruled out; even the sugar duty can scarcely be restored. of the Excise will probably decline rather than increase. new proposals a heavier license duty will of course bring in something, but nothing of substance. A graduated income tax will be unproductive because of the absence of large incomes, although of course an increase of increase of a penny or twopence will so far forth be fruitful. Taxation of Land Values may be set aside. To extend such a tax to Ireland, laying it on top of the purchase annuities, would be not only

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obviously unjust but obviously foolish. A tax is useless unless it is collectable. And not all the King's officers and all the King's men could collect a Land Tax which in last resort could be enforced only by means of a sheriff's sale. The No Rent Campaign would fade into negligibility compared with the No Land Tax Campaign.

The prospect which may with complete certainty be anticipated, then, is that all forms of fresh taxation will be strenuously opposed in Parliament and deeply resented in Ireland. Even if imposed they will only bring in an insignificant return to the Exchequer. Every penny of the yield will be regarded by us as a new theft, a fresh breach of the Act of Union, and a sin against every principle of fair dealing. At the same time the Treasury sees rising up as a menace of the immediate future an Ireland that will get more than she will give. It sees the Act of Union ceasing to pay a dividend to the Empire. The Exchequer experts have not been in vein of late. Their grotesque underestimate of the cost of Old Age Pensions in Ireland has not been cancelled by reckless charges of fraud on a large and even a national The six Commissioners now at work in this country may strain every nerve, and every letter of the Act, but they will not be able to disallow more than at most 2 or 3 per cent. of the granted pensions. The despatch of that Inquisition is significant as indicating that the Treasury has an uneasy, even irritated sense, of the condition to which Ireland has been brought by three generations of government from Westminster. The Budgets of the next two or three years propound a riddle to which some answer must be found. Our answer is Home Rule. I do not know that any other party even pretends to have a formula of solution. Had either of the Home Rule Bills passed into law, the Irish balance-sheet, alike from ours and from the Empire's point of view, would proclaim a very different state of affairs to-day. Give Ireland her chance and she will undertake, while reducing and redistributing both taxation and expenditure, to pay every penny of the cost of her own government and to hand over a larger Imperial tribute than can possibly be levied under the present arrangement. Continue to budget for us from Westminster, and to break the Act of Union in every Budget, and we are happy to think that England will cut her own hand with the scourge which she lays on our shoulders. These are the alternatives. Which path does British statesmanship prefer to follow?

T. M. KETTLE.

In 1893 Mr. Gladstone proposed to take the yield of the Customs in Ireland as our 'Imperial Contribution.' This was, in 1908, 3,047,000l. as against 1,811,000l. in the table given on the preceding page.

## STATE FEEDING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN LONDON

The opening of the year 1909 saw the end of a long struggle and the rejection of a great principle. Those who contended that voluntary charity could suffice and ought to suffice for the supply of food to necessitous children in the London schools had to confess their defeat, and the cost of feeding was for the first time placed on the rates.

For a great many years the provision of free meals had been carried on in a spasmodic and unsystematic way. Ten years ago a determined effort was made by a party on the School Board to move the Legislature to take over this duty, but it was defeated by a large majority, and the principle was adopted that if an appeal was properly put before the large and benevolent public of London on behalf of hungry children it was sure to be successful, and voluntary contributions would flow in to meet the need. A committee was created, known as 'the Joint Committee for Underfed Children, 'whose function was to obtain and record weekly reports from every school of the numbers fed, to see that 'Relief Sub-Committees' were established in every necessitous school, to urge upon them the duty of enquiry into the home condition of each case so that no child who was underfed should be omitted, and no one admitted who was not really in want, and to be a medium for directing the supply of funds to the quarters where they were wanted. This Joint Committee was to be in close touch with the many associations which existed for collecting contributions for this purpose, and for making grants to the various schools; and it was understood that if any Relief Sub-Committee could not obtain funds by direct application to these associations arrangements would be made for affiliating it to one or other of them, so that in no case should it be possible to complain that the amount of food required for the children could not be procured for want of funds.

This Joint Committee remained at work for seven years, down to July 1907, during which time the present writer had the honour of serving as its chairman, and it published yearly reports giving full particulars as to the number of necessitous schools, of children fed in those schools, and of meals provided, with some information as to the

operations of the major associations for collecting and distributing operations. But all this time the Committee worked under grave disadvantages. It had neither hands nor eyes. No staff was attached to it, and it had no means of enquiry or inspection except the voluntary efforts of its members when they could spare the time. There were efforts of the control on its list in 1905-6, and in dealing with this number of Relief Committees, and about three times this number of head teachers (three departments usually for each school), it had almost no means of communication except by letter and circular. Now if there is one vice deeply ingrained in human nature in the 20th century, and more deeply perhaps in London than elsewhere, it is the vice of casting letters and circulars into the waste-paper basket unread, or, if read, of promptly forgetting them. Many head teachers at first failed to report the number they were feeding, and in some cases the omission continued to the end, so that the real number of these schools was somewhat larger than the recorded figure, 264. The voluntary or non-provided schools at that time felt themselves completely dissociated from the Board Schools, and though invited to communicate and to make use of what assistance the Joint Committee could afford them, the highest number that responded in any year was 35. It was impossible to do anything to introduce greater uniformity or efficiency into the manner of serving the dinners or the kind of food provided, or to do much towards guiding or influencing the Relief Committees; one could only be thankful that they existed and did any work at all. But in spite of these recognised shortcomings, the Joint Committee was able in its last report (July 1907) to declare, as it had done year after year, that no case had occurred in which anyone had applied for funds which could not be granted, and it was believed that practically, though roughly, and sometimes in a quite unsatisfactory way, the worst needs of the hungry children had been met. The season of greatest want was acknowledged to be from January to March, and the dinners seldom opened before November, and were seldom continued long after the Easter holidays, the ordinary period of feeding being from ten to fifteen weeks. The average number of children fed daily during this season varied from 19,000 in 1900-1 to 27,000 in 1906-7. The number of meals, however, was only 2.5 or 2.6 in the week for each child. The Joint Committee were never tired of pointing out that this is an insufficient ratio, and that a child who requires to be fed at all away from home ought to be fed every school day, or at least, on the assumption that in most cases the remains of the Sunday dinner provide for Monday, four times a week. But this instruction hardly bore any effect, for the number of meals given to each child only rose from 2.3 per week at the beginning to 2.6 per week, instead of 4 or 5.

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In 1907 the Provision of Meals Act came into force, and at once produced a great change in the situation. The Act was partly obligatory and partly permissive. By the first part it laid on the County Council

a statutory duty to 'take such steps as they thought fit for the proa statutory duty to take such any elementary school, vision of meals for children in attendance at any elementary school, vision of meals for children in action of meals and apparatus, and such action of meals for children in action of meals and apparatus, and such action of meals are action of meals and action of meals are action of meals and action of meals are action of meals and action of meals are action of meals are action of meals and action of meals are action of meals ar and empowered them to provide a provide apparatus, and such officers as may be necessary for the organisation, preparation, and such officers as may be necessary for the organisation, preparation, and officers as may be necessary service of such meals 'at the expense of the rates: in other words to provide the eyes and hands for which the Joint Committee had so long

By the second part, Section 3, nerminal provide the eyes and manus. By the second part, Section 3, permission was been asking in vain. By the second part, Section 3, permission was been asking in vain. By the be given, if voluntary runtas not not be a rate (with the sanction of the Board of Education) not exceeding

The County Council resolved not to make use of Section 3, but to The County Counter to the School Board had laid down, but to rely on the principle which the great wealth and l was reasonable to expect that the great wealth and benevolence of London, and the pity felt for the hunger of children, would fully meet the demand for voluntary subscriptions. Nor was this expectation disappointed, at least on this occasion. A special fund was started by the chairman which met with large and generous response from many quarters, and amounted altogether to about 12,000%. sources which during so many years had contributed to the various associations were not seriously affected by this new drain, and realised nearly as much as they had been estimated to realise in previous years, about 10,000l. Thus the fund for food amounted to more than twice as much as had been available in previous years, and it could be devoted to food alone, whereas formerly equipment and service had to be paid out of it. The financial position therefore seemed to be highly prosperous.

The Council took up at once its duties under the obligatory portion The Joint Committee became a Sub-Committee of the Education Committee, with a member of the Council for its chairman, this being necessary in order that he should be able to answer questions and defend the Committee's action in the Council meetings. Relief Sub-Committees were reorganised under the more attractive name of Children's Care Committees; the clerical department was strengthened and a staff of 'organisers' and assistant organisers was appointed who could go about and see what was going on, bring things into line and explain the wishes of the central body to the Care Committees and the school staff. This work fell chiefly under two heads, (1) the organisation of the catering, and (2) the creation of bodies of efficient voluntary workers to visit the homes. I shall return to the second point later on. As to the first point, in the majority of cases the dinners had been served in school halls or in class-rooms, and objection was taken to this on account of the smell left behind and the ventilation. In some cases too the dinner room was in a cookshop or coffee shop with unsuitable surroundings, and sometimes the children received the food at a counter, and eat it standing in the street or some open space. By hiring central buildings, such as parish rooms and

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mission halls (rather an expensive operation, for in few cases have they mission have they been lent gratis) the dinners for two or three adjacent schools have been been lend gardent schools have been concentrated, which should lead to some economy in the working. A concellulation of suitable menus has been drawn up under medical advice, series of the costing 1½d.; they are supposed to contain the quantity of proteids which the present state of science considers necessary for proper nutriment, and at any rate they are an agreeable change from proper little proper into the monotonous diet of soup and bread or currant bread which was so common before. These improvements have necessitated the employment of a paid staff to cook the food, clean the floors, lay out and remove the tables, and in many cases to serve the food, though this part of the work is still often performed by voluntary helpers. The cost of equipment, tables and forms, knives, forks, spoons, and crockery, has been considerable, but this will not recur to any large extent except in the case of broken crockery.

The story of this large outlay and of the ample funds in the possession of the Council was soon bruited about and the natural results followed, in an immense increase in the number of meals applied for. Managers who had persistently reported that there was no need for any feeding in their school now drew up long lists of necessitous children, and head teachers who had declared that they were feeding all that were in want and that two or three meals in the week was all the help that the parents desired, now doubled or trebled their numbers and demanded that dinners should be supplied every day. The number of Council Schools classed as necessitous up to 1907 had been 264; it rose to 365 in 1907-8, and reached 446 in March last. The average number of children fed weekly in Council Schools had never exceeded 27,159 before the passing of the Act; it rose to 37,685 in February 1908, and to 41,340 in March 1909. Of the non-provided schools only 27 reported in 1906-7 the feeding of 2513 children; now that the wise liberality of the Council had levelled all distinctions these quondam Cinderellas came in with the rest and 98 of them reported the feeding of 7771 children in March 1908; this year the number has risen to 158 schools with 11,823 children. It is a curious coincidence that the total figure from both classes of schools for March 1909 has been just over 53,000, corresponding very closely to the estimate which was framed after an elaborate enquiry by the School Board in 1898, and which amounted to 55,000. But that estimate was meant to represent the maximum number that could be expected to be in want in an exceptionally hard season.

This increase in the numbers seems to clash with the assertion of the Joint Committee that no instance had occurred in which distress had been known to exist and funds had not been supplied to relieve it. One puts to oneself the question, is the distress greater now than it was then, or did it exist equally then but was undiscovered? The answer is probably that the increased supply has created the increased demand. Formerly the knowledge that the funds were limited induced head

teachers and Relief Committees to confine their requisitions to sums teachers and Relief Committees to get, the inquisition into poverty was which they seemed likely to get, the inquisition into poverty was which they seemed likely to got, the line of discrimination of the funds were stricter, and the line was drawn more severely. When the funds were stricter, and the line was trading any demand, the line of discrimination known to be practically equal to any demand, the line of discrimination known to be practically equal to the known to be practically equal to the was relaxed, and a lower standard of necessity was adopted. A further was that up till now, head teachers or Religion was relaxed, and a lower start are till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was that up till now, head teachers or Relief Comsource of relaxation was the relaxation was the relaxation of the relaxation was the relaxation of the relaxat source of relaxation was that the source of relaxation was that the mittees who proposed to start feeding on a new and enlarged basis, mittees who proposed to bear and do the work themselves. Now had to make the arrangement of their hands and a paid staff they find the labour largely taken out of their hands and a paid staff they find the labour largery and hounds, and meals were not then if the provided to carry on the months and bounds, and meals were provided on a numbers went up by leaps and bounds, and meals were provided on a

Unfortunately there was no corresponding stimulus to increase the influx of voluntary funds. A great effort had been made in the spring of 1908, and large contributions by leading men (such as Lords Avebury, Rosebery, Rothschild, and others) had set an example which was widely followed, but the enthusiasm thus shown could not be excited a second time. When the winter session began after the summer holidays the Council had only about 3000l. in hand, which would hardly suffice to meet the bills due to come in up to Christmas time. The Lord Mayor and the Chairman of the Council combined to issue an appeal, and a meeting was held at the Mansion House, but the response was very disappointing, amounting to less than 60001. in all, In the beginning of December it was seen that the voluntary funds in hand were about 2400l., while the expenditure 'in sight' was 800l. up to Christmas, and 4500l. in January. The Council would shortly rise for the Christmas holidays, the application to the Board of Education to sanction the utilisation of Section 3 of the Act would take time, and unless a decision was come to at once the Council might find itself unable to meet its liabilities, and hungry children might be besieging the doors of the dining-halls in vain. It was, therefore, decided that the effort to rely on voluntary subscriptions must be abandoned, and that (with the sanction of the Board of Education) Section 3 of the Act must be put in force and the cost of the food must be placed on the rates.

What was the reason why an appeal which was so munificently met in 1908 failed so completely in 1909? In all probability many causes combined to produce this result. One was the competition of other claims on the charitable purse of the public, and especially the claim of the Italian earthquake, which diverted 130,000l. from home needs. Another was the belief of many that the right course was to devolve the whole expense on the rates, while even among those who were vehemently opposed to this as a matter of policy the belief had spread that the game was up and that sooner or later recourse would be had to the rates.

But the main reason for this despairing conclusion was the great extent to which the distribution of food had spread, and the large number of children involved. As long as the 'necessitous' schools were comparatively few and the number of children small, it was within the power of voluntary agencies to cope with the need, but when five-sixths of the Council Schools were engaged in feeding as well as a large number of the non-provided schools, and when the feeding arrangements were being controlled and organised by the Council, the time seemed to many to have come when the undertaking was on too great a scale for individuals, and the authority who provided the equipment and looked after the catering might properly be expected to provide the food also.

The question is therefore thrown back a step, and one is forced to ask oneself—was this great increase in numbers really necessary? Were we so much mistaken two years ago in thinking that enough was being done to meet the distress of the children? And was it actually obligatory to feed twice as many and to give each child twice as many meals? An authoritative answer to this can be hardly given at present, but there can be little doubt that careful scrutiny would largely reduce the number of recipients of meals. The special staff have, as already noted, been mainly occupied in the task of organising the catering and putting it on an efficient footing and have been largely diverted from the other side of this work, which is to stimulate and assist the Care Committees in making strict enquiries into the home conditions of the children and sometimes to supplement their deficiencies and teach them how to investigate cases. Such stimulus and instruction are much wanted. A return based on the annual reports sent in by Care Committees for last year showed that in more than one-third the visitation work had been good, in one-sixth there had been some attempt to do it, but in the rest practically nothing had been done and the supervision of the members had been only nominal. In cases like this it depends entirely on the sympathetic or strict attitude of the head teachers whether the list of those admitted to dinner is large or small, and it is probably to these schools that the greater part of the increase is to be attributed.

There was, however, one interesting attempt made to test the manner in which children had been selected for feeding. Twelve schools were chosen for the experiment, varying in conditions and situated in different parts of London, and into them a body of trained investigators was drafted. In these schools about 2500 children were being fed, and the result of the organisers' report was that in their opinion about one-fifth of these were not necessitous and should be struck off the list. But on the other hand they found that the work was so imperfectly done, with so little intercommunication between the departments, that while a child (say) in the Boys' Department was fed, his brother or sister in the Girls' or Infants' Department was overlooked. Of course admission to meals ought to have been granted by families, not by individuals, and if this had been done a number of children would

have been added to the list almost equal to the one-fifth who on enquiry have been added to the list and the critics of the report considered that should have been rejected. The critics of the report considered that should have been rejected. should have been rejected. The should have been rejected. The investigators had taken too lenient a view and that the number of the investigators had taken too lenient a view and that the number of the investigators had taken too lenient a view and that the number of the investigators had taken too the investigators had too the investigator had too the investigators had too the investigators had too the investigators had too the investigators had too the investigator had too the investigators had too the investigators had too the investigators had too the investigators had too the investigat cases which ought to be executed this may be, the conclusion to be third, than a fifth. But however this may be, the conclusion to be that, accepting their third, than a fitth. But he had been do be that, accepting their data, drawn from this special enquiry seemed to be that, accepting their data, drawn from this special enqually while there were a considerable number of erroneous inclusions in the while there were a considerable anumber of list of children fed, there were almost as considerable a number of list of children red, there is neglected cases, so that the general total was not likely to be very neglected cases, by enquiry.

The soundness of this rather unexpected conclusion, however, The soundless of the deceptance given to the data on which the depends largely on the acceptance given to the data on which the depends largely on the accept their 'poverty line.' They adopted investigators acted in drawing their 'poverty line.' They adopted what is known as the Rowntree scale, which rests on the assumption that if the income of a family, after deducting rent, payments to sick clubs, insurance, and working expenses such as fares and 'minding baby,' amounts to less than three shillings per head (counting four children as equal to three adults, that family is below the line and their children are entitled to be classed as necessitous and to receive free meals, This assumption can hardly be accepted by anyone with much experience amongst the London poor. It is notorious that if a boy is sent to an industrial home by a magistrate, and an order made that the parent should contribute one shilling a week for his maintenance, the parent considers himself hardly used and declares that it does not cost him so much to keep the child at home. So too the Labour Colonies allow in their family remittances 2s. for the first child, 1s. 6d. for the second. and 1s, each for the rest, so that on their calculation 5s. 6d. should suffice for the maintenance of four children, as against 9s. on the Rowntree scale. This would make a great difference in drawing the 'poverty line.' An instance of the practical effect of working on this scale may be quoted which occurred in the case of a school which had always been held to contain fairly well-to-do children, and had never provided dinners except in a few exceptional cases. It came under the influence of a Care Committee dominated by this theory, and immediately more than 200 children were placed on the dinner list, and a requisition put in for arrangements to start a dining hall and for the supply of equipment and staff for cooking and serving meals for this number. One case was reported of a parent who had been for many years in comfortable service on a wage of twenty-four shillings a week; he had brought up his children decently and had never applied for assistance; but without his knowledge or request his children were placed on the dinner list because on the above hypothesis the family was below the 'poverty line.'

Those who oppose State feeding from the rates have been chiefly uated by the feeding from the rates have been chiefly actuated by the fear that such a system would break down the self-respect of the parent respect of the parents and their sense of responsibility for the bringing

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of their families, that they would claim their right, as ratepayers, up of the their children fed whether they were in want or not. There has to have the to have the two or three months that London has been not been to say whether any indications have the total to say whether any indications have the total to say whether any indications have the total tota on the rates to say whether any indications have yet appeared of this on the realised; but it is obvious that the same result will be reached fear notes in the power of over-benevolent and sentimental people, acting on a mistaken hypothesis, to pauperise parents by feeding their children on the plea that they must be underfed, whether they know it or not. It is clearly one of the first duties of the County Council, acting through its central Care Committee, to lay down instructions of a general kind as to what should be considered the ordinary test or tests of necessity. It is usually a fairly simple matter to discover whether the father is out of work, and only able to obtain odd jobs which do not bring in enough, including the earnings of the mother and of the elder children, to support the family. If a body of active helpers can be got together for each school, with general principles to guide them, and such supervision as to secure a moderate amount of conformity to these principles, it may be hoped that such a system of investigation will be established as will prevent any unjustifiable increase in the number of the children for whom meals are provided out of the rates.

If the first effect of feeding from the rates is likely to be a great increase in the number of children fed, a second effect will be the disappearance of voluntary subscriptions and of voluntary personal help. It would be unreasonable to expect private donations to come in to relieve the Council when it takes on itself the whole cost of the food, though there is other charitable expenditure, such as that for boots, clothing, and medical help, which will not, it is hoped, be allowed to suffer. It is not quite as natural at first sight that persons who have been giving their services freely for superintendence and assistance at the meals should refuse to do so because the dinners have come on the rates. This tendency, like the tendency to claim more general provision of meals, has not as yet been fully felt, but there have been some signs of it, especially among the teachers who have hitherto shown such whole-hearted devotion to the welfare of their children, and there are rumours that the National Union of Teachers is likely to take the lead in promoting abstention. much to be hoped that wiser counsels will prevail, for if the influence of the teachers is removed, and the work entirely made over to paid officials, the administration of this form of public 'assistance' will become more and more wooden and will lose much of the grace and spiritual beauty which it has till now possessed. There has also been talk of appointing paid visitors to make the home-inquiries, but this will hardly be assented to as long as the supply of voluntary service for the purpose continues as large as it is now.

There is one test the application of which, if it ever were applied, Would largely reduce the numbers fed. During the discussions which

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led up to the passing of the Act the advocates of State feeding were led up to the passing of the request use of the argument, to support which so unwise as to make frequent use of the argument, to support which so unwise as to make frequent so unwise as to make frequent which no evidence was ever produced, that a large number of children were no evidence was ever produced, that a large number of children were no evidence was ever produced, so reduced by mal-nutrition that they were physically unable to so reduced by mal-nutrition offered in the schools; and much platform receive the instruction offered in the cruelty of trying to form sympathy was poured out on the cruelty of trying to force empty sympathy was poured out. This theory was in due time embodied in stomachs to learn lessons. This theory was in due time embodied in stomachs to learn lessons.

the Act, and the ground—the only ground—on which the Council the Act, and the ground—to levy a rate is that there are all levels and the council to levy a rate is that there are all levels the Act, and the ground can obtain permission to levy a rate is that there are children in can obtain permission to lot the second to profit by the education these schools who are unable by lack of food to profit by the education these schools who are unable to the third the schools who are unable to the provided for them. If this test were really applied, and dinners lists would be a satisfy it, the dinners lists would provided for them. It that the dinners lists would probably refused to all who did not satisfy it, the dinners lists would probably be reduced to a fourth or a fifth of the present number. I made a be reduced to a found in three schools with which I am connected as manager, having in the senior departments sixty children on the necessitous list: of these thirty-six were below the average age of their class, and therefore rather superior to their fellows of equal age in education; twenty-four were above the middle of their class in the December examination and thirty-six below it; eight were near the top of their respective classes, and eleven near the bottom. It is only these eleven that we should be justified in feeding if we adhered to the strict wording of the Act. A similar reply was sent me by a friend who is manager of a school in quite another part of London, He found in the highest class (Standard VII.) four girls on the feeding list, one the top girl of the class, two others above the middle, and only one below it; in two other classes fourteen out of twenty-six and eight out of eleven were above the middle. The explanation of this is that the children we are dealing with are neither starving nor half-starved; they are underfed and poorly fed for the most part, but not to such an extent as to stunt their intelligence or dull their faculties.

Some day perhaps, when the system of medical inspection is more advanced, and we have a continuous record of the growth and weight of school children, a medical test may be devised for deciding whether a child is 'underfed' or not; and children may be excluded unless they come up to that standard. But we are very far from being able to lay down any such definite standard now, and if the Council's staff of doctors were called to classify the children on the underfed list there would be a wide variety in their mode of judging. In the case of my own group of schools I have for two years enlisted the kind assistance of the District Health Officer; his opinion has been that about half of the number fed were healthy, normal children with no visible defects; about half were below par, though it was impossible to say whether this was due to want of food, or to improper food, or constitutional delicacy: but there were none whom he would single out as obvious cases of mal-nutrition. And yet in every case careful and repeated inquiry had established that the father (if alive) was out of work

and there was not sufficient visible family income to support the

In these cases it may be supposed that we took the children before they began to suffer from mal-nutrition, and that the free meals have saved them from physical degeneration. The medical test would not apply to such cases as these.

When the 'Provision of Meals Act' was under preparation and under discussion in Parliament, much reliance was placed by some people on the power of prosecuting parents who could feed their children but did not, as a means of keeping down the number of applications. It is to be feared that this expectation did not take sufficient account of the difficulties of the case. Up to the present time prosecutions have only taken place in one or two instances, and the parents charged have admitted their liability; but as soon as such cases become common, and lawyers are called in for the defence, it will be seen how hard it is to prove the sufficiency of the parents' income, unless the case is a flagrant one. It would be easy to obtain a conviction in such an instance as the Fulham Guardians discovered, where a father earning from 3l. to 4l. a week sent his child to receive free dinners, and the Relieving Officer when he called found the family enjoying a luxurious supper in a room comfortably furnished, with flowers and candles on the table. But under ordinary circumstances, when the income is at all near the border line and a thrifty parent would not feel any difficulty in providing necessaries, the question how much self-indulgence or how many glasses of beer a day the father is entitled to allow himself before he applies the remainder to feeding his children is one which would admit of much argument, and would draw very varying decisions from different magistrates. Even the fact that the child did receive the meals will be open to denial: it is not enough to prove that his name was on the dinner list and that he received a dinner ticket; it will be necessary to maintain a register in the dining hall and to mark attendance upon it, in order to prove that he got the dinner. It is only in exceptional cases that this check will be found adequate to keep undeserving applicants off the list. The provisions of Mr. Samuel's admirable Children Act will perhaps suffice for effective punishment of vicious and negligent parents, but the sentencing of such persons to fine or imprisonment will not, for the time at least, relieve the Care Committee from the duty of feeding the child, but will rather make it more incumbent on them. We cannot therefore look to action of this kind as to means of preventing, except to a very small degree, the growth of the charge on the rates for the feeding of children.

The insidious tendency to increase expenditure is to be found, not only in the willingness of parents to place more and more children on the free dinner list, but also in the desire of benevolent people to increase the food provided for the children both in quantity and

quality. Pressure of this kind has been put on the Council in two forms, quality. Pressure of this kind. One proposal has been to give hore but has so far been resisted. One proposal has been to give hore but has so far been resisted. but has so far been resisted.

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breakfasts as well as dinner,

to give lunches as well. This the Council has than one meal a day, to protect that one meal a day, to protect the Council has dinners, and even to give lunches as well. This the Council has refused, and even to give function and even to give f leaving it to the Care Comments, but, whichever they choose, only the meal is breakfast or dinner, but, whichever they choose, only the meal is breakfast or united, though in cases of special delicacy it is one meal is to be provided, though in cases of special delicacy it is one meal is to be provided, one meal is to be provided, allowed to give a glass of milk with some bread or biscuits at the allowed to give a grass of the proposal was to carry on the meals recreation interval. The other proposal was to carry on the meals recreation interval. The recreation interval in the holidays or at other times when the schools are closed. But in the holidays of at our the holidays of at closed. But the Act only allows the provision of meals to children in attendance; the Act only allows the property at school, and on referring the interpretation of this phrase to Counsel, at school, and on referring that a child is only in other at school, and on receiving that a child is only 'in attendance' on the reply has been given that a child is only 'in attendance' on the inactually at school, not on Saturday. the reply has been greated at school, not on Saturdays or Sundays those days when he is actually at school, not on Saturdays or Sundays when the school is closed, or during the holidays, or when the child is excluded for infectious disease. Two dangerous leaks in expenditure have thus been stopped.

But the whole atmosphere is full of danger to the finances, and the County Council will be fortunate if it can maintain for long its present scale of expenditure, a scale high indeed as compared with the past, though moderate as compared with the demands which will be made by extremists imbued with Socialist notions. London is now placed as regards the feeding of children in the same position as that occupied by Paris with regard to the Cantines Scolaires, and it will require steady guidance if it is to avoid running through the same course. I wrote an account of the history and working of the Cantines Scolaires in the issue of this Review for May 1906. It was shown there how rapidly the number of children receiving free meals had grown and how voluntary subscriptions had fallen off while public subventions increased, till at last the Paris Municipality put down its foot and resolved it would not pay more than 40,000l. a year for this purpose. They were enabled to do this by declaring that the object of the dinners was not to relieve necessitous children but to improve the attendance by keeping the children on the school premises between the two sessions. But no Educational Authority in England has adopted this flimsy pretext. Our dinner system is frankly based on the hunger of the children, and their inability through lack of food to profit by education; and no authority would venture to fix an arbitrary limit as to the amount of money it would devote to this object. It appears from the statistics published that the number of children in the statistics published that the number of children is the number of children in the statistics published that the number of children is the number of children in the statistics published that the number of children is the number of children in the statistics published that the number of children is of children who received free meals in Paris was about 9000 twenty years ago, and it rose rapidly, till the closure was enforced by the limitation of funds, to 30,000 or 35,000, or about 20 per cent. of the school normals in the school normal normals in the school normal normals in the school normals in the school normal normals in the school normal n school population. The number of free meals given is now about seven millions. seven millions a year. In London the average number fed in the previous three weeks are a long to the previous three weeks are a long to the seven millions a year. previous three years before the Meals Act was 27,000, but it had risen to nearly 54,000; The second three to nearly 54,000; The second three transfer of these to nearly 54,000; The second transfer of these transfer of the second to nearly 54,000 in February of this year; and on the basis of these

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figures the cost is estimated in the budget for the current year at 30,000l. If, however, the demand should grow, as it has grown in Paris, to 20 per cent. of the whole school population, or a maximum of 150,000 children, this figure would be more than trebled, and would exceed the half-penny rate which is all that the present Act admits of. Whether that bulwark would hold fast against the rising flood of Socialistic demand, or whether an amended Act would be insisted on, raising the maximum rate still higher, is open to doubt, but it is certain that, if our past experience may be trusted, that amount would far exceed the real necessities of the case. The only real bulwark against extravagant demands is careful inquiry into the home-conditions and the family income. If the investigations have been lax and superficial in Paris they have been equally so in London. The official reports of the Caisses des Ecoles as to the imperfection of the inquiries, and how they are often left to the head teachers only, or not made at all, might be embodied word for word in the reports of many of our Care Committees. The one hope of keeping the supply of free meals to its proper function, and preventing its becoming a demoralising subsidy for unthrifty parents, lies in the effectual carrying out of the Council's scheme for creating bonâ-fide Care Committees whose decisions will be based, not on a hypothetical view of the conditions which ought to constitute necessity, but on a practical standard by which to judge whether a child is actually necessitous or not.

It is not enough, however, to get together a Care Committee composed of benevolent persons, however good the will may be. They must be instructed in details of procedure, some of which seem so simple that it is hard to believe that they would not occur naturally to everybody—as for instance that if a child in one department is adjudged to be necessitous, his brothers and sisters in other departments should be treated similarly. The same thing applies when the children of one family are in different schools; there should be intercommunication between the Committees of every school, a sort of general clearing-house for necessitous cases. Efforts should be made to verify the statements as to income by reference to employers. The visiting done over the same area from the Children's Care Committee, the Country Holiday Fund, the Invalid Children's Aid Society, the Parish District visitor, should be combined as far as possible in one hand, or else the mothers are unduly worried by investigations.

A scheme has lately been sanctioned by the County Council for reconstructing the Care Committees, enlarging their numbers by the addition of other workers employed in kindred purposes, broadening their sphere of work to include all the physical wants of the children, not merely the provision of meals, and grouping them together in Local Associations to secure some measure of uniformity. It would be out of place here to enter on any technical discussion of the details; and the worst that criticism could say would probably be that the scheme aims at too high an ideal, and that such workers as can be enlisted, in this

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Imperfect world, will rarely attain the desired standard. The world will be that enthusiasts, impatient at seeing their standard. imperfect world, will rarely account the standard. The worst result of this will be that enthusiasts, impatient at seeing their standard will clamour for the substitution of paid officials, income that will clamour for the substitution of paid officials, income the standard officials in the standard officials. result of this will be that entering their standard not reached, will clamour for the substitution of paid officials, instead not reached, workers, on the Care Committees.

As has been well said in a paper in the March Toynbee Record, the As has been well said in a part ognose Record, the question of school feeding lies in no watertight compartment; it is question of school reeding hos bound up with questions of unemployment and charity, with thrift bound up without and medical care.' And the same writer thrift bound up with questions of and pauperisation and medical care.' And the same writer gives a and pauperisation to the danger of unwise Care Committees dained. and pauperisation and interior and pauperisation and interior of unwise Care Committees doing harm timely warning as to the danger of unwise Care Committees doing harm timely warning as to the care Committees doing harm instead of good. 'A visitor from a Care Committee is moved by the instead of good. A viscosis in marvellously low wage to wonder whether his efforts under the present marvellously low wage to marvellously look wage to mar are not tending in the long run to put a premium on mismanagement, Miss Frere in her management of the Tower Street School has shown how much a judicious Care Committee can do not only to plaster over the sore of children's hunger, but to revive the health of the family organism and raise it to a higher and self-supporting level. But efforts like these have been spasmodic and isolated. The uncertainty of obtaining sufficient funds has hitherto been one great obstacle to any attempt to administer a sound system on a large scale. The removal of this is the one real good which recourse to the rates has brought with it; the system of school feeding is now definitely established on a firm financial basis, and it is the duty of the Educational Authority so to regulate it by judicious and efficient visiting that it may be an incitement to thrift and good management, and not to pauperisation.

C. A. ELLIOTT.

P.S.—Since this article was written, Mr. Dunn's 'Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill,' proposing to lay the onus of the selection of necessitous children, without any enquiry into home circumstances, on the medical officer, was presented to and rejected by the House of Commons. Its object was to extend the system of State feeding as widely as possible, but the procedure advocated showed complete ignorance of the conditions of the case. It was riddled through and through by arguments proving the impossibility of transferring this responsibility into the hands of an official of the Local Authority, and Sir William Collins dwelt forcibly on the inability of inspection alone to diagnose the cases correctly, and on the distinction between medical inspection, a duty which the State has under taken, and medical treatment of the children in school, the scope and limitation of which are a very delicate and still undecided question. Apart from which it may be added that the result of such a procedure would probably have been the reverse of what the promoters of the Bill desired, for inspection by an experienced medical officer would certainly lead to the exclusion of a large proportion of the children C. A. E. who are now being fed at the expense of the State.

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## POOR RELIEF IN THE DAYS TO COME

WHEN, three years ago last December, the Poor Law Royal Commission was appointed, some of us heaved sighs. What we should have liked was a Commission of half a dozen members, and here was one of eighteen. There would have been a chance that six Commissioners might see things eye to eye and agree as to what must be done; whereas with three times six it was a foregone conclusion that diverse reports would be issued, and rival schemes would be propounded. The marvel is that there should be only two reports, not more, and only two schemes. There would have been more, no doubt, had not the Commissioners as a whole recognised clearly, and thereby given proof of rare patriotism as well as of common sense, that the case was a case for giving and taking and making concessions all round. Probably not one of the fourteen of them who signed the Majority Report is quite content with it as it stands; probably no one of them but is sure in his—or her—heart that he could in some respect or other have bettered it, had he had a free hand. And bettered no doubt it might have been; for it is, as it was bound to be, a compromise. None the less it is assuredly a right notable report, one for which much gratitude is due to those who framed it. And the same may be said of that framed by the Minority. The one, as the other, is in its way an excellent report, although neither can claim to be perfect; and on the one as on the other, or better still on the two combined, there might certainly be founded a poor-relief system which, if not perfect, would at any rate be infinitely better than our present poorrelief system, alike from the standpoint of the ratepayer and of the poor.

With regard to our present system there is no difference of opinion whatever among the Commissioners, it is satisfactory to note. There hardly could be, indeed, with the evidence they had before them. They all unite in singing over it a solemn Tekel; they all agree in condemning it root and branch, in condemning, too, the very principles upon which it is founded. Our long-cherished dogma that the destitute are all on a par, and that the most worthless among them must, therefore, be dealt with in precisely the same fashion as the most worthy, does not appeal to any one of them, if we may judge

by their reports; nor does the dogma that men and women who are by their reports; nor does the left to drift. No section of the drifting into pauperism must just be left to drift. No section of the drifting into pauperism must just drifting into pauperism must just a local Poor Law administrators. Royal Commission even suggests that local Poor Law administrators among us free, as they are, to squander the rate. Royal Commission even suggestion at the squander the rate payers, the fancy seizes them; free too to pamper the rate payers, the fancy seizes them; free too to pamper the squander the rate payers, the fancy seizes them; should be left among us need, as them; free too to pamper the ratepayers' money whenever the fancy seizes them; free too to pamper the poor them—to spend a pound a week on every little miles money whenever the rancy beautiful a pound a week on every little waif they or to starve them—to spend a pound a week on every little waif they or to starve them—to spend or to support a child on a shilling. No maintain, or to leave a mother to support a child on a shilling. No maintain, or to leave a mountain, or to leave a mountain or to leave a mountain, or to leave a mountain or to leave a mountain or to leave a mountain, section shows any desire to save for us our chief Poor Law institution, section shows any desire to save for us our chief Poor Law institution, section shows any desire to section shows a section shows the Majority Report insists just as strongly as the Minority; a clean the Majority Report most sweep, too, of omnium gatherum workhouses. There must no longer will either the sweep, too, of omnium gatherum workhouses. be local administrators in longer institutions where decent old folk thrift or the niggard, are forced to spend their days with wastrels, rogues and criminals; where boys and girls and little children are shut up together with the riff-raff of the population; and where loafing vagrants may sojourn as in hotels. These are points on which all the Commissioners are at one; and therein lies cause for rejoicing, or so at least it, of course, seems to me; for the abolition of Boards of Guardians and of work. houses are reforms for which I have been clamouring, in this Review, for the last ten years.

Then not only do all the Commissioners agree in pronouncing our present relief system a failure, but they also agree as to what must be aimed at in framing a new system in order to insure its being a success. They are unanimous in declaring that a fundamental change must be made not only in our methods of dealing with the poor, but also-what is even more important-in the spirit in which we deal with them. We must no longer rest content with relieving the destitute, they tell us; we must try to prevent the poor from becoming destitute, and the destitute from becoming pauperised; nay, more, we must try to depauperise the pauperised. And that we may do this we must begin by throwing aside our old pernicious notion that all paupers are equal, and cease from treating them as if they were.

Under our present system, men and women become paupers by the hundred, simply because there is no one to give them a helping hand, if in temporary distress. No Poor Law official may do anything for them until they are already homeless and penniless; and even then all that he may do, as a rule, is to send them to the workhouse, to pauperise them in fact. If the Commissioners have their way, however, it will be otherwise. Then there will be officials—honorary officials if the Majority scheme be adopted, paid officials if the Minority—whose recognised business it will be to act as the friends, and advisers, and helpers of the poor, especially of the poor hovering on the brink of pauperism, and to try to keep them from becoming paupers. Now, as things are, paupers of all degrees are clubbed together and treated are clubbed together and treated alike; but as things will be when the Commiser

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sioners' scheme is in force, paupers will be carefully sifted, sorted, and classified; and the attempt at any rate will be made to secure that each one of them shall be treated according to his merits. This will be the case whether the scheme adopted be that of the Majority or of the Minority; only under the Majority's scheme paupers will be required to prove their merits; whereas, under the Minority's, their merits may perhaps sometimes be taken for granted.

It is with the Majority Report that we are here chiefly concerned. This report has for me very special interest, owing to the fact that, in framing it, the Commissioners have evidently profited by the experiences of other nations, and have turned to good account the lessons these other nations have learnt. Almost every country in Europe has tried experiments, in these latter days, with a view to improving its poor-relief system; and the result is, almost every country has now a system which is in some way or other better than ours. Common sense would suggest therefore that the Commissioners, in devising a new poor-relief system, should try to combine in it the best features of the various foreign systems already in force. And this is evidently precisely what the Majority have tried to do. Practically every feature of the poor-relief system which they recommend that we should try here has already been tried elsewhere, and with more or less success. This is very satisfactory; and what is more satisfactory still, is that some of the more important of these features have already been tried in Denmark, a democratic country, one with customs and institutions akin to our own, a country, too, where, as here, the right to relief exists. They form part and parcel of the new Danish poorrelief system, the best system, taking it all in all, in Europe, so far as I can judge; and I have watched the working of many foreign poorrelief systems; the best for the ratepayers as well as for the poor.

If the Majority Report meet with favour in the eyes of our legislators, and a system be framed on the lines it recommends, that system will practically be identical with the Danish poor-relief system, so far as the treatment of the adult poor is concerned. The Commissioners who signed it propose that the destitute shall be divided into seven classes-viz.: children, aged and infirm, able-bodied men, ablebodied women, vagrants, feeble-minded and epileptics—and that each class shall be provided for quite separately, and have its own separate institutions. Also that 'in every institution for the aged and the able-bodied, a system of classification should be adopted on the basis of conduct before and after admission.' This recommendation strikes at the very root of the worst evil of our present institutional system, that clubbing together of the poor of all sorts and conditions that is so fraught with misery for the respectable poor, and with demoralisation for the young. This in itself, if adopted, would better the lot of the worthy among the destitute immeasurably, and would at the same time enable the lot of the worthless to be rendered much

harder; and harder it assuredly ought to be. It would put a stop to harder; and harder it assured, to dwell with the idiotic, the imbecile, decent old folk being forced to dwell with the idiotic, the imbecile, decent old folk being lorded to the imbecile, the imbecile, and the vicious; would put a stop, too, to respectable men, out of and the vicious is fault of their own, being shut up with lazy to and the vicious; would put a step, and the vicious; would put a step, out of work through no fault of their own, being shut up with lazy tramps

Under the Majority scheme the aged poor may receive out-relief, if Under the Majority solicities, if they are strong enough to fend for themselves, or if they have relatives they are strong enough for them. Whether they do receive its fend for them. they are strong enough to telestives. Whether they do receive it or not, able and willing to fend for them. Whether they do receive it or not, able and also on the contractor, and also on the contractor. able and willing to lend for their character, and also on the conditions however, will depend on their character, and also on the conditions however, will depend on the whole the new régime is established, if under which they are living. When the new régime is established, if under which they are fitting under which they are fit will be granted only to the respectable established it ever be, it will be granted only to the respectable poor, and only to such of them as have a decent home. When granted, poor, and only to such of the however, it will be adequate in amount, and what 'adequate' means however, it will be adequate for local authorities to have be left for local authorities to have been such as the left for local authorities to have been such as the left for local authorities to have been such as the left for local authorities to have been such as the left for local authorities to have a such as the left for local authorities to have a such as the left for local authorities to have a such as the left for local authorities to have a such as the left for local authorities to have a such as the left for local authorities to have a such as the left for local authorities to have a such as the left for local authorities to have a such as the local authorities are the local authorities to have a such as the local authorities are the local authorities are the local authorities and the local authorities are the local authorities and the local authorities are the local authoritie however, it will not be left for local authorities to decide. Thus old men and women will no longer be expected to live and thrive on two shillings and sixpence each a week. Nor will they need to wait about for an hour, perhaps, in the rain, for their doles; as relief stations will be abolished, and relieving officers will have to deliver the money they deal out at the houses of those to whom it is granted. All that this reform will mean for the poor, only the poor know. Meanwhile the alone-standing-old people who are too feeble 'to do' for themselves will be lodged in old-age homes; unless, indeed, they be disreputable, in which case they will be lodged in some Detention home. The oldage homes will not be huge electric-lighted palaces, but humble little places, where the poor old inmates will feel at home and be made comfortable-where they will be treated with consideration, and have their likes and dislikes consulted. They will all be classified, of course, and care will be taken to lodge the more worthy of them in homes quite apart from the less worthy. Thus if they are not content and happy, the fault will lie with themselves.

The Commissioners are convinced that the cost per head in a really comfortable old-age home need not be higher than it now is in a comfortless workhouse. And I myself have obtained proof, while visiting Danish and Austrian old-age homes, that it might be considerably lower, lower by at least one-third, providing the homes were properly managed. Even if it were higher, however, the old people would still, under the new arrangement, be less of a burden on the community than they are under the old. For, if certain recommendations of the Commission are adopted, many sons and daughters who now do not give their parents one penny, will be compelled to contribute regularly to their support. Even grandsons will be held responsible for the maintenance of their grandparents; for the Commissioners are unanimous in holding that the law must in this respect be strengthened, and be enforced more strictly than it is the custom to enforce it now. Thus, if this new system be introduced, both the aged poor and the ratepayers will be the gainers; for while the former

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will fare incomparably better than they fare now, they will entail on the latter less expense. The ratepayers will be the gainers, too, in the case of the able-bodied poor.

Under the present poor-relief system, a respectable able-bodied man who is destitute is in a most painful position, owing to the fact that, in the eyes of the Poor Law and its administrators, he is precisely on a par with drunken loafing tramps and criminals. All the able-bodied who present themselves at the casual ward door, or at the door of the workhouse, are regarded as belonging to the same tribe, no matter whether they be work-seekers or work-shirkers, decent men unemployed through no fault of their own, or men whose one aim in life is to live at the expense of their fellows. They are all penned in the same fold, are all provided with the same food under the same demoralising conditions. Poor Law officials have no right, indeed, to discriminate between them; it is no duty of theirs even to help those who wish for work to find work. Under the Majority Report scheme, however, things would be quite otherwise. Then the end and aim of all the arrangements for the able-bodied would be to discriminate between the work-seeker and the work-shirker, so as to help the one to find work, to help him, too, to keep himself fit until it was found; and to punish the other-to force him to change his ways, and work. All the Commissioners, the Minority as well as the Majority, pin their faith to Labour Exchanges as the best of all agencies through which to help the respectable poor when out of work. They insist that there must be established in every district a Labour Exchange, where all comers will be able to find out at once exactly where, if anywhere, work is to be had in the kingdom. They who signed the Majority Report insist also that a national system of insurance against unemployment must be organised. 'No scheme, either foreign or British, that has been brought before us is so free from objections as to justify us in specially recommending it for general adoption,' they add, it is true. But then the Basle scheme was not among those brought before them. If it had been, they might perhaps have made an exception in its favour.

Under the Majority scheme, if a respectable man, destitute through no fault of his own, applies for relief, the Poor Law administrators will either grant him out-relief and require him to do a certain amount of work in return, or will refer him to the Voluntary Aid Committee. One of these Committees is to be organised in every district for the purpose of trying to keep the respectable poor free from any association with the Poor Law, by helping them with advice, and also with money obtained from private sources. Before either out-relief or voluntary aid may be given to him, however, he must, if able to work, enter his name on the Labour Exchange List, and if he refuses work offered to him, he forfeits all claim to help of any kind.

Out-relief will not be given to anyone unless he can prove that he

is thoroughly respectable and that he requires it only temporarily. is thoroughly respectable and the will be kept under close surveillance, and while he has it he will be kept under close surveillance, and while his shoes very straight indeed. Men core And while he has it he was And while he has it he was straight indeed. Men concerning expected to walk his shoes very straight indeed. Men concerning expected to walk his shoes will be sent to a Labour Home or whom the officials have doubts will be sent to a Labour Home or whom the officials have done in the real meaning of the term. There they will not only workhouse in the real meaning of the term. There they will not only workhouse in the rear meaning will, if necessary, be taught how to be provided with work, but they will, if necessary, be taught how to be provided with work, but the provided with work, but the provided with work, but the provided with work of change a little money will be given to them, do it. Opportunities of obtaining work outside through the them, do it. Opportunities of change work outside through the Labour opportunities, too, of obtaining work outside through the Labour opportunities, too, of obtaining opportunities, and the best opportunities opportunities, and obtaining opportunities opportunities, and obtaining opportunities opportunities, and obtaining opportunities opportunities opportunities opportunities, and obtaining opportunities opportunit Exchange. In the home the work quite apart from the worse, Meanamong them will live and homes, their wives and children while, if they have decent wives and homes, their wives and children will receive out-relief.

No one will be admitted to a Labour Home unless he is both able and willing to work. The very men who are now most prone to resort to the casual wards and workhouses will be carefully excluded; and should any of them through mischance make their way into the place, they will speedily be turned out. Tramps and vagrants when found will be handed over to the police; so will professional beggars, and the whole disreputable lazy tribe, together with those who try to loaf in Labour Homes. Such persons as these are classed with the poor now, but in the days to come they will be classed with the criminal, and will be sent to a Detention Colony, practically a loafers' reformatory. for not less than six months or more than three years. It will be a redletter day for the respectable poor when this change is made, a redletter day too for the ratepayers; for the result of it will be that thousands of worthless men and women, who are now a burden on their fellows, will be forced to earn their own daily bread.

When in Switzerland a few months ago I was in three penal colonies which are more than self-supporting. Not only does the average inmate defray by his labour the whole of the expense he entails, but he actually earns money for the community. And there is no reason why we too should not organise our Detention

Colonies at any rate on self-supporting lines.

Then not only are there to be Old-age Homes, Labour Homes, and Detention Colonies under the new system, but there are also to be special homes for the feeble-minded and epileptics. This too will be a gain all round. So long as these abnormal persons live with the normal, they are a source of misery to themselves and of annoyance to those around them. They can neither be properly cared for, nor be given the chance of fitting themselves to earn their living. When once they have homes of their own, however, things will be quite different, as the experience gained in the German epileptic colonies proves clearly. Then they will all be regularly taught some handicraft; or, better still, be trained to work on the land. The result will be that the be that the overwhelming majority of them, instead of being, as they are now, entirely dependent on their fellows, will be enabled, par1909

tially at any rate, to support themselves. As the Authorities are to have the power to detain, if necessary, the inmates of the homes, a stop will, of course, be put to one of the worst scandals connected with our present Poor Law administration. Poor half-witted girls are free now, it must be remembered, to quit the workhouse at the prompting of any passing impulse, and thus to bring misery on themselves and expense on the community.

With a view to keeping down expenses while replacing the work-house by all these diverse institutions, it is proposed in the Majority Report, that, instead of each district having its own institutions, a single institution shall be made to serve for several districts, for a whole county, indeed, or perhaps even two or three counties, in the case of a Detention Colony. This joint property arrangement is already in force both in Denmark and in Switzerland, where it works smoothly and economically.

If all the features of the Majority scheme were as satisfactory as those that relate to the relief of the adult poor, even the most captious among us would find little in it to cavil at. Unfortunately, however, this is not the case. The suggestions the Commissioners make for the reform of the relief of children are on the whole disappointing. They insist, it is true, that the young must no longer be housed in the same institution as adult paupers, and this must be counted unto them as righteousness; but, on the other hand, they raise no objection to their being left under the care of the same authority as these paupers. and that is certainly a blot on their scheme. They seem to have sought guidance in Switzerland; whereas they would have done better, perhaps, had they sought it in Hungary or Prussia; unless, indeed, they had chosen to go to South Australia or New Zealand. Hungary and Prussia are the model countries in Europe for all that relates to the young, the children's-relief systems in these countries being the two best and cheapest in Europe. If the Hungarian system were introduced here, the cost of the relief of children would speedily be reduced by one-half.

Both in Budapest and in Berlin there is a special department that takes entire charge of the children of the State, and this department has nothing whatever to do with pauper relief. Under the Majority scheme, however, our State children are still to be the wards of the same authorities as paupers; and these authorities are to have full control of them and be responsible for them to the State. In other respects, however, their position will undoubtedly be improved. They will be more carefully looked after than they are now, and thus more secure from harm; they will be better fitted, too, to make their own way in the world.

The Commissioners recommend that as many children shall be boarded out as can be safely; and that those who are boarded out shall be under the direct surveillance of Local Government Board

Digitized by Arya Sama, 1 construction of local inspectresses. They recommend, too, inspectresses, as well as of local inspectresses. They recommend, too, inspectresses, as well as of local many recommend, too, that all children who receive out-relief shall be under close surveillance; that all children living. that all children who receive out that all children living under that out-relief shall be granted only to children living under and that out-relief shall be granted only to children living under that out-relief shall be granted only to children living under that out-relief shall be granted only to children living under that out-relief shall be granted only to children living under that the children who receive out that the children who receive out the children who receive out that the children who receive out the children who receive out that the children who receive out the children who re and that out-relief snan be granted; and that, when granted, it in amount, i.e. enough to nourish properly the moral influences and in december of the mounts, i.e. enough to nourish properly those who shall be adequate in amount, i.e. enough to nourish properly those who shall be adequate in amount, the decently. Evidently those who receive it and to provide for them decently. Evidently they do not approve of the luxuries with which, in certain Poor Law institutions, approve of the luxures with the surrounded; for, while insisting that more to the out-relief children, they hold that so the little inmates are now surrounding that more must be given to the out-relief children, they hold that something must be given to the out-relief children, they hold that something must be given to the out to advantage from those in institutions, might be taken away with advantage from those in institutions, might be taken away with the power to detain might be taken away with the Poor Law authority to have the power to detain Then they wish the root Land guardians, the power to detain children in certain cases; and guardians, the power to retain the

The more important of the changes the Majority Commissioners wish to see brought about are those relating to school children. They are not content with our elementary educational system: it ought to be less literary and more practical, they maintain; more on the lines of the systems in force in Germany and Switzerland, in fact. In these countries children are taught to use their fingers and their eyes in very early days; and they all receive a certain amount of technical training while still at school. It is suggested that our boys should be kept at school until fifteen, in order to secure for them something in the way of trade training; and that there should be special organisations for the purpose of helping them to choose a calling, and thus keep them from drifting, as so many do now, into an unskilled or overcrowded calling. There is urgent need of more facilities for technical education after the present age of leaving school, we are told. With a view to the improvement of physique a system of physical drill should be instituted, which might be continued after school-days. Some of the Commissioners are of opinion that it would be well if all boys served as soldiers for a time.

All these suggestions are admirable, of course, but one would wish them to go a little further. Why should not girls, too, remain at school until fifteen; why should not they, too, receive technical training, at any rate, in cooking and housekeeping? If all our girls were turned into good cooks and housewives before they left school, there would soon be a marked improvement in our national physique. A well-cooked dinner in a comfortable home does more towards keeping a man fit than any amount of drilling-not but that drilling is an excellent thing. In Berlin the Poor Law boys are turned out into the world at fifteen, and their sisters not until sixteen. The ratepayers maintain the girls a full year longer than the boys because they recognise the fact that it is a matter of national importance that every girl should be a good cook and housewife. If all the reforms the Majority Report recommends be made in our relief system for children, it will undoubtedly be a much better system than it is; but even then

it will not be so good as either the system in force in Berlin or that in force throughout Hungary.

As for the proposals the Majority make for the reform of our medical-relief system, they are not satisfactory; they are less satisfactory, indeed, so far as I can judge, but that is not very far, than those the Minority make. It is very doubtful whether the arrangement they suggest would work here, although one of much the same kind works fairly well in parts of Switzerland.

The recommendation of the Majority Report is that our present medical-relief system under the administration of the Poor Law authorities shall be maintained, and that a Provident Dispensary system shall be instituted and worked with it side by side. The recommendation of the Minority is that when Poor Law Guardians disappear Poor Law medical relief shall disappear with them. The four Commissioners who signed it hold that the health of the whole community in each county ought to be under the care of one authority, whose business would be not only to administer to the diseased but also to battle against disease. Those needing medical help ought to receive it at once, and pay for it later, if they have the means. And certainly there is much to be said for this view of the case. It is to the advantage of the whole community that every case of disease, especially among the poor, should be dealt with both skilfully and promptly, as otherwise the chances are the sufferers will become unemployable and have to be supported. The chief defect of our present system is that although, under it, they are dealt with skilfully, they are not dealt with promptly. Our workhouses and infirmaries are crowded with men and women who are unemployable simply because they did not receive proper care until it was already too late for care to help them. Under the Majority scheme this state of things might continue; and in any case we should still be behind both Berlin and Vienna in our arrangements for the invalid poor.

A bad poor-relief system well administered is better by far, as we all know, than a good system badly administered. Of all the recommendations the Majority Report contains, the most important, therefore, are those that concern administration. And sad to say they are also the most unsatisfactory. Not but that there are many good points about the administrative system the Government is advised to set up; not but that, if it were set up, it would work much better than the present system. The mere fact that under it the Local Government Board would be able to withhold grants in aid from local authorities of whose proceedings it did not approve, would in itself bring about a great change for the better. As things are, any petty little union may set at defiance with impunity what is in theory its higher authority; it may scoff at its decrees and openly flout its official inspectors. As a means of putting a stop to this topsy-turvy state of things, it is proposed, and very wisely, that the Local Government Board shall have the power not only to restrain the Local Government Board state it has already—but also to force them to provide for the poor properly force local authorities from acting local authorities from acting to provide for the poor properly and them to act, to force them, too, to combine and provide for them to act, to force them, too, to combine and provide for certain economically, to force them, too, to combine and provide for certain economically, to force them, by classes of the poor together. Local authorities that do not do what classes of the poor together to be deprived of their grants. classes of the poor together.

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they are told to do are to be deprived of their grants; and, unless they are to cease to be and they are told to do are to be authorities, and, unless they forthwith change their ways, they are to cease to be authorities, they forthwith change their ways, they are to cease to be authorities, they forthwith change their stages, the Board stepping into their place. It is proofficials appointed by the Board Stepping into their place. It is proofficials appointed by the Board shall become in reality, posed in fact that the Local Government Board shall become in reality, posed in fact that the Hoor have the Poor Law local authorities' higher what it now is only in name, the Poor Law local authorities' higher what it now is only in heart, authority, and thus be enabled to secure continuity of policy among authority, and thus be enabled to secure continuity of policy among authority, and thus be characteristic and equality in their treatment of the poor. This change them, and equality in their treatment of the poor. would indeed be a blessing both for the ratepayers and the poor; would indeed be a pressing for now these local authorities change their policy from year to year, and hardly two villages treat their poor alike.

If the Majority scheme be adopted there will be in each countyor county borough—one Poor Law Authority, a Statutory Committee of the County Council. In London the County Council will appoint three-fourths of the members of the Authority, and the Local Government Board the other fourth. Elsewhere the County Council will appoint all the members, one-half from among the members of the Council and one-half from outside. The Authority will direct and control the administration of the Poor Law throughout the countyor county borough—and will provide out of the county rates the money wherewith to defray the expenditure it entails. In London, for instance, instead of there being, as there are, thirty-one Boards of Guardians each raising rates for itself, each building its own institutions and providing for the poor according to its own special fancy, there will be one Public Assistance Authority for the whole town; and this Authority will be responsible for the treatment of the poor in every part of the town; and will, subject to the approval of the Local Government Board, determine what that treatment shall be. In every part of the town, therefore, in Belgravia as in Southwark, the poor will all fare alike, and so will the ratepayers. This is, of course. as it ought to be; for our present arrangement, under which the poor in one union live in a palace, and in another in hovels, is quite grotesquely unjust to all concerned.

The Public Assistance Authority will decide what institutions are necessary for the town as a whole; it will build them, and when they are built will direct and control the management of them. Every penny spent on the poor will pass through its hands, and it will be responsible for the right spending of it to the Local Government Board. This, too, will be a great improvement on our present system. While the Authority will be directly responsible for the relief of the poor throughout the county, there will be in every union in the county a Committee, the members of which will be appointed by the Authority,

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and will be responsible to it for the relief of the poor in that district. All applications for relief will be addressed to the Committees; and it is the Committees that will investigate the circumstances of the applicants and will decide, subject to the approval of the Authority and on lines laid down by it, whether relief shall or shall not be granted. They will watch over the persons who receive relief, and will see that they demean themselves in a seemly fashion; and that if they can work they do. One of their duties will be to co-operate with the Voluntary Aid Committees with a view to warding off destitution. The money they spend will be given them by their Authority, which will audit their accounts and limit their expenditure.

In framing their administrative system, the Majority section of the Commission have evidently taken Germany as their model. Should it come into force, poor relief would be administered in London on practically the same system, so far as machinery goes, as it is now administered in Berlin, with the County Council, however, here in the position the Municipal Council holds there. In Berlin there is a central Poor Law Authority just as it is proposed that there shall be here; and this authority does the same work as ours will have to do; it has the same functions as ours will have, the same responsibilities. The Berlin Authority has, precisely as ours will have, an effective higher Authority; and has also, just as ours, local committees to help it in its work. Thus practically the system of Poor Law administration which the Majority Report recommends for us here is, in its machinery, identical with that in force in Berlin, the difference between the two systems, and there is an enormous difference, being in the personnel.

In Berlin the President of the Poor Law Authority is a highly trained, paid official, an expert in all that concerns the poor. He devotes the whole of his time to his work and holds office for twelve years. Our Chairman will be an honorary official, one gaining his daily bread, perhaps, by following another calling. He will be an amateur, of course, and will hold office for three years at most.

There seventeen out of the forty-four members who constitute the authority are trained experts, and five of them are paid. And it is these seventeen who, with the help of a staff of paid officials, do the whole of the executive work of the department, the non-expert members merely attending meetings to receive reports as to what is being done. Thus practically the Poor Law Authority there is a body of expert officials, and they administer poor relief on strictly businesslike lines just as if it was a limited liability company. The only amateur Poor Law officials there are in Berlin are the members of the Armen-Kommissionen, which correspond to our Committees, and they are the only officials that do not do their work well.

Here, however, under the Majority scheme, not only are our Committees to be amateurs, but also our Authorities. We have no security that any single member of our Authority, even in London, will be a

trained expert. One-fourth of the members are to be 'persons of trained expert. One-loured trained experience in the administration of Public Assistance, we are skill and experience these persons to be found, seeing that a long are these persons to be found, seeing that a long are these persons to be found, seeing that a long are these persons to be found, seeing that a long are these persons to be found, seeing that a long are these persons to be found, seeing that a long are these persons to be found, seeing that a long are these persons to be found. skill and experience in the administration of the skill and experience in the skill an told. But where are these points a law here, as they have in Berlin, not to be paid? We have not a law here, as they have in Berlin, not to be paid? We have in Berlin, by which persons of skill and experience can be forced, whether they by which persons of skill and experience can be forced, whether they wish it or not, to act as the town's honorary officials. wish it or not, to act as the County Gouncil will have to take what it can get in the way of members County Gouncil will have to take what it can get in the way of members County Council will have to take what it con for its Poor Law Authority, and so will the Local Government Board; for its Poor Law Authority, and have to take what it can get in the just as this Authority itself will have to take what it can get in the just as this Authority reserving machinery here as there is in the way of members for its committees. Thus even though we set up way of members for the same administrative machinery here as there is in Berlin, to expect it to work as well here as there would be absurd, seeing that expect it to work as from that here it would be worked by amateurs, with the help of one professional adviser, whereas there it is worked by experts.

Besides the Berlin system of Poor Law administration, although much better than our own, is not, thanks to its Armen-Kommissionen, the best in Europe, if by best we mean the system under which the best value is obtained for the money spent on the poor, under which the most just and humane treatment is secured for the poor at the smallest cost to the ratepayers. The best system in this meaning of the term, for large towns, at any rate, is undoubtedly that in force in Copenhagen. And this system has for us special interest owing to the fact that, for hundreds of years, the Danish Poor Law was identical with our own, and was administered by Poor Law Guardians in much the same fashion as ours is still administered. Some eighteen years ago, however, the Danes actually did what the Poor Law Commissioners recommend that we should do: they made a clean sweep of their Poor Law Guardians and with them of their all-round equality method of dealing with the poor. In Copenhagen indeed they went farther than any one of our Commissioners has ventured to suggest that we should go; for they made a clean sweep of honorary Poor Law officials of every kind, and installed in their place paid officials, alleging as a reason that, being a small nation, they really could not afford such expensive luxuries as amateur administrators.

Under the new system Copenhagen is divided into districts, which are arranged in groups; and in each district poor relief is administered by a Superintendent, who is responsible for the treatment of the poor there to the Inspector of the group to which his district belongs, while the Inspector is responsible for the treatment both of the poor and the old-age pensioners in his group to the 'III Section' Burgomaster, who in his turn is responsible for the treatment of the poor of all degrees, to the State on the one hand and the town on the other. Both Superintendents and Inspectors are paid expert officials; while as for the Burgomaster, he is an expert of experts as well as a paid official. He, with the help of with the help of a trained paid staff, directs and controls the administration not ministration not only of poor relief and old-age pensions, but of all

public charities in the city. There is no divided responsibility there, public on scapegoats: if the poor are neglected or money is wasted, no see and the says, always there, the man to be hanged on the nearest lamp-post.

The introduction of expert administration proved a triumph for all concerned. No sooner was the new system in working order than the cost of poor relief decreased considerably, although the poor were better cared for than they had ever been cared for before. Denmark there is an old-age relief system founded on a law similar to our Old-Age Pension Law, and this works side by side with the poor relief system. Three years ago the full annual cost of the administration of poor relief together with old-age relief was in Copenhagen only 14,000l., although every administrator was paid. The full cost of poor relief, together with old-age relief, was only 10s. 7½d. per head of the population, or 6s. per head less than the cost of poor relief alone here in London. And this simply because there the administration was in the hands of experts who knew how to do their work skilfully, and obtain good value for their money, whereas here it was in the hands of amateurs who, through sheer inexperience, 'swattered' their money away. For the respectable poor fared infinitely better there than here, although the worthless fared worse; and the cost of living is every whit as high there as here. Surely that 6s. per head of the population ought to make us think not once or twice, but many times before again installing in office amateur Poor Law administrators.

Poor Law administrators will have much more difficult work to do in the future than they have had in the past, it must be remembered; for they will have to classify the destitute; and that is work so difficult that, were it not done in other countries, one might almost doubt whether it could be done satisfactorily. But then in other countries it is done by trained officials.

That we should ever have an entirely official system of Poor Law administration here in London, as the Danes have in Copenhagen, is perhaps past even praying for; much as we should save if we had. Still, surely, we might have, as the Berliners have, at any rate some trained paid officials among the members of our Public Assistance Authority, and a trained paid chairman. If we could also have paid officials to do the work, with the help of Voluntary Aid Committees, that it is proposed to entrust to Public Assistance Committees, there would be some hope of poor relief being administered fairly and economically.

Judging by a question which Mr. Marriott asked in his very interesting article, 'The Great Inquest,' in this Review last month, there is a tendency, in certain quarters, to look askance on this Poor Law scheme the Majority have framed, holding that under it the lot of the pauper would be made too pleasant. , 'Is it really either safe or expedient,' he enquired, 'to take all the sting out of pauperism, and to seek,

by change of nomenclature or in other ways, to erase the distinction by change of nomenclature of in between dependence and independence and independence.

To this question there can surely be but one answer, and that a To this question there exists the distinction between and that a very decided 'no.' Instead of erasing the distinction between poverty very decided 'no.' Instead of erasing the distinction between poverty very decided 'no.' Instead of the seems to me, to seek to accentuate and pauperism, we ought rather, it seems to me, to seek to accentuate amphasise the fact that a great gulf senarate and pauperism, we ought to accentuate a great gulf separates those it, to seek to emphasise the fact that a great gulf separates those it, to seek to emphasize from those whom their fellows must it, to seek to emphasize those whom their fellows must support who support themselves from those whom their fellows must support, who support themselves and in this there would be no injustice, children excepted, of course. And in this there would be no injustice, children excepted, of could reasonably complain, providing we nothing of which anyone could reasonably complain, providing we nothing of which anyone nothing of which anyone had, as the Majority recommend that we should have, in addition to had, as the Majorry Local and insurance against unemploy. our old-age pension system, a national insurance against unemploy. our old-age pension of the control o always on the alert to give a helping hand to those overtaken by sudden and unmerited misfortune. If the community does its duty to the poor, if it secures them so far as it can against becoming paupers through no fault of their own, it has the right—nay, it is its duty to deal out stern measure to paupers, and to bring home to them in unmistakable terms that they are not on a par with their non-pauper fellows. And it is one of the merits of the Majority scheme that under it, so far as I can judge, this is precisely what would be done.

In what concerns adults this scheme is founded, as we have seen, on the Danish relief system, and in no country is there so deep a gulf between paupers and the self-supporting poor as in Denmark; in no country is the line of demarcation between these two classes so distinct. The poor, no matter how poor they may be, are free of course to live their own lives and go their own way; no one has the right to interfere with them or say them yea or nay. But with paupers it is far otherwise; they live under close surveillance and practically in bondage. And as it is in Denmark, so will it be here, if our new poor-relief system be framed on the lines the Majority recommend. Then paupers of all degrees will be in a quite different position from that in which they are now; the liberty they now enjoy will be curtailed very considerably. Men may go in and out of workhouses at will now, and while there they may practically work or not as they choose. The Authorities will have the power then to detain where they will all who accept relief, and to send such among them as can work and will not, where they will be forced to work; the power, too, to keep them there not only for three days, but for three years. As things are, recipients of out relief may, if such be their taste, spend their money on drink and lead squalid, vicious lives. As things will be, a careful watch will be kept over each one of them; and, unless he leads a decent, sober, cleanly life, he will speedily be transported nolens volens to an institution.

Under the proposed system, respectable men and women would, doubt, if doubt is doubt if no doubt, if destitute fare better than they fare under the present

system; for if they could work they would be helped to find work be helped, in fact, not to become paupers. And if they could not work, and must therefore become paupers, they would at any rate be enabled, although in bondage, to lead decent lives free from all be enabled with the demoralising and degrading. Among those who apply for relief, however, the respectable form but a very small minority, it must be remembered. The overwhelming majority are loafers and ne'er-do-wells, even when not drunken rogues, and they would assuredly fare much worse. The average pauper must, indeed, of necessity fare worse, seeing that the fundamental principle of this system is classification with treatment according to merit, and he would have to prove his merit. Whatever other faults this scheme may have, it certainly does not 'take the sting out of pauperism,' even though it does change its name.

There is another point concerning which Mr. Marriott shows anxiety. 'Have we entirely forgotten the position of the industrious, self-respecting and independent wage-earners, upon whom distribute rates and taxes how you will—the financial burden must ultimately fall?' he asks, seemingly taking it for granted that, under a system founded on the Majority Report, the cost of poor relief would be higher than it is under the present system. Whether it would actually be higher or not is of course a moot point; all that we can say is that, if it were higher, then the new system would be a disastrous failure. Supposing the actual cost were the same as now, however, the cost to the ratepayers would, of course, be lower than now, not only because the relatives of the poor would have to contribute more to their support, but also because money that is now often wasted would be devoted by the Voluntary Aid Committees to the relief of the poor. But it is not enough that the cost of poorrelief should be the same as now; it ought certainly to be lower. Foreign Poor Law administrators profess themselves quite scandalised at the way in which under our present system we waste our money. Never was there such an extravagant system as ours, they declare; never was there a system under which so much money was spent on the poor, or so meagre a return was obtained for the money spent. The average cost per head in English workhouses, it must be noted, in 1907 was 27l. 5s.  $0\frac{1}{2}d$ .—in London workhouses 34l. 9s.  $11\frac{1}{4}d$ ., while in Danish old-age homes it was only 181. 15s.; and in Swiss Labour Colonies it was nil, the inmates defraying their own expenses by their labour. Thus, in replacing our workhouses by old-age homes and labour colonies, we should reduce our expenditure, not increase it; providing, of course, we managed our new institutions as skilfully as they are managed abroad. Then many of our State children cost us now 30l., 40l., and even 52l., a year each; but were they, as the Majority recommend, either boarded out, or housed in some simple homely fashion, they need not cost more than perhaps 161.

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a year each. In Berlin the average cost per head of the State children a year each. In Berlin the attendance is 14l. 1s. 1d.; and in Hungary is 15l. a year; while in South Australia it is 14l. 1s. 1d.; and in Hungary is 15l. a year; while in South Real is better cared for in those countries 6l. Yet the average State child is better cared for in those countries are money on our old the save money of the 61. Yet the average State control of the thouse countries than here. Evidently, therefore, we might save money on our children

hout any detriment to them.

Roughly speaking, under the new system, the indoor poor would represent system, while the Roughly speaking, under the present system, while the outdoor probably cost less than under the present system, while the outdoor probably cost less than under the present system, while the outdoor probably cost more. As for the unemployed probably cost less than under the outdoor poor would undoubtedly cost more. As for the unemployed, they, poor would undoubted, they, as the money spent on labour I am inclined to think, would cost less, as the money spent on labour I am inclined to think, we are the inclined to the bureaux, insurance against the formula to fewer of them becomes the saving to fewer of them becomes for their benefit, would be effected owing to fewer of them becoming paupers. Whether the poor as a whole would cost more or less would depend on the way their relief was administered. If we could have a thoroughly good system of Poor Law administration, I, for my part, have never a doubt but that under the Majority scheme the burden entailed by poor relief would be considerably lighter, in the days to come, than it is now.

EDITH SELLERS.

### WHAT EVERY GERMAN KNOWS

By Jove! John, I've got my morning's work cut out here,' said his Lordship, looking up indulgently from a tangle of papers, maps, plans, and German newspapers piled impressively upon his writing-table.

The tall, square, fair-haired valet, who frequently acted as secretary,

assumed an expression of deferential sympathy.

'It's what Burton in his "Anatomy of Melancholy" might have

called a "turgent calculus," he began.

'Turgent calculus!' drawled Lord Ottoway, turning round upon his bombastic amanuensis. 'I call it an incalculable calculus. It's all in German, too.'

The secretary returned no answer, and stood erect as a German

soldier at the salute.

'There's some more little data here, I fancy. Ahem! Shall I put them down with the others, your Lordship?'

Lord Ottoway swung round on his chair again.

'What?' he exclaimed testily, noticing for the first time an enormous pile of printed material stacked on the silver platter which the secretary held in both hands. 'The devil there is. Good heavens! What on earth shall I do with it all? Yes, stick it down. No, not there! Here! Oh, well, all right, put them on that sofa over there; I can hardly see over the table as it is.'

The secretary deposited the bundle of papers on the sofa, carefully extracted a thin paper-cover booklet, and returned discreetly to the

side of his master.

Lord Ottoway plunged disconsolately into the mass of papers on the table, and presently the smoke of his cigar got into his eyes, so that he was constrained to look up and wipe the tears out of them. Then he noticed John again.

The deuce, John! What are you standing there for? What's

that, eh? You don't mean to say there are more papers?'

'I thought this one might be useful,' said the secretary, insinuatingly, at the same time handing him the booklet. 'It's the latest thing on the subject, your Lordship.'

The latest thing! What do you know about it? Well, let me

see it.'

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Lord Ottoway looked at the cover blankly, opened the title-page, Lord Ottoway looked at the book, and threw it down in

Gust. 'It's German,' he threw back at the secretary. 'I can't read the good of giving me that jargon?' that stuff. What's the good of giving me that jargon?

t stuff. What's the good to booklet, tapped it discreetly with his right forefinger, and said: at forefinger, and said.

'Beg pardon, your Lordship, but I think you ought to know about the big is I give you my word for it.'

this. It's good copy, this is. I give you my word for it.

Really! What is it, then?' queried Lord Ottoway, affixing his eveglass.

eyeglass.
'Wege und Geheimmittel zur Aeronautischen-Nacht-Eroberung Englands,' he pronounced solemnly.

Lord Ottoway stared, petrified.

'What's that in the King's English?' he asked.

'Secret ways and means of aerial conquest of England by night,' rejoined the valet quietly. 'It's the last word on aerial navigation, I'm told.'

Lord Ottoway looked at his valet-amanuensis in amazement.

'John,' he said, after he had vainly tried to stare the man out of countenance, 'is your name really John Hodge?'

'It has been so for ten years, your Lordship,' the man replied. 'What was it before that?' snapped out Lord Ottoway.

The secretary drew himself up very straight and proud.

'Wilhelm Meister,' he said slowly.

Lord Ottoway seemed surprised.

'Wilhelm,' he said. 'William the master, eh? Not a bad joke that-what?' Then the two men looked at each other and laughed in company.

'You're a German, then?' remarked Lord Ottoway thoughtfully.

The fair-haired valet bowed.

'What made you come over here?' queried his Lordship.

'Got into trouble after I had quitted the University; had to make a bolt,' the valet replied. 'Went round the corner, as we say in Germany.'

'I see,' said Lord Ottoway. 'So you've actually been at a

University, have vou?'

'They're bad times these, your Lordship,' ventured the secretary, after a pause. 'In these days of κακοζηλίαν—'

'Kako what!' shouted Lord Ottoway. 'Look here, it's no use

talking German to me.'

'That's Greek, your Lordship,' tartly returned the valet. 'In

these days of Dreadnought building, I mean-'

Dreadnought building! Why, that's the very thing I'm on now. That's the very stunt I've got to work up by four o'clock this afternoon and lecture on before ten thousand people. Kako, what

do you call it? Cacophony I call it; and the plague take the whole

John returned no answer to this tirade, so his Lordship continued pontifically: 'If it wasn't for your William, the ship-builder, I pontinually the got into this mess, with all this printed litter about me. Here I am deluged with maps and plans and German books and ne. Hers I can't read a word of. Yet I've got to say something this afternoon; and an hour of that will go for lunch. I don't see how the dickens I'm going to do it.'

Wilhelm Meister looked at his master sympathetically.

Perhaps I can help you,' he remarked tentatively.

'Help me!' returned Lord Ottoway gloomily. 'Stay, wait a minute, though. You know German of course, John; I had forgot that. Perhaps you can help me.'

His lordship toyed thoughtfully with an enormous gold-handled

paper-knife, and wheeled round on his swing-chair.

'John,' he said suddenly, 'suppose you had to make this speech,

would you know where to begin?

'In the beginning is the end,' sententiously said the secretary. 'I don't think the beginning is the difficulty in this case, your Lordship. It's the end rather that is difficult. You see, there's such a wealth of material, such overwhelming argument, such incontrovertible reason, making the matter a world problem of political and racial destiny---,

'Hold hard!' interrupted Lord Ottoway, taking up a pencil and hastily scrawling a few words on a large piece of note-paper. 'That's not half a bad phrase—" incontrovertible world problem." By Jove!

I'll use that. All right, go on!'

'Well, as I was saying, your Lordship,' pursued Wilhelm Meister, 'you see, it's a question of destiny, as we Germans see it-of racial psychology, as it were, of historical decree, of what Fichte called the

realisation of the national expression.'

Lord Ottoway made a despairing gesture with his hand. 'Steady, John!' he urged upon his impassioned valet. 'No purple rodomontade, mind. The public won't stick it. Just plain British common-sense is what I want; none of your imperial Pan-German freworks. That won't go down here at all. We always suspect the brilliant man, you know.'

'Beg pardon, your Lordship,' said the secretary humbly. 'Where

would you like me to begin?'

That's better, John. Yes, where would I, now? Let me see. Ah! Well, that's exactly the proposition, isn't it?'

Thus encouraged, John squared his shoulders bravely.

should begin with ships,' he said quietly. You English understand ships, even if you don't understand the exigency that justifies them. I should go right away something like this.'

Lord Ottoway seized his pencil and stared expectantly at the note.

paper.

aper.

'My Lord, ladies and gentlemen, I've come here to-day to speak

'My Lord, ladies which, as you all know, are the heritage of D 'My Lord, ladies and gone all know, are the heritage of Drake

One for Jacky Fisher, that, interrupted Lord Ottoway.

One for Jacky Fisher, imperturbably continued the valet, of Drake and Frobisher, imperturbably continued the valet, Of Drake and Problem, of Cromwell and Nelson to this country; for ships are the wardens of Cromwell and Nelson to the watchdogs of the nation's destination of the wardens of Cromwell and Neison to descript of the nation's destiny, and the nation's trust, the watchdogs of the nation's destiny, and the of the nation's trust, the stay of all life and security now and in the future. That, ladies and gentlemen, is a truism every stoker in the British Navy knows by gentlemen, is a truising overy Jack infant on the whole Continent, rote, and, let me tell you, every Jack infant on the whole Continent. Am I right, ladies and gentlemen? Do you accept this premise as Am I right, lattice and general existence? You do! Ladies the rock-fundament of the national existence? You do! Ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to hear your acclaim. Now let me tell you its corollary, which is also a truism suckled at the breast of every German mother in the Fatherland.'

Quite good! 'interjected Lord Ottoway. Go on, John Meister.' The secretary pursued the tenour of his reflections.

'Its corollary is this-absolute, invincible supremacy; and by that I mean rigid and absolute adhesion to the Cawdor programme; to the two-Power standard, to the standard, let me explain, that will give us a fleet ready and able at any moment and at any future time successfully to annihilate the potential combination of any two fleets which conceivably may be opposed to us. That, ladies and gentlemen, is the root and marrow of the whole matter. And now I want you, having accepted this principle in a national and non-party sense, vet as the determinant to the existence of any Government or party in power, to look around and see what rising dangers threaten the life's blood of these isles at our very door in the North Sea, and what singular apathy and misconception linger in the public mind with regard to it.

'Why do I fly the danger signal? Why do I come down from Scotland to tell you what I feel so solemnly and deeply? Why do I speak at all about a matter which a decade ago all England would have accepted as the pulse of all policy and reason of State? Because, ladies and gentlemen, that programme, that standard, that policy, that key of State reason has been thrown overboard, jettisoned-do you follow me ?—to ease the national economy at the bidding of a few well-meaning faddists and humanitarians ignorant of German, ignorant of German aims and ambitions, ignorant of Treitschke and the whole economic and political school that he founded, ignorant of the very meaning of the term Machtpolitik, or Power-policy, which since the days of Bismarck and Sedan have saturated and directed the rulers and the people of Germany, and may yet destroy and control this Empire. That is the plain fact. Without a British admiral on the

Naval Board resigning, without mandate from the people, this Govern-Naval Board Tolk the two-Power standard—that standard which ment has all hitherto accepted as axiomatic of our very blood and breath.'

Keep off the purple, John, interpolated Lord Ottoway. Straight

sailing, remember. Go on, Wilhelm Meister.'

Gentlemen, why is Germany building this fleet? Is it to challenge the Monroe doctrine in South America? No! Since the Venezuelan imbroglio and the triumphant expression of that doctrine in the States a whole network of South American doctrines has sprung into being, and Germany has abandoned all idea of peopling and colonising Brazil and those parts, and consigned the whole Pan-German dream there to the limbo of fatuity. Is it for Russia-Russia, who has no fleet at all? No, the very Sciolist in such things can answer that. Is it to meet France? Again the Sciolist can answer. For nearly ten years now France has steadily neglected her fleet. She has become the most eminently peaceful bourgeois Socialist country in Europe. Numerically, the German Army stands at a ratio of three to two to that of France; and as for the French Navy, were it ever to engage the German Fleet it would be shot down as inevitably and as surely as were the ill-fated hulks of the Russian Armada by the triumphant Japanese.

'Why, then, is this fleet building? Why, I ask you, since the so-called Dreadnought era has Germany been building, jumping suddenly from ships of 13,000 tons to 18,000 and more, with such feverish haste and secrecy; widening and deepening the Kiel canal, fortifying her whole Baltic and North Sea coast-line till they bristle with guns and mining fortifications; restlessly and indefatigably drawing on the State economies to build gigantic ships—ships in every way the equal with our own, ships that, it is hoped, will soon rival our own in strength and positive numerical power? Why? Can any sane man any longer doubt? By what deliration of the human mind can any adult in this country fail to give the rightful answer? I say, can such a man exist? Well, if there are any here who doubt, let

me tell you.

'It is because since the Dreadnought era, Germany, so to speak, got into the wake of her " natural " destiny; because the Dreadnought type, rendering virtually obsolescent all her own ships and nearly all ours, provided her, unexpectedly, with a fair sporting chance. Dozens of Press notices in the Fatherland pointed that out at the time. With the promptitude characteristic of German State dynamics, Admiral Tirpitz set about his task. From that moment the ultimate command of sea-power became with her not only an obsession, but an inspiring and tangible potentiality. It became a question of money, primarily; of dockyards and armoury, a simple process of building capacity, a race for the ocean's supremacy.

May I be keel-hauled if this is not most solemn truth. 'May I be keel-hauled it this did we do? Did we grasp the philosophy of the challenge? Not a did we do? Did we grasp the philosophy as we talked about I did we do? Did we grasp the product as we talked about Jumbo, bits We talked about our one Dreadnought as we talked about Jumbo, bit. We talked about our one state about Jumbo, and then we went to sleep with pious sophistries and incantations. and then we went to sleep comfortably in your beds," we were told "Boys, you may all sleep comfortably in Your beds," we were told "Boys, you may all sleep control of the late Sir Henry Campbell to talk about "general disarmament." the other day by our First continued the other day by our First continued and the state of the s Bannerman began to tank accuracy by the very suggestion of such a thing. caused a war panie in definition, futile appeals to universal love.

Then we suggested humanitarianism, futile appeals to universal love. Then we suggested numerical love and brotherhood, oblivious that the whole question is one of power and brotherhood, oblivious that the whole question is one of power and brotherhood, oblivious that and brotherhood, oblivious that against destiny against destiny, a matter of national and imperial dynamics. And what did Germany do?

Well, just this. For every Dreadnought that we laid down she laid down two. Though every year renders our vessels of the pre-Dreadnought era more and more inefficient, so that in a few years they will, most of them, have to be relegated to the scrap-heap, we actually built half the number of the larger ships that Germany did; actually failed to understand what this rapid acceleration in the German ship-building programme signified; actually declined to admit that the palpable and sole purpose of the rising German fleet was to build up to our sea-power, to be able some day to secure what Germans call "the freedom of the seas," and to challenge our supremacy on them. Such is the wisdom of our philanthropic laissez-faire school. Such is the prescience of the German sea school which sees in the construction of a fleet capable of "freeing the seas," as they term it, of British Naval monopoly, the logical complement of world Empire, and the means necessary to secure it.

'Gentlemen, I'm not going to trouble you with figures, that is the task of the expert. I want to speak to you here about facts and their issues. At first-do you remember ?-we said that Germany could not build Dreadnoughts, had not the slips, had no money, was in the throes of Socialist revolution and what not-all so much windy, ignorant illusion. You will remember what Mr. Asquith said in the House the other day: said glibly, as if he were merely revealing that Germany had discovered a silent motor engine. But what did he really reveal? Why this: that she has the money, that she has the slips, and that there is no revolution at all. On the contrary, the whole trend of German Socialist evolution is in favour of national armament and sea-power. Every mother in the Fatherland cradles her child as a prospective Nelson of the German Navy, inculcating the lesson and the objective of the new German fleet. Rapidly, secretly, feverishly, the German Navy is growing; growing not as an arm of defencefor she has no colonies worth the price of a Dreadnought to defend but of offence, as a challenge and a defiance. If we do not lay down this year the eight Dreadnoughts imperative to our safety, gentlemen, we shall find about the year 1914 not only that we have lost

absolutely the two-Power standard—the only standard compatible absolutely and security in the event of unforeseen issues and comwith national but that our very first line of defence is vulnerable and plications below thereby exposing our unprotected shores to invasion and assailable, thereby exposing our unprotected shores to invasion and assailable, and our existence to the chance of fate. That, in a word, is disaster and disaster and the condition of things which our the prospect of German policy has brought in a word, is the prospection of German policy has brought about. Such is the fatuous is that we now have to face. And that, gentlemen, men and women of England, is the problem which I ask you to consider, to understand, and to rectify.'

'Yes, I think that will do,' Lord Ottoway interposed. 'Now

what about the value of German assurances, John?

We have been told,' continued the German secretary, 'that Germany has given us binding assurances that she will not accelerate the stated programme; but, before I speak of that I want to call your attention to another feature. How comes it that responsible English politicians actually "sound" Germany on the question of limitation of armaments? I ask because to me it is incomprehensible. Don't they know, these worthy gentlemen, that the German naval programme, as the whole scheme of national armament, is defined and, regulated by law? Are they not aware that it is not a question of party, or even of Parliament, for, with the exception of the Socialists. who decline to sanction the estimate merely as a principle, the shipbuilding programme is settled and voted automatically by Parliament as law final and inexorable? To ask Germany to break her own laws is a mere waste of time and, besides, is a presumption. Do we not know that to insist on it would be regarded by the whole of Germany as tantamount to an ultimatum? Can we seriously ask the Germans, who hope, and some day expect, to be rulers of the seas, to accept our "monopoly" of the ocean, to homologate now and for all time our present rights and sovereignty, to hamstring, as it were, their own ethnic destiny? I say it is folly to consider such a thing. It is unworthy of the ships we man. And, again, let me draw your attention to another point.

'Do you remember the notorious Kaiser interview some months ago? Of course you do. Well, now, are you aware of its effects in Germany? You have heard that the Emperor is reported a changed man since that day; but do any of you realise why? Well, it is worth your earnest attention. From that day, for the first time since his accession to the throne, the nation turned from him. The entire Press, which, owing to the severe laws of lèse-majesté, never criticise the First War Lord, broke out with an unanimity and a vitriolic condemnation absolutely unique since the creation of the Empire, a condemnation defying all laws and canons of public comity, in a grand remonstrance against the person of the sovereign such as has not been witnessed in Europe in all the days of responsible journalism.

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And why? Because he "gave his people away." Because he had Because he had Because he disfaced both ways—now at Anglophobia then rampant in Germany. sociated himself from the range of Hohen-sociated himself from the range of Hohen-sociated himself from the range of Hohen-sociated himself from the had not upheld the panache of Hohen-sociated himself from the cliffs of Panache of Hohen-sociated himself from the range of the r Because they considered that the Because they considered the Because they can be a supplied to the Because the Because they can be a supplied to the Becaus zollern dignity, and had play significant and symptomatic portent.

That, gentlemen, is a highly significant and symptomatic portent. That, gentlemen, is a highly can deduce the natural conclusions. From it, all who are not blind can deduce the natural conclusions. From it, all who are not officed itself in the wake of Treitschke One is that the national will asserted itself in the wake of Treitschke One is that the national will be and his followers; the other is that the destiny of Germany now lies and his followers; the odd now his followers; th not in the hands of one fitter, selves, but in the will and might of the people. And it brings us to the keels that are the instruments of their expression. It is the people who pay for and sanction the German ships. It is the people who are building them as the ultima ratio of the national architectonics of Empire. It is the people who are weaning the future.

Facts, John, facts,' broke in Lord Ottoway. 'No verbal ballast,

mind.

'I return now to the assurances,' continued his Lordship's valet, Now, here again, can any rational politician in the light of all that we know now from Busch's "Secret Pages," about Bismarckian diplomatic casuistry, for one moment—I say deliberately for one moment-give faith or credence to any such diplomatic asseveration? After the doctoring of the Ems telegram and the German secret preparations for war, after the ignorance of the French with regard to the secret agreement with Bavaria, after the hundred-and-one subterranean contrivances of Germany to frustrate our policy with Russia-do you recollect the pother about the passing of Russian torpedo-boats through the Dardanelles ?-in China, I remind you of the Shangtung business, which so surprised Lord Salisbury; in America-affairs which, it is said, nearly broke Lord Pauncefote's heart; in Persia, in Turkey, in Africa and Morocco-can anyone, I ask, accept such assurances in any other spirit than that which prompts them, namely common diplomatic courtesy? Gentlemen, Kriegspiel, or the game of war, is not cricket, golf, or a friendly spar under the Queensberry rules of the Ring. This Dreadnought building business is not a game at all: it is the most serious problem of Empire and the most serious question in Europe. All is fair in love and war. Ladies and gentlemen, the Japanese did not politely inform Russia how many torpedoes they were going to attack the Russian ships with on that memorable day at Port Arthur. We can't ask Germany to put down her cards, like a man we suspect of cheating at cards at a club, when we know, as all experts will admit, that wars are won, and now more than ever, by the thinkers of battles before a shot has been fired rather than by the participators in them, by long and wise preparation rather than by reckless bravery and enthusiasm under fire. How can we ask Germany, I say, to give us verse and chapter

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of her plans and armaments, to give measure for measure, as if the of her plans and a pleasant popular tussle, like the 'Varsity boatwhole concern we ask it, I repeat? Did Prussia inform Napoleon race? How would assist her in the war of '70? Did the world that Bavaria at the time about Bismarck's Reinsurance Treaty with Russia? pid not Russia give us assurance after assurance about Central Asia pid not russia general Asia and then annex Merv and Khiva? Does the world know the secret and their the Franco-Russian Alliance? What did we do with the clauses of assurance about Egypt? Is a nation like the Germans, believing in a great future, a great ethnographical whole, a world sea supremacy, to be expected to furnish us with an actuary's valuation, supremacy, and barrel, of her fighting strength? Did France send out lock, stock the foreign military attachés to inspect her new artillery? Wasn't the greatest war that the world has probably ever known from the very outset to this very day a mystery and a secret? The East has taught us something about secrecy; let us make no mistake. Ships are big things. It is not easy to build in secret, to be sure. But if Germany can, has she not every right to do so? It is idle to talk about hitting below the belt. There is no belt in war and in the preparations for war. In a general sense assurances are very acceptable. But we must remember that this is a question of destiny with Germany, who is no more bound to let us into the privacy of her building design than nigger Johnson the other day was expected to box a few preparatory rounds with Burns, just to let him see how it suited him. He shook Burns by the hand before the fight right enough, according to etiquette. Yes, gentlemen, but he shook him mightily on the head immediately afterwards. And so Germany gives us her assurances to-day. But to accept them as final, to expect them to be final, to regard them as binding or authoritative, seems to me to savour of a credulity that would be puerile if it were not so reprehensible. I repeat, gentlemen, let us accept these assurances politely, as they are proffered, but let us not rely on them as proof against eventuality. Let us not imagine that if Germany can build ships secretly she will necessarily notify that fact to us, any more than we have any right to ask Germany to let us pry into the mechanism of her aerial fleet, or the plans of her fortifications, or into the secret drawer of the locker in the High Admiral's cabin.

'I say solemnly, against assurances of such nature, place in the balance the Bismarckian tradition, which is the heritage of modern Germany. The ingredients of that tradition as a diplomatic instrument consist in these three words—mystery, more mystery, confusion. Do you know, ladies and gentlemen, that the Germans, who study Shakespeare far more than we do, have taken as motto, "Readiness is all "? Now I daresay some do not know where that line comes. Well, you will find it in Hamlet; and those who are not ready in this world will find out how true it is. Coming back to this

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question of assurances, which is a very grave one, I refer you to the question of assurances, which is question of the properties of the tortuous path of German tap tortuous path of German tap through she protested that her one idea was to keep the peace; yet through she protested that he for two years she played the termagant there so astutely that probably for two years she played in the last instance by the Conference at Al for two years she played the tree that instance by the Conference at Algebras war was only averted in the last instance by the Conference at Algebras war was only averted nothing. You saw how she had war was only averted in the the war was only averted in the the war was only averted in the the war was only averted in the war was only avert which, as you know, some behaved to France the other day about a few deserters from the Foreign Legion Legion men, mark you, deserters of two flags and countries—and nearly men, mark you, described and nearly seen how she behaved to Russia in support of Austria in the Balkan Peninsula.

ssia in support of Automotion here for a space. Gentlemen, what has happened there? Simply this: Germany has come nearer to the has happened there. Teutonic hegemony in Central Europe than at any former period, and actually consolidated part of the Pan-Germanic ambition. We began, as usual, by pooh-poohing Austria's move in the Balkans, by abusing the man who was doing it, and by firing off Press and blank-cartridge volleys. But volleys, gentlemen, in war and diplomacy are out of date. And now what is the upshot of it all? Well, Baron Aehrenthal, the silent man, as he is called, has consummated his desire. He meant business all along, while no one else Turkey, in the throes of revolutionary transformation, is impotent. Russia has neither money nor the inclination to engage in another world-war at this juncture. Then, as usual, when things really looked critical the German cuirassier's boot gave the deciding kick. Germany did this. She just politely informed Russia that she was prepared and determined to fight if Austria's plans were frustrated : put it to her suavely but firmly, with the inevitable result of all diplomatic pressure which has the force behind necessary to enforce it. Crash went the whole fabric of the Berlin Treaty, and the famous Protocol signed by the plenipotentiaries of the Powers, whereby it was accepted as the "essential principle of the law of nations" that no Power can break or modify treaties or provisions "except with the consent of all the contracting parties." Away went that famous instrument, which has governed European chanceries since its foundation in 1871, into the lumber-room of the Potsdam barracks, swept away irrefragably and irretrievably, not by "mutual consent," as stipulated, but by the armed tramp of the combined German and Austro-Hungarian armies.

Gentlemen, the law of Europe has been broken. Might has again trampled upon right. The primitive law of the fittest has prevailed. What we have to take note of is that the Germanic Powers of Europe have broken up a treaty binding most of the other non-Germanic Powers in Europe at the point of the sword; asserted the Germanic will with the Bismarckian tradition of force; shown the world that neither comity nor respect for law nor humanitarianism nor silken diplomatic ceremony have any value at all if there are no guns behind and no men to fire them, and the will which is essential to all mobilisa-

Without choler, and, above all, without hysteria, let us digest the fact. Let us understand that what Austria and Germany the fact. Austria and Germany done for, of course, gentlemen, Austria would never have have done without the support of her ally—is this: They have removed the Triple Alliance; acquired a territorial lien upon the Balkans; defied Turkey, Russia, and the smaller Powers in the Balkans, and set up a triumphant all-Germanic tribunal, inspired Peninsha, day with Turkey And the Continent. That and based to to-day. With Turkey, Austria-Germany will now do her utmost to obtain favourable terms and concessions. Without a shot being fired one of the great Pan-Germanic ambitions has materialised; by mystery first, by mystery second, and lastly by the confusion of overwhelming power.

Soon, ladies and gentlemen, a new ruler will sit on the throne of Austria-Hungary, a young and ardent man, a devotee of Catholicism and of the Germanic idea; and behind him will stand Baron Aehrenthal, the man who broke the Treaty of Berlin. Two years ago it was freely said in Germany and Austria that the Austro-German alliance was scarcely worth the paper it was signed on. What did Germany do? She placed Austria on her leash in the Balkans; then, when the quicksands of diplomacy threatened to engulf her ally, herself she emerged from the dark clouds in martial array, with drums and banners flying. Austria and Germany are now linked inseparably together for another decade, bound ethnically one to the other, as Bavaria is bound to Prussia, by military service rendered. Let us not think that signifies

nothing. It is the key to the situation in modern Europe.

'Now, I ask, can we, in the face of that momentous fact, put faith in the smooth tongue and assurances of diplomatic comity? Is not the Treaty of Berlin, which was-for it is no longer now-a law promulgated by all the Great Powers in Europe, as sacred, and far mere sacred, seeing that it was an international pact and covenant, than any verbal diplomatic assurance can be? If Germany can blast the law of Europe in the very teeth of Europe with guns, is she to be expected to blast her own future evolution by the betrayal of themby the timely exposure, that is, of her precise potential armament? I say the idea is untenable. As well, ladies and gentlemen, exact harmony from a barrel-organ or ask a maiden pining of love-sickness to give positive reason for her malady! But I am no alarmist. Germany has every right to square the circle of her destiny, as she has to build the ships that she may require to achieve it. That is not the point. We are not the mentors of political morality. We have no call to preach the virtues of Imperial continence, we who won our Empire in the past by matchless fortitude and heroism. Do not let us talk; let us rather do, prepare and build. We have got rather fond of late of turgent apothegms—oratorical spates about "British bulldogs," "sleeping peacefully in our beds o' nights," and suchlike fee-

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faw-fum about *Dreadnoughts* and their conjuring. What we have to faw-fum about *Dreadnough* are building the fleet able to cope with do is to consider whether we are building—with the fleet which we do is to consider whether we do not be to cope with the fleet that Germany is building—with the fleet which we may be may be the fleet that Germany is but the fl called upon to meet in three years to come; and not only to meet it successfully, but with preassured and infallible

initiation.

In no other way can we hope to avert the inevitable challenge to a studied these matters in Communication. 'In no other way can be studied these matters in Germany for which threatens us. I have studied these matters in Germany for which threatens us. I have conscious of speaking the truth. Gentlemany years now, and I am certain signs of change and emasculation in this men, I view with alarm certain signs of change and emasculation in this men, I view with alarm out the trepidation. We have in Parliament a country, which fill me with trepidation. We have in Parliament a country, which in the transfer and influential body of men pledged, apparently, to starve the large and influential body starve the Services at all costs, from woolly ideas of nebulous philanthropy. These gentlemen, partly, no doubt, by virtue of their national insu-These gentlemen, partly, I will presume, from ignorance of Continental languages and opinion, seem never to look beyond the purview of their constituencies. They look as far as the sea which shuts England in, and there on the waters the retina of their vision fails them. They seem to think that the sea which laps these shores is the end of all policy and wisdom, whereas in reality it is the beginning of it. It is on the sea beyond the horizon, on the great ocean space, that England's policy and power and future lie. It is on the seas that her future will be decided.

'We see the women of this country battling for the vote as if the paper vote were the panacea for all economic wrong and injustice. And while they battle are they aware, these mothers of the men who may yet have to fight for the very national existence, that in silence and secrecy a great navy is growing deliberately for the purpose of compassing our destruction? Do they ever think of that? And do those worthy politicians, with their provincial horizons and parochial policies, think of it, realise it, or even try to understand it? Gentlemen, I fear there is only too much pettifogging politics in our midst, too much self-complacency, too little seamanship among the men who man the Britannia. Among some of us there would seem a readiness almost to anticipate disaster. Perhaps I am wrong, gentlemen, but otherwise I cannot understand this phlegm and apathy concerning all constructive Imperial policy, which is the only policy that can save us.'

Lord Ottoway turned round on his seat and looked at his secretary.

' Now for the peroration,' he said quietly.

Wilhelm Meister squared his shoulders and resumed :

You know, gentlemen, that the Emperor presents the Reichstag every year with a table of the respective naval forces of England and Germany, drawn up with his own hand, as reminders of what is called the Kaiseridee or idea. That must now be made our national idea too. But our idea must be this. For every battleship that Germany

lays down we must lay down two, and so on proportionately from lays down to torpedo. In recent years we have done precisely the oppowe prattled about Germany's inability to build ships; now we prattle—England, has it come to this !—about our unwillingness.

But, gentlemen, it must be suited as a specific property of the state of the sta we practice to them. But, gentlemen, it must be. It is the duty of every English thinking man, aye, and woman too, in these islands to every upon that principle, and to see that it is acted upon. Any deviation from that principle must in the end be disastrous, must deviation deviation which will overtake us. Think what it means— England in danger! These eight Dreadnoughts must be laid down, no matter what it costs us or what party is in power. And I say to Mr. Winston Churchill that if he believes Germany is not building up to our Fleet he is talking pimples, mere illusionary metapolitics, words that are as foolish as they are fundamentally and demonstrably false. It is not that there is any immediate danger; but that is just the danger of it and where the false security lies. Germany is building for a future eventuality. We must build accordingly. We must take keel by keel and build mechanically two for every German one, now and always. Otherwise, as sure as there is a gun in the King's Navy. some day, when we are unprepared and unforeseen complications have arisen, necessitating the employment of part of our fleet in far-off seas. the blow will fall swiftly and fiercely upon us, and within a few hours our island security may vanish, our Empire be blown into the seas, and our historical continuity obliterated.'

Wilhelm Meister made pause here and wiped his brow with his pocket-handkerchief.

Lord Ottoway eyed him thoughtfully. 'They seem to have taught you something in Germany, anyway,' he said. 'And you think that's the Gospel truth, John?'

'İt's the truth of the Fatherland's destiny, your lordship,' he replied. 'It's what every German knows.'

Lord Ottoway put down his pencil and rose.

'By Jove! there's the luncheon-gong,' he said. 'John, I'll see that every Englishman knows it too.'

AUSTIN HARRISON.

## THE 'UNIFICATION' OF SOUTH AFRICA

AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM

From the many inquiries I have received as to the movement in favour of the closer union of the South African States—and for information about the much-quoted modus vivendi—I gather the impression that there are many people who suspect that all is not well with British interests in South Africa: and I think that suspicion is both natural and justified.

In all the Press letters and telegrams from South Africa which have been published, there has been no attempt to put before the British public the fact that the movement for closer union did not emanate from the people of South Africa, but was sprung upon them in 1908 by certain members of the Colonial Parliaments, none of whom had any mandate or authority from any electoral constituency to deal with the subject.

The so-called 'delegates' who have produced the Draft Constitution Bill now before the country were similarly without mandate. and in excluding the Press from the sittings of the Convention they no doubt hoped to hide from the public eye the huckstering which

would take place.

The 'delegates' having framed their Draft Constitution Billwhich no one seems really satisfied with—the Governments of the Transvaal, Orange River Colony and Cape Colony now demand that the people of those States must accept the proposed Bill (with such alterations, if any, which the delegates may choose to make at their next meeting) without having the opportunity of giving a vote on the subject either way.

In Natal, the question is about to be submitted to a vote of the people in these terms:—' Are you in favour of the proposed Constitution Pill? "Y

tution Bill? "Yes" or "No.",

How much the desire for union counts for in this movement may be measured by the remark of Sir Henry de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, whose political leanings are well known. Speaking on the question of the choice of a capital for the unified State, he says 'it became apparent that if Bloemfontein was decided on there would be no union.'

Of course not. Nothing would have come from the Convention of the designs of Pretoria—note the it had not reported in favour of the designs of Pretoria—note the remark of the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Smuts) that under the proposed Constitution the destiny of South Africa will be moulded by Pretoria, these words being accentuated by General Botha—that in acquiring the seat of Government they will have the management of all affairs in their hands.

Pity the sorrows of a poor delegate! One of them declared that too much importance should not be attached to expressions in the speeches made by delegates in the Transvaal, Orange River Colony and Cape Colony, and added—'It must be remembered that the delegates have a very difficult task before them in convincing their people that the Constitution is desirable and that it should be adopted after being submitted to their respective Parliaments only, and without further reference to the people.'

No attempt is made in the Draft Constitution Bill to enunciate a policy which should apply to all the four States in such important matters as the ownership of land, the right to purchase alcoholic

liquor, or to exercise the franchise, by natives.

On the latter point the different policies of the several States are to remain in force for the time being, but what says Dr. Krause, who is an influential member of the Transvaal Parliament and in close touch with General Botha?

Dr. Krause says—'It was not the white man that introduced the coloured vote into Cape Colony—it was the British Government. That was an inheritance they got from the British Government and the Exeter Hall people are still at the back of it, therefore we have to "go gashla" (i.e. gently); but once we can diddle the British Government to give us that power, by Jove, we will use it. (Cheers.)'

Another illustration of the kind of 'union' sought under cover of the Unification movement comes from the columns of the Dutch paper Ons-Land. Referring to Mr. Smuts's description of the Draft Constitution Act as the Magna Charta of the interior, Ons-Land assures its readers that care will be taken 'that the products of cheaper labour along the coast pay such high railway tariffs that they will not be able to compete with the products of the worker of the interior.'

Does this spell Unification?

One might almost fancy from the cool assumptions of the delegates that the natives of South Africa are a negligible quantity in their Constitution-making, but I wonder how long a time would elapse after Pretoria has 'the management of all affairs' before the British Government would be forced, for very shame, into taking active measures for the redemption of pledges of protection which successive British Governments have given to different tribes of the natives of South Africa?

This is a question demanding very serious consideration now, and

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none but time-serving politicians will shirk it: Which is to prevail the Dutch regarding native rights or the policy of the East  $M_{ay}$ none but time-serving political native rights or the policy of the English?

I now refer to what is control of the High Commissioner for it is an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for it is an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into by the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into the High Commissioner for its an agreement entered into the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for its analysis and the High Commissioner for It is an agreement encorrected of Mozambique on the 18th of

Bember 1901.

It provides that Kaffirs may be engaged in the Portuguese Provinces

The provides that Kaffirs may be engaged in the Portuguese Provinces It provides that Kanns and that 'for the expense of fiscalization, for service in the Transvaal—and that 'for the expense of fiscalization, and that 'for the expense of fiscalization, '&c., &c., the Governor of the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of fiscalization, 'for the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the expense of the e passports, contracts, registration, &c., &c., the Governor-General of passports, contracts, regarder thirteen shillings for every native who is Mozambique shan recommendative who is passed by a Transvaal official at the Border. It also provides that for every native who voluntarily remains in the Transvaal more than one year the same Portuguese authority is to receive a further fee of sixpence per month for the period of the new contract.2

I cannot get at the amount which has been and is being paid in accordance with the articles just referred to—possibly over a hundred thousand pounds yearly: but that is only a part of what the Portuguese receive.

The modus vivendi further provides for certain rates being charged for the railway carriage of goods between the sea-board and the Transvaal by the routes from Cape Colony, Durban, and Delagoa Bay respectively, and the arrangement operates in this way—that the charge by the Cape or Natal routes must be 15s. per ton more than the charge by the Delagoa Bay route on what constitutes the major portion of the traffic.

The difference is a little less on the balance of the traffic, but in case the tariffs on the Cape and Natal railways should be modified (i.e. reduced), the tariff by the Delagoa Bay-Johannesburg line 'shall be equally modified in proportion, and in such manner as to preserve the relation which existed between the tariffs prior to the war.' 3

What is the consideration for which the Portuguese authorities demand these huge benefits? It amounts to this-that they will not prevent, but rather encourage Kaffirs from the hinterlands of the Portuguese ports going to sell their labour at the goldfields of the Transvaal!

The Portuguese authorities, however, have neither the right nor the power to compel the Kaffirs in their districts to go and work in the Transvaal, or to refrain from doing so. To allege the contrary would be tantamount to charging the Portuguese authorities with being slaveowners and mere dealers in the labour of human beings.

But the Kaffirs are not slaves—they are free men, and if the Transvaal Government was minded to be loyal to the British South African Colonies they need only cease giving preference to the Portuguese port, and the Portuguese authorities would soon be on their hands and knees offering to surrender all that the modus vivendi gives

3 Article IV. 1 Article VI. 2 Article IX.

### A GLANCE AT A WAR HORIZON

WE live in an age of surprises. It would be difficult to prophesy what line the kaleidoscopic changes in political movements will take in

a few years.

Within the past eighteen months we have heard murmurs behind the curtain which veils the diplomatic stage of Continental Europe, and have had peeps into 'Memoirs' and stories of 'interviews' which have not been without their significance. The curtain is now lifted and we can appraise the perspective of the scenery. Torn treaties and broken agreements hang from the wings, and with the background of a firmly forged alliance for future purposes, the mise-en-scène suggests a stirring drama. 'Neutral' tints count for little with such scene-painters. The prompter stands ready with his copy in his mailed fist. Are we prepared to enforce the safety law of playhouses and forge a fireproof curtain? That is the question for the British nation and the British Empire to answer. The sooner our stage managers undertake the task the lower will be the cost of insurance.

To our professional leaders in our martial services we must look for advice. Unfortunately among such we have rarely been quite free from individuals who have not been above a suspicion of allowing their personal considerations to outweigh opinions gained by professional experience. With a constantly changing leader responsible to Parliament for his department it stands to reason that such a leader is at the mercy of his technical adviser, and where the keynote of the policy is dictated by the Treasury it not infrequently happens that the adviser pipes to the tuning-fork. It is not twenty-five years since the Government of the day accepted a 'one man' proposal on the subject of gun construction which, though spelling enormous economy at the moment, put the clock back in our gun power for fifteen years at least, burdened us with cumbersome forts, affected warship construction to a material extent, and finally cost us considerably over twenty-five millions to rectify. Our military policy on sea and land at present shows signs of a 'one man' directorship, and has already led us into grave difficulties.

Debates in Parliament have disclosed our naval weakness. Writers
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have exposed the lowering of our strength in personnel in the fleets. have exposed the lowering of all is the exposé of the unevenness in Perhaps most significant of all is the exposé of the unevenness in Perhaps most significant of all is the exposé of the unevenness in Perhaps most significant of all is the exposé of the unevenness in Perhaps most significant of the Perhaps most significant of the gunnery training in our different fleets. We must not forget that with: gunnery training in our that our hot forget that our Navy is a modern creation of the past six years, that within that item has been taught that he is no longer a seament our Navy is a modern creation of that he is no longer a seaman but is period the sailor has been taught that he is no longer a seaman but is period the sailor has been tanger a seaman but is now a seaman gunner of high national value. It is unfortunately now a seaman gunner of high national value. now a seaman gunner of angle one of our weaknesses that both the British and Continental Public one of our superiority; one of our weaknesses that should be so constantly informed not only of our superiority in fresh should be so constantly informed not only of our superiority in fresh should be so constantly in fresh construction of type of battleship, but that we must go further and publish how badly or how creditably our Navy can fight and lay their publish how badily of her.

guns. War experience affoat has been as yet denied to our modern

ing Japan it stands on even terms in the terms. Navy, and, barring Japan, it stands on even terms in the test of battle Navy, and, parring output, training with the first foe it meets. Rumour whispers an experience of internecine war, but let us hope that it is only smoke. One thing is certain, however, which is that the tardy appreciation of gun power by the Navy may have led us into a quagmire of political and military trouble, for the faulty site-ing of our first naval base on the gateway to India may entail the necessity of an occupation of Algeciras and its vicinity upon a mere threat of mobilisation by the Triple Allied Powers. The penalty demanded will be the locking-up of half our so-called 'striking force' in the Army. We may yet live to hear the echoes of Trafalgar. Are we to imagine that the Morocco phase of European politics is a past dream? Did the German War Lord make a personal reconnaissance of those waters for no purpose, and did he not travel further and make a prolonged stay at Corfu? Was the Algeciras Conference unduly prolonged without affording means to a war-thinking nation of filling in all details of soundings, landingplaces, gun sites, &c., for ulterior motives? To the sailor and soldier surprise is the deadliest of all foes, and we may rest assured that as far as the 'Brain of our Army' is concerned it is prepared to anticipate a hostile move as above outlined. We may thank the forethought that inspired the creation of a new military chief to tackle such troubles in Mediterranean waters. History is again repeating itself. The public law of Europe stands for little as long as the Continental nations bow to a dictatorship. A century ago Spain learned that solid fact, and may suffer another experience. A naval problem such as this may arise, however, which must weaken us near our home shores and give an attacker his opportunity. A hostile sea base at Corfu can accentuate our troubles. It is a confession of weakness in a so-called military Power to rely on a purely defensive policy for its means of security. Defensive strategy advertises this weakness to the world, for the means of defence proposed become public property. The word 'defence' must in itself be revolting to the minds of an Army or Navy schooled as they are to the knowledge that the key to success in war is initiative in strategy. The heart of a nation has gone out of it, which bases its security on defence alone. As Raleigh

1909

urged upon Cecil, 'If we be once driven to the defensive, farewell urged upon to the defensive, farewell right. To talk about a 'National Defence Committee' is a selfish might an insult to our World Empire.

Recent discussions in the House of Commons have recognised the Recent data Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Recent data and Re possibility of war schemes of organisation it is well to be on the safe in treating of the safe in treating of the safe and take an extreme case as a possibility, and needless to say a investion is now in the foreground of the derman invasion is now in the foreground of thought. The seaway facilities for this purpose in the hands of Germany have been carefully facilities and argued out, and ocean tonnage sufficient to convey an invading force of over 200,000 men is known to exist. Recent disclosures report the existence of over 11 million tons of craft in the inland waterways of Prussia which are further available. A special 600-ton decked iron barge drawing only 5½ feet of water when fully loaded, and capable of going to sea, now governs the type of construction of these inland river vessels, and needless to say they can be turned to military purposes at very short notice. With the warquake now rumbling on the Continent of Europe it is not unreasonable to surmise that when the eruption takes place the upheaval which follows will materially alter the frontiers of Continental nations that the Rhine mouths will open under the will of one Power only, and that the men of that Power may be lying in the waterways ready to carry out a purpose that has been engineered ever since the surrender of Heligoland by England. We have in our German neighbours the most perfected, trained army that the world has ever seen. It numbers millions in its ranks obedient to the will of one man. Its battle Navy shortly will be of even strength with ours. Does the man who wields this power propose to go down to posterity without 'making history' and possibly a history such as Rome or Carthage never dreamt of? Thibaudeau records a speech made over a hundred years ago by a member of the Corps Législatif in an eulogium of Buonaparte which may be worth repeating :

England believes herself to be invulnerably protected by the ocean, but the English people do not seem to understand that at rare epochs of the world's history there is given to mankind a man endowed with a genius which has hitherto been held to be impossible. There is nothing which a great people cannot achieve when they possess a truly great man whose glory is inseparably bound up with the interests and welfare of his country.

It would be difficult to prophesy what the next move of the new Dictator of Modern Europe will be. Complications may be engineered which will necessitate a large garrison being sent to Egypt to keep open our route to India, or even demand active operations on the frontiers of India itself, if not in Persia or Asia Minor. But, as before stated, we must be prepared to meet extreme phases of danger threatening our existence as a World Power. Our very unreadiness invites aggression. Invasion of these island shores, now acknowledged

as a possibility, may therefore have to be met by such force as the as a possibility, may therefore as the nation itself can organise outside its Regular trained Army. It would nation itself can be as the individual would be to the 'Brain of an Army' to ask the individual would not be as the individual would not be a second or the second of the second or the second of the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the second or the sec nation itself can organise outside an Army to ask the individual officers be an insult to the 'Brain of an Army to ask the individual officers be an insult to the 'Brain or the military value of the Army Council their opinion on the military value of the personnel of the Army Council their opinion on the military value of the personnel of the Army Council then open to the personnel on which the security of our homes depends, handicapped as these intermittent and limited training. Fortunately on which the security of our forces are by intermittent and limited training. Fortunately the forces are by intermitted to the structure on which an improved body can be built is in existence, but structure on well to weigh in the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the military value of the scales the scales the military value of the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales the scales structure on which an improvement is the scales the military value of the force it is submitted to the suppose it would be well to weight now in process of evolution before it is submitted to the supreme test now in process of evolution before it is submitted to the supreme test now in process of evolution of war. To win in war your personnel from head to tail must have the of war. To will in war your person of war. To will in war your spirit of the conqueror who believes himself invincible. Your india. spirit of the conqueror widual soldier or sailor must not be merely as good as his opponent: he must be better. War is now a science, and science can be met by science on even terms. The victor is he whose personnel is the more highly trained when the clash of arms takes place. To pit an ill. highly trained when the highly disciplined and trained for trained, ill-led mass of men against a highly disciplined and trained for

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We have hitherto won our victories on sea and land by relying solely on men recruited from one stratum of society, and these men have been led by officers of more or less professional capacity who are imbued with a high soldier spirit. Are we not in our Territorial personnel tapping a new level entirely? Do we see in them the same type of man who for two hundred and twenty years has fought our battles and won them? Are they of the same stamp as the heroes who stormed Badajoz, who stood on the ridge at Albuera, fought unofficered in the fog at Inkerman, or forced their way up the kopjes of Pieters Hill after suffering repeated telling defeats? They may be, and let us hope they will prove themselves to be, as good; but is it right to shirk asking the question until war is at your doors, while we possess in our population the men of a stratum of society who we know will not fail us? We must have our scallywags in our ranks as a fighting leaven. And what would happen if it came to the period when these known fighters had to look on at the combat and take no part? The spirit of the nation would demand arms and the rulers of the day would have to concede them, provided they had sufficient in store. This concession would lead to further weakening of any organisation already existing, for to create the cadres of the new levies the old cadres of the Regular Army would have to be depleted of much of their best material. This is a prospect which on all accounts must be avoided. In the scheme of National Defence there must be ready a place for every man and every man in his place. A champion of the cause of the present Territorial personnel has drawn an unfortunate comparison in support of his case against the proposed universal service system. He instanced the bravery and determination of the Imperial Light Horse, as shown by them at the combat of Elandslaagte. This gallant corps, recruited from well-to-do men driven from their homes and occupations by a

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bated race, rendered desperate and imbued with a spirit of revenge bated race, for wrongs inflicted, was quite prepared to give and take no quarter for wrongs meeting with its enemy. Furthermore for wrongs mineting with its enemy. Furthermore, it was led by a at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode. The first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first mode at the first m gallant and the duiet for some weeks before the war. A large percentage him on the quiet for men were in the ranks. The true percentage him on the quite of the officer stamp of men were in the ranks. The I.L.H. will hardly it to the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by an effective of the comparison above drawn by a comparison above drawn by a compari of the omeer than the comparison above drawn by an officer who witnessed

their services. The men are nothing,' says Napoleon, 'the man is everything. But history has proved to us that the stratum from which we have bit miser of which we have leader is forthcoming. It would be well, therefore, to be certain that a proportion of that stratum leavens our National Army. Nothing a proposed a stronger condemnation of the value of the voluntarily raised Civic Army as a fighting power than that pronounced by its own officers in the Norfolk Commission. If a war crisis reaches the stage of invasion, the numbers in our Territorial Force at its present establishment will be totally inadequate. It is only numbers that can annihilate, and an enemy once landed upon our shores must be annihilated or else we cease to be an empire. The country would demand that the glories of victory and the onus of defeat should be shared by the manhood of the nation and not confined to a class. The intoxication of joy in the former event is with semi-disciplined troops almost as much a source of trouble to a leader as would be a reverse. An army whose individuals are only spasmodically trained at the will of the individual, and whose units, therefore, seldom act together in any greater strength than a section, cannot compare with one whose units serve by law for a fixed period under trained officers and after the pattern of a Regular Army system. The 'soldier spirit' can only be ingrained in the mass where the units of that mass are trained in a body to act at the will of their leader. The opening page of our training manual speaks some telling words: 'True discipline can only be said to exist where all ranks have confidence in the ability of their superiors to instruct in peace and lead in war.'

There is a further element which may creep in and affect to a dangerous extent the battle-value of an army, if a portion of that army has somewhat loose ideas of the value of discipline; and such, we may anticipate, will be the ideas of a voluntarily serving civic force. Civic armies naturally dislike the bonds of discipline, ignorant as they are of its value. They are apt to take the law into their own hands; they discuss the plans of leaders when it suits them, and may absent themselves on small pretexts. You cannot have two forms of discipline in an army, and the nation whose army contains a majority of the civic type will decide on the form that suits that majority. Punishments for the civic type of soldier, for what are really grave military derelictions of duty, are remitted owing to the

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quently in our last war.

with such a condition of service staring us in the face? Now, let with such a condition of compulsory system of universal service dates history tell its tale. The compulsory system of universal service dates history tell its tale. The companies the results of its benefits are patent to from the battle of Jena, and the results of its benefits are patent to from the battle of Jena, and the the battle of Jena, and the world. It was built up by a nation after the humiliating defeat the world. It was built up by a nation after the humiliating defeat of its small conscripted army, which had been drilled and trained on of its small consumpted and trained on lines laid down by a past-master of war. Since being perfected, Prussia has challenged two great Powers, both of whose forces were Prussia has chantengod vithout barely losing a skirmish has humbled both to the dust. That is the answer to the question of universal service versus conscription. Politicians, and even soldiers, may suggest other ideas to balance the scale, but war is a fickle goddess, and ideas are frequently illusory, and will never weigh against solid facts.

Our last experience at the game of war will be child's play to the next. Successive War Ministers, yielding to party considerations, can easily work upon the nerves of a nation which is totally ignorant of war-policy or its necessities. Mr. Brodrick frightened England with a prospect of militarism by his plan of organisation for six army corps. Mr. Haldane now talks of the possibility of wielding twentythree army corps by means of Colonial assistance, in order to allay the fears of the nation. As these army corps are to consist of two divisions only, a grave error in grasping the lessons in organisation taught by modern war is apparent. That the nation takes comfort that the question of 'national service' has been breathed in Parliament is to be welcomed. We may dismiss the objection raised by Mr. Haldane that such a system of national service would deplete the ranks of the Regular Army of its recruiting power. Exactly the reverse would be the result. The soldier is so well paid, cared for, clothed, and respected that the tenders to join the ranks would be sufficiently numerous to permit of raising the physical standard of the Regular Army. Further, the question of sufficiency of officers could be settled, as the wealthier classes could be given the choice of a prolonged training as officers as an alternative to service in the ranks. Want of continuity in our Army programme of organisation has ever been a bane of the Regular Army. Our military policy for a hundred years or more has been consistent only in its uncertainty. The foresight of the late Mr. Arnold-Forster in creating an inflated Army Reserve, with many men ready in hand to rejoin the ranks, has permitted his successor to gamble with fortune and reduce the strength of our land forces by 30,000 regulars, and experimentalise with an

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organisation of the old Volunteer stamp of men, which, though perhaps organisation organisation, and as such may be a foundation not perfect, yet is an organisation, and as such may be a foundation not perfect, as an instrument of war, it has been of national strength. At present, as an instrument of war, it has been called a gamble.

Our real weakness as a military Power lies in the absence of Our real of our fighting strength on sea and land. Should co-ordination and Army work like Siamese twins, one the complement of the other? Why should the nation be burdened with the money charge of duplicate Departments in its machinery for the money on war, where such machinery is not technical? Look at the huge hospitals that lie side by side at our coaling stations, at the last and sailors were victims of different ailments, or both required separate treatment. It is the same with warlike stores, victualling, &c. We are now threatened with a further dual expense in the matter of airship construction and schools of instruction thereon. We positively go to the extreme of having two distinct 'Intelligence Departments.' With the system of a two years' commission of ships in the Navy it would be an immense economy to hand over the care of our coaling stations as a marine duty. It would be instructive to work out the saving thus outlined against the cost of a Dreadnought. It is quite certain that the field training of the Army soldier now forming the garrison of coaling stations is materially affected by a prolonged term of fortress inaction.

It may be conjectured that the title of War Minister held by the individual who rules the Army may be distasteful to the Navy, which the nation looks to for getting the first taste of war in a national emergency. The onus of decision on the question of peace or war must rest upon one man, the Prime Minister, and thus the term War Minister now usurped by the Army Minister is a misnomer. matter of responsibility for war is fully debated in a letter written by a Minister who has suffered much abuse at the hands of Mr. Fortescue, the champion historian of the British Army. As Henry Dundas was known to be the slave of Mr. Pitt, and the war strategy of that Minister forms but a negative lesson for the military student, the letter alluded to is given in full, with the double purpose of justifying the actions of Dundas as War Minister under Pitt's directions and explaining the

position of a Prime Minister as an arbiter of war policy.

#### Henry Dundas to Mr. Pitt.

Wimbledon: 9th July, 1794.

My dear Sir,—I take it for granted that you will this day explain to the King the proposed arrangements in your Government, and you will, of course, state to him the accident which prevented the intended division of the Secretary of State's Department. I therefore feel myself obliged to give you the trouble of a lew lines to entreat that you will not mention or more think of the idea you entertain. I therefore feel myself obliged to give the dea you entertain. entertained of my being still a Secretary of State with a War Department. Perceiving that you have an anxiety about it, it is with real pain I speak so

decisively on the subject. I give you my honour I have for these two days decisively on the subject. I give you make the subject of the set wo days endeavoured to argue myself into a compliance with your wishes, but the more endeavoured the ground hollow under me, and feeling as I do upon it. endeavoured to argue myself into a configuration and feeling as I do upon it, you are I do so I find the ground hollow under me, and feeling as I do upon it, you are I do so I find the ground hollow under me, and feeling as I do upon it, you are I do so I find the ground nonow under the last man to wish me to lend myself to an arrangement which I am perfectly the last man to more public ground to support it, and must of convented to the last man to wish me to lend myself to support it, and must of course bring convinced has not one public ground to support it, and must of course bring to the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth must be object of the truth mu convinced has not one public ground the person immediately the object of it. It of the British II. discredit and just animadversion on the property the object of it. It would be gross affectation and adverse to the truth were I to state to you that would be gross affectation and adverse of the British Empire to state to you that in the present state of the Dependencies of the Object of my predilections in in the present state of the Dependence of the object of my predilections in every Colonial Minister of this country was not the object of my predilections in every darke of it; but I can at the same time assure you with the view I could take of it; but I can be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used to be used t perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that there is no perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect sincerity that the perfect and satisfaction than when an opposition of an arrangement of an arrangement which other sentiment of ambition to the accomplishment of an arrangement which other sentiment of amount to the sentiment of amount to the sentiment of amount to the you think of great national importance. I should be most insatiable indeed if optortaining any other sentiment, for in the accident you think of great national important property of the accidents of life it was capable of entertaining any other sentiment, for in the accidents of life it I was capable of entertaining and the years' administration of India and a three has so happened to me that in a ten years' administration of India and a three has been been at home the general run of occurrences have been been at home the general run of occurrences have been at three tensions. has so happened to me that in a constraint of the solution and a three years' administration at home the general run of occurrences have been such as years' administration at nome the general even to enable me to flatter myself that the to leave me without reproach and even to enable me to flatter myself that the world does me more than justice in the various departments in which I have had occasion to act, and God knows there never was a period more eventful or more critical in the moment than many which occurred during the period to which I refer. The idea of a War Minister as a separate department, you must on recollection be sensible cannot exist in this country. The operations of war are canvassed and adjusted in the Cabinet and become the joint act of his Majesty's confidential servants, and the Secretary of State who holds the pen does no more than transmit their sentiments. I do not mean to say that there is not at all times in his Majesty's Councils some particular person who has and ought to have a leading and even an overruling ascendancy in the conduct of public affairs: and that ascendancy extends to war as it does to every other subject. Such you are at present, as the Minister of the King; such your father was as Secretary of State; such you would be if you were Secretary of State; and such Mr. Fox would be if he was Secretary of State and the Duke of Bedford First Lord of the Treasury. In short, it depends, and ever must depend, on other circumstances than the particular name by which a person is called, and if you were to have a Secretary of State for the War Department to-morrow not a person living would ever look upon him or any other person but yourself as the War Minister. All modern wars are a contention of purse, and unless some very peculiar circumstance occurs to direct the lead into another channel, the Minister of Finance must be the Minister of War. Your father for obvious reasons was an exception from this rule. It is impossible for any person to controvert the position I now state, and therefore when you talk of a War Minister you must mean a person to superintend the detail of the execution of the operations which are determined upon. But do you think it possible to persuade the public that such a separate department can be necessary? Yourself, so far as a general superintendence is necessary, must take that into your own hands. If it was in the hands of any other it would lead to a constant wrangling between him and the various executive boards which could only end in an appeal to yourself, and the decisions upon that appeal would give you just as much trouble as the original superintendence and direction. Besides, you will recollect that the Master-General of the Ordnance, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Commander-in-Chief, and now the Secretary at War are all of the Cabinet. I enter not into the question whether this is a good or a bad system in the present frame of our Government, but so in fact it is, and to maintain with any chance of success in the opinion of the public that another department was necessary for the conduct of the executive measures of war would, you may depend upon it,

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The very reverse will be disgraceful to the public with regard to a person who, after having of the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, after having the public with regard to a person who, a person who are the public with regard to a person who are the public with regard to a person who are the public with regard to a person who are the public with regard to a person who are the public with regard to a person who are the public with regard to a person who are the public with regard to a person who are the public with regard to a person who are the disgraceful to the Public with regard to a person who, after having at the desire the feeling of the process of his friend and for the accommodation of the public, held a great and laborious of his for three years, has, upon the same principle of public of his friend and three years, has, upon the same principle of public accommodation, situation for three years, has, upon the same principle of public accommodation, situation for the situation from which he was taken. If more was necessary returned exactly to the situation from which he was taken. If more was necessary returned exactly to you that your idea is impracticable in its execution. to be said I could prove to you that your idea is impracticable in its execution. to be said I could be colonies, where the mode of correspondence is already with regard to all the Colonies where the mode of correspondence is already With regard to most tive to create any distinction in the channel of correstablished, I am positive to create any distinction in the channel of correstablished, according as the object of the correspondence was a second or correspondence. established, I am Partie object of the correspondence was peace or war) would spondence (according as the object of the correspondence was peace or war) would spondence was peace or war) would enlarge the confusion. spondence (account and account account account and account account account and account account account and account account account and account account account and account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account account acc create meaning. Because I am satisfied that upon a fair consideration of the subject you nature, because that the idea was prematurely formed, and that the grounds must be continued, and that the grounds upon which I have formed my decision are of a nature not to be refuted. I shall upon which I have failed in that object. upon which a present if I have failed in that object, as it will be the first time we most sincerely regret if I have failed in that object, as it will be the first time we ever had the misfortune not to be able to convince one another; and I am sure of all moments in the world this is the last in which I would wish there should exist an exception. At any rate your candour and impartiality for me will exist an out of feel that it is a point in which my own judgment is entitled to be

I remain at all times with the truest regard and affection,

Ever yours.

(Signed) HENRY DUNDAS.

The decision of a Premier on such a momentous question of war must naturally be influenced by the reports of his Army and Navy Ministers. As a further assistance to his counsels a 'Defence Committee' now exists. As the duty of the body thus created must take an empirical form, it would not be out of place to designate it by a new title which could speak for itself.

Now that the question of the formation of an Imperial General Staff is upon the table, it may offer the opportunity of creating an 'Imperial War Council,' where proposals on matters of defence would be hidden beneath plans which breathe a larger spirit of offensive, and on which Council both Ministers and ex-Ministers of Army and Navy should serve, in order not only to guarantee its deliberations from the weakening effects of the strife of party politics, but to ensure

continuity of policy.

The heads of the Imperial General Staff of both Army and Navy would, of course, form members of this Council, and the Council should have power to call upon other brain power in the State to assist in its decisions. Not the smallest of the duties of this Council would be the drafting of a law for the regulation of the Press during war. A period of peace is the time to debate a war Press law, and its enforcement should secretly precede proposed instructions for mobilisation. Few civilians quite comprehend the vital necessity of a Press control in war in these days of news competition and the facilities which wireless, airline, and other telegraphy offer, not to count that afforded by the airship of the future. It is not the correspondent in the field that is the difficulty. He now quite understands his place,

Digitized by Arya Samaj round and can be trusted. It is the unconscious traitor in the home camp and can be trusted. As an instance of how strategy in the fall and can be trusted. It is the and can be trusted. As an instance of how strategy in the home camp who is the danger. As an instance of how strategy in the home camp who is the danger. As an instance of how strategy in the home camp who is the danger. who is the danger. As an incomperilled thereby, one cannot feld can be disclosed and a nation's life imperilled thereby, one cannot forget be disclosed and a nation's inc. The defeat of Worth in 1870. the case of the pursuit of interest of worth in 1870.

For eleven days the German army were endeavouring to find his

The vital information of the route and its discourse the case of the pursuit of worth in 1870. For eleven days the German the route and its direction line of retreat. The vital information of the route and its direction line of retreat. A nation ignorant was furnished by a London newspaper! A nation ignorant of war was furnished by a Hondal realise what secret service means and its ways, as ours is, will hardly realise what secret service means in war, or in war prepared to relate that before the commencement of our late war a secret service agent of the Boers bought up all the Pro-Boer literature that he could collect, with a view of stimulating the hearts of his country. men and countrywomen to a prolonged resistance. He replenished men and country wonted his stock as the war proceeded, and these writers may console them. his stock as the war proceeds of lives were lost and millions of selves with the fact that hundreds of lives were lost and millions of pounds were expended by the nation owing to the mischief that was made. Tons of these magazines and writings were found in the farms and towns, and when peace envoys were sent out to expostulate against further resistance as being hopeless, they were met with the latest printed effusion from England urging the Boers to hold on and not to yield. Undoubtedly the circulation of these magazines was thus increased, much to the benefit of the purse of the proprietors; but are not such proprietors very much in the same category as merchants who sell arms or military stores to the enemy of their country? It would be a difficult matter to train the individual subject, man or woman, to be guarded in his or her correspondence with friends present with an army or navy on service. The model set by the Japanese must serve a useful lesson. The name even of a regiment, or its number, discloses a secret. A case of such thoughtlessness in correspondence happened in our late war which had very far-reaching results. A big 'drive' was in course of organisation to hem in a large force of Boers against a line of block houses. It took some weeks to prepare and organise, and columns were brought from great distances to partake in it and ensure a large capture. The drive ended in a 'blank.' It appeared that a few days before the operation was to take place a mail bag had fallen into the hands of the Boers. The bag contained a letter from an officer in the Regular Army to his grandmother detailing all the players in the forthcoming operation and their positions, including his own prospects of assisting from his post on the railway line. If the Regular officer is so ill-taught, what may we expect from the civilian? These are but simple and childish examples of the importance of the study of secrecy in war. The struggle to control the Press in war, which is an acknowledged necessity, must not be left to the eve of war. The sooner it is calmly and philosophically reasoned out and passed into law the into law, the sooner shall we remove from our system a weapon that

may eat into the very vitals of the nation and disorganise our armour. 1909 may eat into the the first step towards the cultivation of national Such law will be the first step towards the cultivation of national

cipline.
Social machinery will undoubtedly suffer by the introduction of Social machines of universal service; but if the possibility of invasion is any system of universal for the country to solve is giral.

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any system to regulate our social machinery to solve is simple. ognised, the regulate our social machinery ourselves, or face the risk of another nation doing it for us?

Nothing is impossible in war. To close both eyes to an accepted possibility is to bow to the inevitable. possibility these closed eyes to rest in slumber is a crime. London alone. these crossed by a drama, has turned in its sleep to ruminate whether the stirred by a stiff to continue to use if life is to be preserved. War surrenders its dignity if one belligerent is deprived of sight. Is War surround never to extend beyond the perspective of the fool's paradise which we have so long enjoyed? W. G. KNOX.

# FOREWARNED BUT NOT FOREARMED

A WARNING FROM 1870-71

In December last, in this Review, I was permitted to put, with respect In December 13st, in this 2st to June 15 to our Home Defence, the question, 'Watchman, what of the Night?' Did I put the same question to-day, six months later, the only possible answer would be, 'Dark as ever, no improvement.' of January and during the following month there was a brief period of very loud talking and much hysterical screaming, due, on the one hand, to the supposed sudden discovery of the speed at which Germany is increasing her Navy, and the wonderful resources and appliances at her disposal for the purpose; on the other hand, to the mere chance of an amateur playwright having tickled the fancies of playgoing London in a ludicrous species of burlesque. Like all excitement arising from the emotions, everything has quieted down again, and, in military parlance, it is a case of 'as you were.' No doubt for a considerable time there will be no place for the minor question of Home Defence in an arena of interest, excitement, and curiosity already overcrowded by Budget controversies, Free Trade and Tariff Reform, Women's Suffrage, the chances of His Majesty's horses in the classic races, the results of the Australian cricket test matches, and the Daylight Bill. Nevertheless, as just a few of the readers, both men and women, of this Review may possibly find a little time, a few minutes even, to give to this same minor question, I gladly avail myself of the permission given me to put before them some further remarks on this dreadfully dull and horribly dry subject.

There are three areas of action for an enemy bent on breaking through or down our Home Defence—the first, at present under preparatory but fast developing trial only, the air, with its aerial warfare; next, the sea; lastly, our own land. As regards the first, we outsiders to official secrets and action feel sometimes very uncomfortable and dissatisfied when in the Press we read of the progress that Germany is making towards effective hostilities in the air, of the enthusiasm with which those efforts are regarded by the Germans, and of the substantial voluntary financial aid Germans are giving to that progress; whilst in our own newspapers all we find as regards ourselves

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is little more than that from some place or shed at Aldershot a machine is little more than but soon went wrong, and had to be ignominiously was given a gain to its original obscurity. Here, however, it was given a trial to its original obscurity. Here, however, the whole consigned again to its original obscurity of the authorities consigned again upon the shoulders of the authorities, and we, the responsibility is upon the shoulders nor exercise much in the shoulders of the authorities, and we, the responsibility is anything ourselves nor exercise much influence in people, cannot do anything ourselves nor exercise much influence in people, cannot do second area—the sea; for in this most the matter. The second area—the sea; for in this matter we are in the safety in the second which, with a majority of the II. safety in the social which, with a majority of the House of Commons hands of a Ministry which, with a majority of the House of Commons hands of a final lands at its pack, and equally cryptic promises as to both the present and the future.

But the security in the third area does not depend on the powers that be—it depends on us, the people, the dwellers in these islands; that be there are no scientific or technical questions beyond our own powers of solution; the whole thing is clear to anyone who chooses powers to use the eyes and the brains God has given him; it is with us, not with the Government, that rests our security here; so if our security proves fancied and not real, the blood of ourselves and of our children will deservedly be on our own heads; and it is to this matter that I ask my readers to give their attention. What we have to do is very plain. It is merely to insist on the Territorial Army, specially devised by Mr. Haldane to repel any would-be invader when our Regular Army is elsewhere employed, being an army of thoroughly prepared soldiers, and to aid by our own action and, if need be, self-sacrifice in securing this. This implies, of course, a complete change in the mode of filling the ranks and in the training, which must no longer depend on voluntary effort, but must be provided for by our all working together and regarding the matter as a national obligation common to us all for our common security, and to be taken in hand at once. But, unfortunately, that this army is a necessity is disputed by one Minister, Mr. Burns; that it must be already efficient when war breaks out is considered unnecessary by another Minister, no less a personage than the Secretary of State for War himself, Mr. Haldane. I will deal with Mr. Burns first.

Mr. Burns, addressing on the 1st of May the German Labour leaders visiting this country, is reported to have said: 'He believed that the prospect of war was receding further and further into the background, and his own view was that they would never see a great international war in which France, Germany, England, and Russia would be involved.'

Whilst thinking on these things I took down from a library shelf a book, well-nigh passed out of memory, but which, when published in Paris immediately after the Franco-German war, created not only in France, but throughout Europe, a profound sense of amazement. The contents of the book are the reports sent by the French Military Attaché at Berlin, Colonel Baron Stoffel, to the Government of France during the years from the 1866 victorious Prussian campaign against Austria and her allies, to the outbreak of the equally victorious 1870-71

German campaign against France herself. Putting on one side those German campaign against France was given by here. reports which deal only with reports which deal only with as armament of France was given by her own drill, &c.—we see that the Government of France was given by her own drill, &c.—we see that the Government of France was given by her own drill, &c.—we see that the co. and absolutely true and full account official on the spot a faithful, calm, and absolutely true and full account official on the spot a lateritat, cand the power and strength of that and description of her future foe, and the power and strength of that and description of her runder, and sadly accurate warning of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of the contract of t foe; and an honese, cancer, the certain fate of France if she did not at once prepare for the future.

Further, he shows clearly the sources of that strength, sources Further, he shows very being, and part of her very existence. engrained in Frussias to state the inevitable coming relations of and indi-Stoffel is no Germanophoton, and indicates like a prophet the inevitable coming relations of the two cates like a propried the two countries. The principal points that Stoffel desires, he says, to make clear as to the prospects of war are as follows, and I commend to Mr. Burns the perusal of the statements Stoffel adduces in support, but which are too lengthy for transcription here.

(1) War is inevitable and can arise out of any trivial event ('ala merci d'un incident ').

(2) Prussia has no intention of attacking France; she does not seek war, and will do all she can to avoid it.

(3) But Prussia is far-sighted enough to see that the war she does not desire will assuredly break out, and she is, therefore, doing all she can to avoid being taken unawares when the fatal 'incident' occurs.

(4) France, by her carelessness, her levity, and above all by her ignorance of the state of affairs, has not the same foresight as Prussia.

At the time, the 12th of August 1869, when Stoffel penned the report giving these conclusions as regards the prospects of war, the reasons for the general hostility entertained in Prussia towards France were mainly a desire for revenge for the days after Jena, and the feeling that in France lay the hindrance to the keenly desired unification of Germany.

I purpose to contrast these feelings of Prussia of 1869 towards France with those of Germany of 1909 towards Great Britain.

It may fairly be doubted that there is any matter for which Germany of to-day desires to take revenge on us. During the Franco-German war of 1870-71 the Germans were stirred to a bitter hatred of us owing to the very great assistance indirectly given to France by this country. As an illustration of that feeling I will give an extract from a letter written on the 20th of January 1871, from Tours, by Lieut.-General von Hartmann, commanding the first Cavalry Division, to his wife. In connexion with some incident in which the English Red Cross Society was concerned the General wrote: 'Moreover, the English are not in good favour among our troops, who are very embittered are in the line the bittered against them because they are uninterruptedly supplying the enemy with arms and ammunition with which to fight us. They hate them, therefore, for the time even almost more than they do the French.

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Some of that angry feeling survived in the early 'eighties when, at 1909 Some of that display of it came to my notice. I was 'personally letz, an amusing display of a party of Staff College of personally Metz, an amusing the battlefields a party of Staff College students, and conducting we were being entertained at dinner by my old conducting we were being entertained at dinner by my old conducting we were being entertained at dinner by my old conducting we were being entertained at dinner by my old conducting we were being entertained at dinner by my old conducting the conducting we were being entertained at dinner by my old conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting the conducting conducting to the conducting we were being entertained at dinner by my old friends, the one evening we are being entertained at dinner by my old friends, the one one of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the conductin of the conduction of the conduction of the conduction of the co Manoverian Dragoons. At a more cheery, jollier, or more rowdy even-Hanoverian Drug 5 to 9.30 P.M., I have never been present. After dinner ing, lasting from 5 to 9.30 P.M., I have never been present. After dinner ing, lasting from and British officers in mufti were derman cavalry officers in uniform and British officers in mufti were German cavary

German cavary

whirling about the large verandah to the strains of waltzes beautifully

whirling about the regimental band in the gardene below. whirling about value regimental band in the gardens below. More delightful played by the regimental band in the gardens below. More delightful played by the rosts it would be difficult to find. A charming fellow, or pleasanter hosts it would be difficult to find. A charming fellow, or pleasanter an Indian officer, who was afterwards killed in action on the Beley, an Indian officer, was one of our party and the in action on one Beley, was one of our party, and during a pause for the North-West Frontier, was one of our party, and during a pause for the North Host receivering breath there came up to him a Hessian officer, whose head apparently had not been proof against the Hanoverian hospitality. apparently asked Beley abruptly, 'do you think these officers think of you? To Beley's very natural pleasant reply of good-will the Hessian retorted, with curious accent, 'They detest you.' Poor Beley at once sought shelter in an immediate whirl round the verandah. I have often recalled to mind that Hessian dictum, and as regards hostile feeling on the part of the German officers I have regarded it in no way as revengeful, but simply dislike of us as a corporate body combined with good-will to us personally. So far, therefore, there is no place for the revengeful feeling to us to-day that existed towards France before 1870.

But now, how about the other cause for hostile feeling: this country as a hindrance to national and material progress? The unification of Germany could be accomplished only by crushing the hindrance in its way, and the hindrance was crushed.

Now that Prussia and her neighbours are consolidated as one great Imperial Power, any other Power which may be regarded as the hindrance to expansion of that Empire, either by sea or land, takes the place of France as her next foe. In fact, reading and rereading those pages, I come across passage after passage which would be as true of this Great Britain of ours now, in 1909, as it was of France exactly forty years ago. Want of space prevents me from dealing with them at length; one or two must suffice; and in them the words 'Great Britain' might to-day be substituted for France.

France, does she show amid these grave circumstances the same foresight as Prussia? Unfortunately not, and, sad to confess, no one can say when the fatal blindness with which she is struck will end. Thus, then, a frightful war is seen dimly in the distance and threatens to break out at any moment; our most formidable enemy sees clearly this great chance; he watches the moment for the struggle, which he does not seek; but he is yet ready to support it with all the manly force of the nation, with 1,000,000 of the most disciplined, most warlike, and best organised soldiers that there are, and in France, where 40,000,000 of men ought to be convinced, as the Prussian people are convinced, that the fatal war is at the mercy of an incident, where everything ought to fade away

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before one idea, that of national safety, there are but a few people who have before one idea, that of national salety, before one idea of the situation, and who comprehend the immense before them a clear idea of the situation. It is the

magnitude of the danger.

gnitude of the danger.

This it is that causes me apprehension. It is this striking contrast be.

National Contrast be. This it is that causes me appropriate the blindness of France. Nations, like tween the foresight of Prussia and the blindness of France. Nations, like tween the foresight of Trustal themselves from danger by being conscious individuals, can only protect themselves from danger by being conscious individuals, can only protect the risk of experiencing conscious of it; otherwise they remain inactive, at the risk of experiencing the most of it; otherwise they remain inactive, at the risk of experiencing the most of it; otherwise they remain inactive, at the risk of experiencing the most of it. So we see Prussia subordinate everything to this vital cruel disappointments. By we are to keeping herself always ready to enter question, preparation for war, and to keeping herself always ready to enter question, preparation for war, and to keeping herself always ready to enter question, preparation for war, and to keeping herself always ready to enter question, preparation for act, and the disposal, whilst France is becoming weaker the lists with all the forces at her disposal, whilst France is becoming weaker the lists with all the forces at her disposal, whilst France is becoming weaker the lists with all the forces at her disposal, whilst France is becoming weaker the lists with all the forces at her disposal, whilst France is becoming weaker the lists with all the forces at her disposal, whilst France is becoming weaker the lists with all the forces at her disposal, whilst France is becoming weaker the lists with all the forces at her disposal, whilst France is becoming weaker the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the list with the lists with all the forces at her disposal in the list with the lists with the lists with the lists with the lists with the lists with the list with the lists with the list with the lists with the list with the lists with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list with the list w the lists with all the lorees at the lists with all the lorees at the lists with a spectacle, one cannot daily, as if careless of her own safety. Looking at such a spectacle, one cannot daily, as if careless of her own safety. daily, as if careless of her out this fatal ignorance, and this detestable infatuarefrain from denouncing loudly this fatal ignorance, and this detestable infatuarefrain from denouncing what Prussia sees so clearly: war increase. refrain from denouncing rotary transfer in the refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from denouncing rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refraint refraint refrain from the rotary refrain from the rotary refraint r

Stoffel also points out in a report of the 28th of February 1870 that Prussia could neither evade nor abolish the principle of compulsory universal service, and that this fact renders disarmament an impossibility.

This impossibility (he says) of disarming in which Prussia finds herself gives rise to the gravest reflections. One is almost afraid to think that we have at our gates a rival Power, which, whatever may be said on the subject, is coming to regard us in the light of a hindrance, and which, owing to an organisation from which it cannot deviate, disposes of more than 900,000 soldiers all trained to the profession of arms. I insist on and I repeat the words all trained to the profession of arms.

Let Mr. Burns think over these things, applying them to the circumstances of to-day, and remembering that whereas in 1870 it was France that stood in the way of Prussia's realisation of her great ambition, the unification of Germany, to-day, naval expansion being united Germany's great ambition, it is Great Britain that stands in her way.

France was forewarned, she neglected to forearm. How about Great Britain?

And now I turn to the consideration of Mr. Haldane's views. Mr. Haldane on the evening of the same day, when addressing the Junior Institution of Engineers, is reported to have said:

As to the danger of invasion when the Army was abroad, it was decided in an Act of Parliament that if the Regulars had to go oversea the Territorial Force had to be embodied. Supposing the Territorial Force to be mobilised, in six months (the italics are my own) at all events they would be a well-trained force, and we should have the equivalent of seven Army Corps—probably more by that time, because recruiting would be brisk—to meet the enemy should he come. But it was said, suppose we sent the expeditionary force abroad and only a couple of months had elapsed after the mobilisation of the Territorials when invasion was attempted. He agreed that that was the most difficult case.

But, to begin with But, to begin with, we should be on the alert. The Navy would be watching the coasts. Many would be watching the coasts. Moreover, a Government would be very rash if it sent the whole expeditionary force of expeditionary force abroad at once. There would be an increasingly formidable force behind, and a second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the se force behind, and as more and more Regulars went out of the country the Territorial force would be a single and our affairs Territorial force would be stiffening. Therefore, if we managed our affairs well, he did not think well, he did not think we ought to be in any serious danger even in that intermediate and most death to be in any serious danger even in that mediate and most doubtful of the three cases.

Mr. Haldane also said that he was not very much concerned about 1909

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the bolt from the blue. holt from the other hold from the other with these utterances afford a striking illustration of one of the new parts in connexion with the Army administration of the sints in connexion with the Army administration of the sints in connexion with the Army administration of the sints in connexion with the Army administration of the sints and the sints are sints are sints and the sints are sin Now these the connexion with the Army administration of the points in connexion with the Army administration of this The Secretary of State for War is, to all intents The Secretary of State for War is, to all intents and purposes, of that administration, and it is to him the the head of that administration, and it is to him that Parliament the head of the country look as the individual responsible for our and the country forces being always up to the standard of thorough and military lorous. And he has permanently by him, whether he complete emotors or a soldier, any number of professional experts binself be as 'advisers;' but so far as the public is concerned the mouths of those as advisers are necessarily closed. He is not bound in the slightest degree to accept their advice; on the contrary, he is perfectly at liberty to go dead against that advice and to take an independent line of his own. His utterances in public naturally carry very great weight as coming from the War Minister, but under our system it is impossible, when he puts forward his views and opinions on Army matters, to tell whether those views and opinions are shared by his expert advisers, whether the latter dissent from them entirely, or in what proportions the Ministerial view on the one hand, the advising views on the other, enter into combination.

And the spirit displayed in the quotation as regards preparedness for war is so directly the negative of the views held on the subject by soldiers of every civilised country in the world, that in justice to the expert advisers at the War Office I am compelled to assign to the optimistic Mr. Haldane alone the sole proprietorship of the professional ideas he has enunciated. The keynote of the whole quotation lies in the last words, which, coming as they do from the Minister responsible for our Home Land Defence, may well create dismay among us dwellers in Great Britain. Mr. Haldane is 'not very much concerned about the "bolt from the blue," and this absence of concern in spite of the very recent startling surprises in the Near East. Why, a mere novice in the study of war knows that with an aggressively intentioned nation its military meteorologists are always on the look-out for a blue sky for the discharge of the bolt,' so as to secure taking the desired prey at a complete disadvantage. People usually leave umbrellas at home on a fine day, and a fine day is just the time for Jupiter Pluvius to amuse himself by spoiling their fine clothes. But once start with the absolutely gratuitous assumption that the gathering together of storm clouds will be a sure preliminary to any hostile attempt on our home, and the theorist can, whilst administering soporific eloquence allaying any alarm and anxiety, rise by unparalleled flights of imagination, and this Mr. Haldane does with a vengeance. Our worst plight, Mr. Haldane says (ignoring the bolt from the blue), will be two months after mobilising our Territorial Army—a somewhat serious condition

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of affairs, he admits; but why is two months the first stage, why not of affairs, he admits; but the other? Then Mr. Haldane jumps three on the one side, or one on the other? Then Mr. Haldane jumps boldly over four intervening and the prospect then presented to the would-be invaders is something too terrible for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained for the contemplate aggressively aggressively aggressively aggressively then presented to the would aggressively—'a well-trained force any invader to contemplate aggressively—'a well-trained force and

I will only say that I do not believe that there is one soldier who I will only say that I do has studied war in the past and is observant of the views, ideas, and has studied war in the past and is observant of the views, ideas, and has studied war in the passes in the present, who, with any regard practical training of all armies in the present, who, with any regard for his professional reputation, would treat as anything but wild for his professional reputation of six months allowed to us in this island imaginings a peaceful period of six months allowed to us in this island by our would-be invaders, to enable us to replace for home defence by our would-be invaces, well-trained force, equivalent to seven our Regular Army by a 'well-trained force,' equivalent to seven Army Corps.' No, the unanimous opinion of all soldiers of to-day, irrespective of nationality, is that if a nation desires to dwell in safety it must have, prepared and ready to hand at any moment, those who are to be entrusted with its security; and further, that the mere fact of its being known by its neighbours to be ready is one of the most powerful deterrents to attempts against it.

And I hope that if these lines come to the notice of Mr. Haldane he will not consider me discourteous in saying that his remarks on our Home Defence are sometimes slightly puzzling, and, as in the present instance, somewhat disconcerting. Mr. Haldane during his tenure of office has devised for that defence a Territorial Army, an achievement of a very high order. It is only by a Territorial Army (not, I may remark, merely by the 'equivalent of seven Army Corps') that that defence can be provided, and yet now he tells us that 'only time and experience will sift out the problem whether a Territorial Army is sufficient guarantee for home defence.' This is a false issue altogether; the real issue is not the question of a Territorial Army, such being accepted by all soldiers as a necessity, but the probable value or valuelessness of Mr. Haldane's Territorial Army, owing to the want of sound and proper training—a training that can be secured only by the substitution of universal liability to service for home defence and its resulting effective training, in lieu of the present childish playing at soldiers by young fellows out on a healthy holiday with their 'pals,' an employment of time strongly advocated by personages no less highly placed than the Duke of Fife and Viscount Esher. Neither time nor experience is needed to 'sift out this problem.'

And now back to Stoffel and some teaching from France's own sad experience of the results of her method of raising a Territorial Army

before the great war of 1870-71.

On the 1st of February 1868 was inaugurated in France, under the inspiration of the late Marshal Niel, a Territorial Army auxiliary to the Ragular A to the Regular Army, and to be available in repelling invasion. Its training was a degree or two more unsatisfactory than that of

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Haldane's Army, for whilst the fifteen days' training of the latter he continuous in camp, the French yearly training In Haldane's raining of the latter training of the latter training was fifteen and the sundays. The troops composing this army was fifteen be continuous. The troops composing this army were denomidays on Sunday attended Mobile and as a sort of annex to them rere added a few weeks later companies of voluntary Francs-tireurs; were added a row real training for either. A passage from Stoffel the point: seems to the point:

But, say some, the Garde Nationale Mobile may be drilled during war; to which But, say some, the day, How, if the war be of short duration, if France is it is only requisite to say, How, if the war be of short duration, if France is it is only requisite with sudden disaster at the outset, and finds herself suddenly invaded, snitten with studenty invaded, snitten with studenty invaded, you then give these young men assembled in haste that cohesion, how can instruction which is so requisite? how can you assemble, and instruction which is so requisite?

Stoffel, with the German soldiers always before his eyes, cannot restrain himself from treating as simply ridiculous any comparison of the French Territorial with his probable opponent, and his estimate, as events showed, was correct; for when on the 16th of July 1870, more than two years later, the bolt fell, France's Territorial Army was, so far as it had come into existence, a mere crowd of untrained and only nominal soldiers.

And now I turn to the war itself to see these Territorials in the field. and I sadly contrast what was with what might have been, if only France had employed to effective purpose those two years in energetic preparation of her Territorial Army for the immediate morrow. Do not let my readers be afraid that I am about to inflict on them a lecture on military history, still less that I intend, in referring to the war, to drive the 'one-horse military history shay '-that is to say, select from the history the facts that support, and carefully withhold the facts that tell against my own views as to what a Territorial Army ought to be. I will take as a starting-point the 19th of September, two months after the outbreak of war, and just seven weeks after the first engagement between the hostile armies. On that day the investment of Paris was completed by the Third and Fourth German Armies; round Metz were the First and Second German Armies; at Strasburg, besieging that fortress, was also a large German force; and out of the whole of France, which may roughly be taken as a square of between four to five hundred miles the side, the Germans occupied only a small 1805celes triangle, the base of 100 miles being on the Rhine, the apex Just beyond Paris and 240 miles from the base. Germany had no men with which to undertake operations in the field, and outside the triangle France was free to act as she chose as regards preparation. The French resources in troops were remnants of her Regular Army combined with the Territorial Army, and eventually increased by Gambetta's levée en masse to, by a curious coincidence, seven or eight Army Corps, just like Mr. Haldane's promised force. The portion of the war of 1870-71 after the investment of Paris is generally known as the 'condition the six as the 'second period of the war' or 'the people's war,' and in the six

or seven different sets of operations and in the big battles that were or seven different sets of operations of the sets of operation of the sets of operations of the sets of operations of the sets carried on during this period as very large percentage of the French forces, torial Army forming a very large percentage of the French forces. torial Army forming a very and the art of war turn aside with con-I have known a high authors, tempt from the study of this period as a 'Mobile' business. But this tempt from the study of this not studying it. He had not, like myself, contempt was due to his not studying it. He had not, like myself, contempt was due to his not the marches and the battles of this same visited the scenes of nearly all the marches and the battles of this same

Only during the last few months I have been, in the light of revela-Only during the last to.

Only during the last to.

General Staff, very closely studying tions recently given by the French General Staff, very closely studying tions recently given by the records of the military events in the part of France running southwest from Strasburg down to Besançon, Dijon, and Autun, where, in west from Strasburg de Nationale Mobile and the Francs-tireurs first September, the data began to make their existence felt by the invaders, and I have followed the operations closely up to the French failure on the Lisaine on the 15th to 17th of January 1871. But it matters not where one turns the Loire, Le Mans, Northern France, or South-Eastern France—the story is sadly monotonous and unvarying, the moral clear as daylight. Here all over France was splendid human material, varying in its military qualities, as all Territorially raised forces must vary, according to the localities from which it was drawn; within it a worthless element, it is true, as in all armies, but for the most part animated by a keen love of country, ready to do, dare, and die for her sake, though as tools in the hands of the commanders, tools raw, badly fashioned, unfinished, as all such tools must be that are not prepared in peace for their immediate use in war.

If only the French Government had listened to Stoffel's warnings and taken heed to them; had the Government started on the 1st of February 1868 a real training, not a sham one like our own; had the French Chambers, instead of refusing the cost of national insurance by financially starving their new Territorial Army, voted the funds necessary for a real training; then, even after the fall of Sedan and the investment of Paris, France might have been able with her Second Line Army to alter to her own enormous advantage the whole course of the second period of the war. Possibly, even, Germany, knowing the military value of the reserve forces of France, might have deemed it wiser to alter her own policy altogether. There were many contributory causes to the overthrow, but pre-eminent among them was this national want of concern, like that professed by Mr. Haldane, about 'the bolt from the blue,' and involving the non-existence of a thoroughly trained Second Line Army when from 'the blue' the 'bolt' fell.

So, my fellow countrymen and country women, do not let this vital matter of securing without delay a reliable Second Line Army on land for Home Defence drop into the background. Do not let our Government gamble with ment gamble with our safety by working on hypotheses of two months' or six months' time of or six months' time for preparation. The whole matter would be

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tal nd n-18 be clearly one of plain common-sense could we but disentangle it from political and party issues. Let us insist on being made safe at once. In conclusion, let me paraphrase a remark made by a Prussian In control of the said, 'If you adopt in France the principle of General compulsory service you will once again dictate to all Europe.'

My paraphrase is 'If you adopt in Great Britain the principle of My Party Service for Home Defence, you have nothing to fear

from all Europe.'

LONSDALE HALE.

## MR. BIRRELL'S IRISH LAND BILL

In the King's Speech at the opening of the present Session of Parlia. In the King's opecon at the legislative programme was given to Irish ment, the first place in two morning sittings, Mr. Birrell's pin two morning sittings. ment, the first place in two morning sittings, Mr. Birrell's Bill has been land; and already, in two morning in the House of Community Second Reading In the House On the H land; and already, in the House of Commons. I wish rushed through its Second Reading in the House of Commons. I wish rushed through its second to those concerned for the welfare of Ireland, to call the attention of those concerned for the welfare of Ireland, especially members of both Houses of Parliament, to certain aspects of this measure which, in its impetuous passage, are likely to be over-The Bill, although following the main lines of a policy agreed to by all parties, contains an innovation which does not necessarily affect the terms of purchase or the general finance of the Bill, and is likely to be neglected in debate. This consideration moves me to discuss here Part III. of the Bill, which deals with the Congested

Districts problem.

As this part of the Government scheme is based upon the Report of a Royal Commission, I wish to make clear at the outset the extent to which I and those in Ireland with whom I work are in agreement with the Government. We think, as they do, that land purchase must go on; that it must be twofold in its nature, not only abolishing dual ownership, but also giving additional land to those occupiers who have not enough to support a decent existence. We agree with them that for this last purpose loans do not suffice, that money must be granted, and that the purpose justifies the grant. We realise, more acutely perhaps than the Government themselves, that the history of Ireland, and especially of the measures which first caused the overcrowding of the poorest parts of the country, supplies ample reason why the English Government should in justice employ special means for the improvement of those parts. But, in our view, a sound land purchase policy should have three objects, and its success must be judged by the extent to which it attains them. Will it produce peace in Ireland? Will it improve the farming of Ireland? Will it remove the extreme poverty of certain districts?

Now, the objection which I have to make to Mr. Birrell's Bill is that the part which deals with the Congested Districts sacrifices two of these objects to the third, and fails to attain that. It will, I believe, if carried into law, produce and reproduce turmoil, and will delay social and economic progress throughout Ireland, especially in the districts it proposes to benefit. This is my deliberate judgment based upon the

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experience of twenty years, during which, in association with Irishmen esperience of all creeds, classes, and politics, I have been engaged in an attempt of all creeus, of all creeus, of all creeus, of all creeus, or a new rural social economy in Ireland through a carefully of create and combination of State assistance and through a carefully to create a combination of State assistance and organised self-help.

To the friends of this new Irish movement it is plain that Mr. Birrell and his advisers have missed a truth too commonly disregarded Birrell and legislation, perhaps because of the methods usually in recent the convince Parliament of the urgent need for agrarian employed. That truth is that the solution of the Irish land question depends ultimately upon the use made of the land. The best system of tenure is that which affords the amplest opportunity and the strongest inducement, to those who work upon the land, to put forth their best energies in the development of its resources. The honest and fearless application of this truth to the existing conditions in Ireland is neither easy nor popular; yet there can be no escape from the consequences of its neglect. The chief adverse factor in the problem is generally ignored. While the country must be saved by agriculture, its people are not agriculturally inclined. Abroad, our people keep off the land altogether; at home they strongly prefer a pastoral to an agricultural The western peasantry, when working for wages in England and Scotland, or engaged in a struggle for bare life in almost impossible physical surroundings, develop surprising industry and resourcefulness. But it is not easy to make farmers of them under favouring conditions. The success of the land purchase policy absolutely demands that on the small holdings, on which the vast majority of the peasantry will be established, a more or less advanced system of mixed farming shall be substituted for the prevalent system of This is what I mean by the right use of the land, the encouragement of which is the chief test I apply to land legislation.

Whatever may now be accepted as the theoretical defects of Mr. Gladstone's famous three F.'s-fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale -it is very pertinent to note the precise point at which the system broke down in practice. The tenant, having no confidence that the rent fixed by the independent tribunal was fair in the vital matter of giving to him and not to the landlord the full benefit of his improvements, did not improve. He was, it is true, enabled and induced to do two things, both good as far as they went. He raised his deplorably low standard of comfort, and he began to accumulate savings in the banks. But he did not make that addition to his working capital, nor, what was still more essential, those improvements in the technical and business methods of his industry, which were confidently anticipated from the brighter outlook and opportunity which he owed to the Gladstonian legislation.1

Dr. Moritz J. Bonn, the shrewdest foreign critic of modern Irish movements, states that under this legislation Irish tenants 'had conditions assured to them more favourable than any other tenantry enjoy.' Modern Ireland and her Problem, p. 162.

The question which has now to be answered is whether the necessary taken to make single ownership successful. The question which has not make single ownership succeed where sary steps are being taken to make single ownership succeed where sary steps are being taken to the gravity and urgency of this state-regulated dual ownership failed? The gravity and urgency of this state-regulated dual ownership failed? It is agreed on all sides the state of this state of the gravity and urgency of this state. State-regulated dual ownership.

State-regulated dual ownership.

It is agreed on all sides that land question can hardly be overstated. It is agreed on all sides that land question can hardly be overseason. Although the progress of this vast undertaking purchase must go on. Although the progress of this vast undertaking purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes purchase must go on. Attitudes is temporarily arrested by many stemporarily arrested by many stem remove, there can be no take the remove, there can be no take the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove in the remove two hundred millions steering the Irish Land question. Is that in the latest final settlement of the Irish Land question. Is that investment secure?

My belief is that the investment is secure, and the moderate My belief is that the moderate prosperity of the Irish peasantry assured, if, and only if, the peasants prosperity of the Hish potantal, more skilled work, and better business are induced to put more capital, more skilled work, and better business methods into the industry of farming. I do not believe that the methods into the salone is sufficient inducement. I do not see in Mr. Birrell's Bill, or in his speeches in support of it, any evidence that he and his advisers have faced this, the centre of the problem What is wanted to deal with this question is a statesmanship which can look beyond the exigencies of a Parliamentary situation dominated by passions aroused by the issues to be determined, and unrestrained by that general familiarity with the facts which guides the House of Commons in dealing with English affairs. The statesman who is to solve the Irish Land question must recognise that the most skilful handling of the financial complications, the most complete satisfaction of the two interests immediately concerned, will be no solution of the real problem; that whether we are to be blessed with a settlement or cursed by the continuance of agrarian strife depends upon the economic soundness and the moral influence of the agrarian revolution, to which history has given the impulse and Parliament is giving the direction.

I have attributed above what I conceive to be the error, into which Mr. Birrell and his advisers have fallen, to their acceptance of the findings of the majority of the Royal Commission on Congestion. It therefore becomes necessary, in submitting arguments upon the problem with which that body has to deal to those who are not familiar with the conditions, to give at least a general idea of what the Irish Congested Districts are.

Ireland, as compared with other countries in Europe, contains a very fair proportion of good fertile land, but its bad lands are, to a considerable extent, massed together in the western half of the island, mainly in the province of Connaught, under a rainy sky, and out of the track of trade. The good bits of grass land scattered through those districts are mostly in the hands of non-resident graziers; the mountains are mostly tains are partly preserved by landlords for shooting; but the greater part of the plains and much of the mountains, land for the most part either harron and either barren and rocky or peaty and water-logged, is occupied by

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small farmers (or crofters as the similar class is called in Scotland) small tarnition in a large proportion of cases not sufficient to whose months in comfort or decency. The term 'Congested Districts' keep the density of population, and in particular keep them Congested Districts? suggests density of population, and in particular places this exists; suggests down most of these regions the people are not numerous in probut over to the space they occupy; they are, however, numerous in portion to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the amount of sustenance which is to the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space they are the space the space they are the space they are the space they are th proportion to the amount of sustenance which by their present methods proportion by can extract from the land. Their living, therefore, is very poor they can and precarious; a bad failure of the potato crop does still, in this part of the United Kingdom, produce what may without exaggeration be termed a famine.

These people support themselves almost exclusively by cultivating insufficient plots of infertile land with inadequate capital and by antiquated methods. The seas round the western coasts of Ireland abound with fish, and before the great famine of 1847 (not to speak of earlier days) there was in the west of Ireland a large and prosperous fishing industry, though it was even then on the decline. But that fearful calamity seems to have destroyed or driven away all those who possessed the knowledge and the means to pursue the industry on a large scale, and in 1890 there was, north of the Shannon, no fishing except for local consumption, carried on from curraghs or other, small boats. Again, there were no manufactures for sale, though the people wove home-spun cloth for their own wearing. The main source of money revenue in many households was-and in many still is-temporary seasonal work in England and Scotland. migratory labourers are a necessary part of the economy of many farms in Great Britain; but the fact that they are in their own country farmers or farmers' sons-for there are very few labourers properly so called in Connaught-and that they find it profitable to divert their labour from their own holdings at the critical seasons of the year, shows that those holdings must be insufficient to employ In fact the English or Lowland Scottish reader them profitably. ought to dismiss from his mind the ideas called up by the word farm, when he is considering the plots of land held by the typical inhabitants of the Congested Districts. The average valuation of the holdings in these districts is 6l., and of the 84,954 holdings which they contain, 74,413 are under 10l. valuation. Of these, 45,138 are under 41.2

If we ask what the effect of these adverse conditions has been on the minds and characters of the people exposed to them, it is not easy to give a clear or comprehensive answer. Perhaps for that reason, this aspect of the subject has usually received less attention from inquirers than the more measurable physical and economic facts. But as I believe the two most important questions for consideration, when remedial measures are proposed, to be first what is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Final Report of the Royal Commission on Congestion, Cd. 4097 of 1908, § 9.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation with, and next what effect the the character of the people to be that character, I must effect the proposed measures will have on that character, I must endeavour, proposed measures will have on that character, I must endeavour, proposed measures will have on proposed measures will have on these western these western

sants are.

I think it may fairly be claimed for them that their virtues are I think it may fairly be those of their circumstances. They are their own, and their vices those of their circumstances. They are their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their vices that their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, and their own, kindly, devout, intelligent, which has been much reduced in though naturally it is still much high ignorance I do not mean interest in the last generation, though naturally it is still much higher than in the last generation, though the last generation, though the heat that they have not been taught, other parts of Ireland; but I mean that they have not been taught, other parts of Ireland, but and do not understand, the best ways to carry on their business. Thus, and do not understand, the business. Thus, for example, many of them do not see, and it is hard to persuade for example, the business to pay 2s. or 2s. 6d. for the for example, many of the them, that it is better business to pay 2s. or 2s. 6d. for the service of a well-bred bull (subsidised by the Congested Districts Board) than to get the service of an ill-bred bull for 6d. or for nothing. when spraying-machines, by which the potato-crop, their staple food, is preserved from blight, are supplied to them at less than cost price, they have in many cases allowed the machines to become useless for want of some small repair which could be easily and cheaply made. Worst of all, their relations with the shopkeeper show a total inability to understand what they pay for the luxury of long credit in business transacted with the minimum of cash payment. This sort of shiftlessness is of course not universal in the congested districts, but it is very widespread, and it shows what care is needed in the application of Government aid.

Unfortunately, before 1891, such Government assistance as they received was of the most demoralising kind. It was temporary relief, given on the basis of necessity during the periodic famines. The experience of these remote rural districts of the west of Ireland amply bears out the conclusion to which the Royal Commission on the Poor Law have been led by examining evidence from English towns, that temporary relief works are almost always demoralising, but that in the absence of previous organisation no other resource exists in a period of distress. In the west of Ireland before 1891 the effect produced by the periodic measures of temporary relief, to which the Government had recourse, is aptly indicated by the anecdote, true or false, of the old peasant woman who remarked to a sympathising stranger 'We'd be starving but for the famine.'

This sketch will give a general idea of the social and economic conditions of the Congested Districts as they existed in 1891 when Parliament first recognised the evils of 'Congestion' as a problem clamant for solution. In the years which have passed, owing to the work of the Congested Districts Board then established by Mr. Arthur Balfour and other agencies, these conditions have improved; but improvement, which would not cease if the special measures for promoting it were discontinued, is not general. The evil of congestion noting to have remedied, but its area has been narrowed.

Mr. Balfour's object in 1891 was to provide, if possible, a means of Mr. Dans this population to make a permanent improvement in its assisting that I recondition, and thereby to supersede the necessity for special, temporary, and pauperising measures of relief. His method was to delimit the and pauperious and to establish a special and temporary authority area to be dealer and to give that authority wide powers, and an income, over that one with the size of the whole problem, but adequate

for experiments on a large scale.

The area was delimited by means of an arithmetical test of poverty. Where the valuation, divided by the population, gave a quotient of less than 30s. per head, that district was considered sufficiently poor to form part of the official congested districts, provided that not only isolated patches but a certain proportion of the whole county fulfilled the condition. The area of the official congested districts thus defined is 3,626,381 acres, or rather more than one-sixth of the total area of Ireland; the population in 1901 was 505,723, rather more than one-ninth of the total population of Ireland; the valuation 577,043l., about one-twenty-seventh of the total valuation of Ireland.3 One unfortunate result of this method of delimitation was that it produced a territory not lying in one mass inside one boundary, but scattered in separate districts intermingled with districts not officially 'congested.' This led to difficulty in various ways.

The authority which Mr. Balfour set up was a nominated board of unpaid members, constituted as these boards usually are-partly of officials and partly of independent persons, numbering eight in all. The principal official member was the Chief Secretary himself. the Board was kept in close touch with the policy of the Government, and successive Chief Secretaries were in a position to obtain an intimate personal knowledge of one of the most instructive and difficult parts of the Irish problem. The unofficial members were persons who had lived among the people, or who had evinced an interest in the study and improvement of their condition. The best-known among the members resident in the congested districts are the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Raphoe, and the Rev. Denis O'Hara, parish priest of Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo, who are still on the Board. Their services have been most valuable, both on account of their exhaustive local knowledge and also through the great influence which they were able to exert over the people. Of the other members, the only one I need mention specially is the late James Hack Tuke, whose benevolent interest in Irish poverty was continued from the years of the great famine down to his death at the end of the last century.

The annual income with which this Board was first endowed was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Royal Commission on Congestion, § 8

Digitized by Arya Sama, Computer Surplus Fund. Successive additions 1899 and 1903 have about doubled it; the 41,250l., charged upon the charged about doubled it; the present to this income in 1899 and 1903 have about doubled it; the present to this income in 1899 and to the this income in 1899 and to the present income is 86,250l. In addition, two capital sums, amounting in the income is 86,250l. were placed at the Board's disposal income is 86,250l. In addition, were placed at the Board's disposal. The whole to nearly 90,000l., were placed at the Board's disposal. The whole to nearly 90,000t., were partially boards which were wide, were avowedly powers entrusted to the Board, which were wide, were avowedly powers entrusted to the Board, which were wide, were avowedly powers entrusted to the paternally. They included the establish intended to be exercised paternally. They included the establish intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised partial intended to be exercised by exercised partial intended to be exercised by exercised partial intended to be exercised by exercised pa ment, with the neip of the stock breeding, emigration (which improvement of holding) improvements in agriculture, the improvement of holdings by rehas never been resorted by, arranging their boundaries, and, where necessary, the removal of families to newly created holdings elsewhere. It may be generally families to newly created after hand, with the one restriction, that stated that the Board had a free hand, with the one restriction, that stated that the Board had stated that their work must be of permanent utility and not mere temporary relief.

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It is remarkable, considering the actual development of the Board's activities, that the purchase of land does not seem to have been contemplated in its original constitution, and was soon found not to be included in its legal powers. When the Board was founded, land purchase in Ireland was regarded solely as a question of the transfer of certain legal rights from a landlord to an occupying The most prominent, and perhaps the most important, part of the Board's work in recent years has been to introduce and develop, side by side with this old scheme of purchase, a new one, by which a public authority, working through skilled and experienced officers. buys land and holds it, in order to redistribute and improve it before selling again to those who are to be the ultimate owners. method was forced on the Board. At a very early stage in their proceedings they found it impracticable to make any considerable improvement in the holdings of tenant farmers, except by themselves becoming landlords. To make this point clear I must explain that one of the greatest obstacles to improved farming in the congested districts, ranking in many places even before the infertility and insufficiency of the land, arises from the lands being held in divided pieces. Often a holding of three or four acres will be divided into as many as a dozen or twenty patches, lying intermingled with patches held by other tenants. The extreme of inconvenience is reached when the holdings are in 'rundale'—that is, when the patches are redistributed at regular intervals. I am not here concerned with the historic causes of this method of tenure, which has well-known analogies in other countries; its practical effect is to render improvement extremely difficult. The first reform, which is also a condition of all other reforms, is to bring this state of things to an end, and to give each man a holding in one piece, instead of one in twelve or twenty To carry out this substitution in a fair and equal manner is in itself a complicated and difficult operation; it is rendered much more difficult by the mental attitude of the tenants who are to be

dealt with. Each knows to a nicety the particular qualities of each dealt with.

dealt with dozen patches which he holds; he is very doubtful whether the piece of land that can be given him. of the dozen per of land that can be given him will be an adequate any other productions of anyone who suggest the substitute, very disinclined to try experiments, very suspicious of the substitute, very suspicious of the motives and intentions of anyone who suggests a change. In the motives and the difficulties the Board's best officers have found it a face of an effect substantial improvement; it was hard and recognised that reform was impracticable, unless the reformer soon recognitions the reformer could speak with the authority of a landlord able to guarantee the possession of the new holding and to bargain as to the rent to be paid. Accordingly the Board in the first year of their existence endeavoured According to purchase an estate. They found their legal powers insufficient, and it took several years to obtain the legislation required to give them the full powers which experience showed to be necessary.

During these years the Board's main efforts were concentrated, and the greater part of their income expended, on the improvement of stock-breeding and the establishment of fisheries and industries. The Royal Commission on Congestion has given a brief, clear, and, I think, just account of what we did in each of these departments.4 They imply, and I should agree, that the expenditure has in some instances been excessive in proportion to the improvement effected; but in experimental work under such difficult conditions this was to be expected. My own judgment may not be impartial, for I have been a member of the Board since its establishment, and am bound to my colleagues by years of harmonious counsel and common work. But all who have examined its history would, I think, agree that it had a very difficult task, and that, though making inevitable mistakes, it has achieved much and has shown the way to achieve more.

Notwithstanding my high regard for my colleagues, in some of my views I have not, as they well know, been able to see eye to eye with the majority. It has always been my profound conviction that in work of the kind we had to discharge, permanent results can be produced only by working on character, and that a paternal authority like the Board is not the best suited to develop initiative and self-Their work, as I told the Dudley Commission, 'is open to one line of constructive criticism. The people who were reached by the Board's beneficence unquestionably had their material condition improved in a great number of cases. But what of their mental out-Taking the people as a whole, what has been done to stimulate their self-reliance rather than their reliance upon external aid? If the Board's financial assistance were to be withdrawn, what, as the result of the Board's intervention for the last fifteen years, would be the effect upon the economic character of the communities they have had under their charge? Are the people more independent, and are they better organised for mutual assistance, and so in a better

4 §§ 57-95 of the Final Report.

position to be helped by the Government and to help themselves? position to be helped by the average thinker on social and economic there are the tests the average thinker on social and economic apply, rather than the things which can be a social apply. These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the tests the average These are the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test the test t problems will apply, rather than problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply, rather than the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will apply the problems will be problem. goodly array in a went of the policy comes to this. Annual Reports. My criticism of the policy comes to this. It has Annual Reports. My critical and things, and what is equally not really got down to the fundamental things, and what is equally not really got down to the serious, and what is equally serious, I consider that both from its constitution and its organisa. serious, I consider that sometion the Board can attack the problem only in a very partial way.

I wish it to be clearly understood that this criticism is not intended I wish it to be clearly that the policy of 1891 was wrong at the time, but only to suggest that the policy of events, been superseded by another. to suggest that the ports, been superseded by another policy that it has, in the progress of events, been superseded by another policy which applies to Ireland generally. Since 1891 there have been many changes in Ireland, and, in particular, there have been two great developments, which bear directly upon the two principal functions of the Board. First came the movement for the better organisation of the farming industry; then the bold attempt to settle finally the

question of land tenure.

I do not of course propose to describe these movements; their general scope and purpose may perhaps be most briefly explained by pointing to the fact that Ireland—not only the congested west, but the whole country—is mainly a country of peasant holdings, that is of farms so small that the tenant and his family do all or most of the work themselves. Now experience in many countries seems to have proved that such peasants cannot prosper except on two conditions; first, their tenure must be in some way fixed, and not left to free competition, as it may be in the case of large capitalist farmers and landlords; second, these peasants must be organised in co-operative This is essential both in order to bring the advantage of associations. large transactions within the reach of small cultivators, and also as a means of preparing them for such technical assistance as Governments may legitimately provide. Thus it is that the object of the many Irish Land Acts-first for rent-fixing, and afterwards for purchaseis to procure for the Irish peasant fixity of tenure on reasonable terms. The object of the Agricultural Organisation movement is to induce the peasants to unite themselves into co-operative societies, credit associations, &c., and the other object, that of encouraging the introduction of better methods of farming, has been dealt with by the foundation and setting to work of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.

Now, when the Congested Districts Board was established in 1891, the Agricultural Organisation movement, which is now carried on by over nine hundred co-operative agricultural societies with a membership not far short of 100,000, and a turnover of 2,500,000l., was in its infancy; the Department of Agriculture was not established till Local government by popularly elected bodies, the year 1899.

Appendix XII., Third Report, p. 375 [Cd. 3414 1907].

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which co-operate with the Department in the work of agricultural which co-operated not exist till 1898. As for the tenure question, the improvement, by which the Congested Districts Barriers and the work of agricultural improvement, did not exist till 1898. improvement, by which the Congested Districts Board was founded, Act of Indianally a Land Purchase Act. Under its incinally a Land Purchase Act. Act of 1891, a Land Purchase Act. Under its provisions and was principally those of the Act of 1896, about nine million pounds' worth of land those of sold to the occupying tenants. But at that time the idea of dealing with the whole land of Ireland was not above the horizon. of dealing in 1903, however, came Mr. Wyndham's Act, which was introduced and received as an attempt to complete the whole work of transfer, and recording the symposium of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the companion of the compa drawing upon the experience of the Congested Districts Board, also introduced provisions intended to deal with the problem of congestion wherever existing throughout Ireland, and to deal with it by the method which the Board had employed. The Estates Commissioners created by his Act are empowered, like the Board, to purchase estates, and to hold and improve them before re-selling to the tenants.

It will be seen, therefore, that the situation is radically changed since the Congested Districts Board began its work. At that time there was no department of Government concerned with what became the two principal operations which the Board took upthe purchase of land with a view to its redistribution, and the introduction of improved methods of farming. Now there is, for Ireland outside the congested districts, a Government department actively engaged on each of these tasks. Moreover, each of these departments has, for its particular task, advantages and qualifications which the Congested Districts Board has not.

It should be borne in mind that these two operations are radically different in one important matter—the part which the individual peasant, the subject of the experiment, plays in each of them. If improved methods of farming are to prevail, it is he who must adopt and use them. He must decide; all that the Government or any other agency can do for him is to educate him—if he will accept education to show him how improvements can be effected, to put the tool in his hand and to give him an inducement to use it. But in the process of land transfer the tenant purchaser is a passive recipient of Government benefits; when he has made his bargain with the landlord, the State advances him the money on easier terms of repayment, and at a much lower rate of interest, than he could obtain from a private lender. This is more obvious when there is redistribution; here the tenant of a bad insufficient holding-or perhaps a man with no land at all—is established by the State as owner of a sufficient holding, on terms specially calculated to give him a fair start in his new position.

The constitution of the two departments of Government dealing with these two subjects reflects this difference. When that most

Values of land sold (1) under Ashbourne Acts of 1885 and 1888, ten millions 2) under Balfour Acts of 1891 and 1896, nine millions

constructive and least understood of modern Chief Secretaries, in 1899 established the Department of Amionia constructive and least undotted the Department of Secretaries, Mr. Gerald Balfour, in 1899 established the Department of Agriculture from the construction, he justified this departure from the construction. Mr. Gerald Balfour, in 1000 containing the form the laissez and Technical Instruction, he justified this departure from the laissez by the preparation for State assistance which and Technical Instruction, no factor of the laissez and Technical Instruction, no factor of the laissez faire tradition by the preparation for State assistance which had faire tradition by the voluntary co-operative societies under the or faire tradition by the propagative societies under the Organbeen made by the voluntary been made by the voluntary by the voluntary been made by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary by the voluntary machinery of local government which he himself had established in machinery of local government and established in 1898. He further gave to this body a peculiar and very democratic 1898. He further gave to be closely studied, as it has been cited constitution which ought to be closely studied, as it has been cited constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which ought to a constitution which is a constitution which ought to a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution which is a constitution Mr. Birrell's Bill.

. Birrell's Bin.

Most of the work of Mr. Gerald Balfour's Department is done by way of advice and assistance to the local authorities. It is these way of advice and assistant bodies themselves, the popularly elected County Councils, which establish and control the local schemes of improvement—stock-breed. ing, poultry-keeping, &c.; and they do this under a sense of responsibility, because they contribute to their cost; the Department gives no grant for these schemes except to supplement the rates. The Department advises, suggests, and pays if the scheme satisfies the conditions it lays down. It is important to observe that this function of central advice and superintendence is itself exercised under the control of representative assemblies. No expenditure of the Department's own funds (as distinct from those annually voted by Parliament for necessary administrative functions which it took over from other branches of Government) can be incurred without the sanction of the Agricultural Board, two-thirds of whose members are appointed by the Council of Agriculture. This Council is a deliberative body whose function it is to criticise the operations of the Department and keep it in touch with public opinion. It is well qualified to do this, as two-thirds of its members are appointed by the County · Councils. The Department nominates one-third of the Council and of the Board. It is obvious that such a constitution as this is eminently adapted to foster in the peasant farmers, who are the predominant electors of these County Councils, feelings of responsibility and independence in dealing with schemes for the improvement of agriculture.

But neither the Department, nor the local committees which have statutory relations with it, have anything to do with land tenure. Mr. Wyndham, in his Act of 1903, recognised that he was here dealing with a question wholly different in kind, which called for a wholly different method of administration. He found in existence a judicial or quasijudicial body, the Land Commission: he made certain important changes in its constitution, and certain others were made after he left office. But neither in the Land Commission as Mr. Wyndham found it, nor as he left it, nor as it now stands, is there any trace of representation of the sentation of the special class for whose benefit it exists, the tenant

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The work of land settlement is done for them, not by them, farmers. In the way under their control; neither do they contribute to and it is in no way under taxpavers do and lot except as all other taxpayers do.

I think that each of these departments was wisely and soundly constituted for its particular purpose. It is right that the farmers should control through their local assemblies the schemes of agricultural improvement which are best carried out under local management and at the expense of the locality. The power given to the central authority of withholding its contributions unless the schemes are satisfactory is sufficient; and it is right that this central authority should also be subject to the criticism of an assembly representing the farmers of the whole country, because the work to be done is in reality their work; they have a common interest in it, and they ought to have a common policy, and no one else is primarily concerned.

Equally it is right that the farmers should have no authority or control over the department which manages the purchase and redistribution of land. For they have no responsibility and no duties in the matter, once they have agreed to pay a price, except to pay it by the fixed instalments. It is not their work which is being done, nor are they paying for it; on the contrary they are in every case receiving freeholds for which they pay a terminable annuity less in amount than the annual sum they paid as rent. And further, and most important of all, they have and can have no common interest in the matter; on the contrary they have conflicting interests. There is not enough land in Ireland to go round, and there is bound to be a keen struggle for its possession. The first duty of an Irish Government is to prevent the employment of illegal methods; its next duty, if it has undertaken to make a settlement—as the Imperial Government in Ireland has—is to make that settlement itself, on the best advice it can get, endeavouring to do justice as between individuals, classes, and localities, but working through its own officers and on its own responsibility. Popular control in this case can mean nothing except a struggle, in which the representative of each locality strives to obtain for his clients the largest share of the spoils; and those spoils are the money provided by the Imperial Treasury for the improvement of land, and the privilege of occupying at a moderate price land which has been bought by Imperial funds at a market price which may or may not be moderate.

These considerations apply, in my view, to every part of Ireland; but they certainly have most weight in the Congested Districts of the west, because the inhabitants there are poorer, more backward, less accustomed to action and deliberation in common, and therefore less capable of taking a wide view, and more dominated by the consideratio of their individual interests, than in other parts of the country. It is therefore most important that they should be encouraged, not only to use their best individual efforts to improve their condition, but

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also to organise themselves in co-operative societies for business puralso to organise themselves and manage, through their County Councils, poses, and to promote and manage, through the common benefit, for which they pay through the poses, and to promote and poses, and to promote and for which they pay through the rates, schemes for the common benefit, for which they pay through the rates. schemes for the common beat they should not be encouraged to pervert It is equally important that they should not be encouraged to pervert It is equally important that an engine for the advancement of private representative institutions into an engine for the advancement of private representative institutions in the even English local authorities are not interests—an evil from which even English local authorities are not interests—an evil from which when it is proposed to set up in Ireland a body in which always free. When it is proposed to set up in Ireland a body in which always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. When it is properly always free. representatives of the Government's expense, we can but humbly tribution of land at the Government's expense, we can but humbly pray that Parliament may lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil. The justification of the extraordinary experiment, which from evil. The Justine upon the corpus vile of our country, is that in Mr. Birrell seeks to day in the seramble for the land, of which as I have said there is not enough the scramble for the land, of which as I have said there is not enough to go round, other claims will be preferred to those of the 'congests,' It has been said that a special administrative authority is required to resist these claimants. But curiously enough the Royal Commission have found that authority in a body in which the representatives of the claimants will have an effective, if not a dominating voice. In the words of the Report, 'this is one of the chief causes which have led us to think that a semi-independent Irish body, with a large elective element, such as the new Board, is more likely to be successful in relieving congestion than an ordinary Government department' I am not surprised to find that my fellow-workers regard the proposal as one which will give back to chaos the beginnings of order.

For a full description of Mr. Birrell's scheme for dealing with the problem of congestion I must refer the reader to Part III. of his Bill. He abolishes the present Congested Districts Board but keeps its name. Its place will be taken by a body on which representatives of the western farmers will have a working majority. To the new Board will be given large funds (250,000l. a year), with compulsory powers for the purchase and redistribution of land not only in the present congested districts, but also over an additional area of more than equal size, the whole comprising more than one-third of Ireland. Clause 43 constitutes an administrative committee consisting of six members of the Board, two ex-officio, two appointed, and two representative; but, whatever the functions of this committee, in all matters of policy they will be absolutely controlled by the Board as a whole.

Parliament will no doubt be told that the majority of the Royal Commission wholly dissent from the views I have expressed. It was inevitable that they should, as there was not upon the Commission a single member who had familiarised himself with the later theory of economic development in Ireland or helped to give effect to it in practice. They took evidence mainly from the spokesman of the communities which were to be relieved, from those who had come to regard the distribution of Government funds as the panacea for

Par. 129 of the Final Report.

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to for economic evils. To the experience of other countries which had economic solved similar problems on lines of enlightened statesmanship they did solved similar Herein lies the fundamental difference between their procedure and that of the Recess Committee, and indeed the almost opposite character of the conclusions at which they respectively The unofficial, self-appointed, and yet surely representative. body founded their scheme of State assistance to agriculture and body upon the three principles which appeared to have been universally applied to similar conditions on the Continent—education, representation, and organisation. In the Royal Commission's Report a Platonic affection for the last of these principles, and the belief of educated men in the first are to be found; but the claims of democracy seem to have lent such paramount importance to representation that all considerations of administrative efficiency went by the board. The one member who had had any administrative experience among depressed rural communities—Lord MacDonnell—in the course of his memorable 'Minute of Dissent,' gave expression to his own opinion of the policy under review in several trenchant paragraphs from which space forbids me to quote more than a single sentence. 'I object,' he wrote, ' to make the misery of the western peasant the occasion for a semi-political experiment which will indefinitely delay his relief.'

As I am addressing myself principally to English readers, I wish to confine myself to that part of the case which can be argued on admitted facts and general principles. I think that everyone who assents to the arguments I have used as to the process of land purchase by funds borrowed from the State, will agree with the conclusion that a body controlled by the beneficiaries is not the proper body to direct the process. This conclusion applies with still greater force if the purchase is to be carried out by compulsion. I do not intend to argue the question whether compulsion is necessary in order to relieve congestion; but supposing it necessary, the proposed Board is wholly unfit to exercise it.

If we turn to the other spheres in which the existing nominated Congested Districts Board has been active, what is the state of the case? These subjects are the encouragement of fishing, technical education, including domestic economy, the starting of industries, and most of all, the introduction of better methods of farming. For all these the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, as has been explained, provides in the rest of Ireland outside the Congested Districts, with the exception that the Department has no power to assist industries other than those subsidiary to farming.8 There have, therefore, been two authorities in Ireland dealing with these subjects

<sup>8</sup> Much has been made of this point as a reason for the proposed new Board. If additional powers are needed in certain districts they can be given to one authority as easily as to another.

on different lines—the Congested Districts Board working through its on different lines—the Congestion, the Department working through its own officers and in a paternal manner, the Department working through own officers and in a paternal manner, the Department working through the critical state of the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle of salt in the principle own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal most own officers and in a paternal the local authorities, and so far an principle of self-help.

The result of having these two authorities working on different lines.

The result of having these two authorities working in border lines. The result of having these two data great confusion in horder districts, was, as might be expected, to cause great confusion in horder districts. was, as might be expected, to the Report of the Royal Commission The matter is explained clearly in the Report of the Royal Commission (32 to 67), where are also set forth the measure. The matter is explained occurs, where are also set forth the measures which (paragraphs 63 to 67), where are also set forth the measures which (paragraphs 63 to 67), when Chief Secretary, for the purpose of putting Mr. Wyndham took, when Chief Secretary, for the purpose of putting The administrative details are complicated and not very important. The point is that the step taken was in the and not very important.

and not very important.

direction of handing over to the Department part of the business.

What was in the direction of handing over to the Department part of the business. hitherto done by the Congested Districts Board. What was done was not sufficient, and has not been effective to prevent administrative not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and should give reaching the sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient, and has not sufficient sufficient, and has not sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient sufficient s the paternal method is temporary and should give way at the earliest possible moment to the method of self-help. I submit that if the time has come to legislate further for the Congested Districts—and I think it has—the opportunity should have been taken to complete what Mr. Wyndham left imperfect, and to hand over to the Department and to the County Councils all these functions inside the Congested Districts, as in the rest of Ireland. The Bill, however, expressly reserves to the new Congested Districts Board the control of fisheries, industries, the teaching of domestic economy, and agriculture except as regards agricultural education and practical husbandry. The scope of this exception is not perfectly clear, but it is clear that for the two very important subjects of industries and fishing duality of administration is to be perpetuated, and also, what to my mind is of much greater importance, a very real and confusing conflict of principle. fisheries on the coast of Galway are to be dealt with by one department of Government, and those on the coast of Wexford by another; in County Cork the coast is to be divided between the two authorities;9 industrial training is to be managed on one principle in West Cork, and on another in East Cork. The principle of self-help, instead of gaining more territory, is to lose part of what it has already gained, for the Congested Districts are now to be twice the size they have been. In this new territory those who have begun to build up a business character, by dealing with a department which helps people strictly in proportion to the extent to which they help themselves, are now to be taught to look for favours to a board bound by no such rules, a board amply endowed and able at its discretion to distribute funds according to its own ideas of merit.

It is only fair to point out that the members of the Royal Commission were not unanimous in this part of their recommendations. I have already referred to the 'Minute of Dissent' by Lord

This anomaly is recognised but not removed by the addition to the new principle of the new gas clause 46. administrative machinery of a consultative committee on fisheries. See clause 46.

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MacDonnell, who was supported by Mr. Conor O'Kelly, M.P., in his MacDonner, to the new Board. The majority of the Commissioners opposition of the Commissioners appear to me to have been carried away by their zeal for democratic appear to me which is apparent in the Report. I share that zeal, institutions which is apparent in the Report. I share that zeal, institutions and for seven years my chief work was that of delegating the local and for sold the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction to work of the local authorities, and as far as possible keeping the democratic element, which, as I have explained, is attached to the central body, in touch with its work. But the Report proposes to apply body, in the wrong manner, and in a sphere representative government in the wrong manner, and in a sphere for which it is unfit. Again, I think that in struggling with the immense mass of evidence given before them in all parts of the Congested Districts, the Commission has a little lost sight of the principle which should have guided its inquiries. It seems to me that the point the Commissioners should have attempted to settle in each place is whether the character of the people in that district is or is not so depressed by poverty or other causes, that they are unable to help themselves if they get a chance. If it is so far depressed, there is a case for paternal government; if it is not, then the treatment which is good for the rest of Ireland is good for that place. My own opinion, founded on many visits and much inquiry, is, that there is a case for paternal government in part of Connemara and Erris, in some of the islands, but in no other part of Ireland.

An undue insistence on physical circumstances and a comparative disregard of the element of character are, I submit, also apparent in the Commission's treatment of the distribution of land. Their proposals seem to me to be based on a view which, because it is assumed, though not stated, by most agrarian agitators, I have called the That view subordinates every other social and agrarian view. economic factor in the rural problem to land tenure. In its practical application it is the parent of the fatal fallacy, that if you give a man a farm you make him a farmer; whereas it would be less untrue to say that if you make him a farmer he will find himself a farm.10

This idea is deep-rooted in Ireland; it is due to the predominance of rural over urban industry. It is not, as in industrial countries like England, a question for each man in a country neighbourhood whether his disposition and his circumstances fit him better for working on the land or for working in a town. There is no work for him to do in the towns, and the only question is whether he has and can hold, or has not and can obtain, a piece of land to live on; his fitness to make the best use of it does not enter into consideration. I put the case simply and crudely, because I am describing, not so much the facts, as the set of the popular mind which the facts have produced.

<sup>10</sup> I have dealt fully with this question in Chap. II. of Ireland in the New Century. Third (cheap) edition. (John Murray.) Also I may refer to my memorandum on The Problem of Congestion, published in vol. iii. of the Royal Commission Report.

This state of mind, eminently natural as an historical product, is at the This state of mind, eminently not improvement all over Ireland, over Ireland, over Ireland, over the Government is merely altering that present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment to present day an impediment day an impediment day an impediment day and present day and p most of Ireland, where the dotter existing farms, it is clearly not by which the cultivators hold their existing farms, it is clearly not by which the cultivators note by direct State action towards replacing this practicable to do much by direct State action towards replacing this practicable to do much by different But where the proposal is to give a good new holding in all give obsolete agrarian idea by a control of the proposal is to give land to men who have none, or to give a good new holding in place of land to men who have none, or to give a good new holding in place of land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note, or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have note or land to men who have not one insufficient to support to a see that these benefits are not wasted by only a right, but a duty, to see that these benefits are not wasted by only a right, but a duty, to only a right, but a duty, to being bestowed on men incompetent to take advantage of them.

ng bestowed on men mount.

I think the Royal Commission missed an opportunity when they I think the Royal conditions in the state of the failed to enunciate this principle; for it is most important to the failed to enunciate this principle of the prosperity of Ireland, and its importance is not generally recognised. prosperity of freiand, and embodied in any one of the statutes dealing So far as I know, it is not embodied in any one of the statutes dealing So far as I know, to statutes dealing with Irish land, nor do I remember seeing it mentioned in any speech either of a Chief Secretary or of an Irish Member of Parliament, Nevertheless I venture to think that the only salvation for the Congested Districts lies in the strict observance of the rule that a man shall not by State aid be put in possession of a farm, until it has been ascertained that he is fit, or that means are available for fitting him, to manage it. Very many of these holders of small patches of wretched land are not able to manage a farm; many of them will have to be taught to be efficient labourers before they can begin to be taught to be farmers. This is why ready-made and quick-working solutions of this problem are so absurd. It is not only nor mainly a question of land: it is a question of intellect and character. Land, and much land, is needed; but not a very great quantity is needed at once. What is needed at once is a plan, a great deal of hard work anda suggestion the new Board would be least likely to tolerate-time. Policies which ignore this truth appeal to the magic of property, but are generally inspired by the more potent magic of something for nothing.

This brings me to the last part of my task, namely, to indicate the measures which I would, if I had the power, substitute for those the Government has proposed. I would not go so far as Mr. Birrell does, and abolish the present Congested Districts Board; but I would confine its activities to the specially backward districts I have mentioned, and to any others in an equally depressed condition. I would transfer its powers for agricultural and industrial instruction and improvement, and for assisting fisheries, to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, and those relating to the purchase and resettlement of land to the Land Commission. Here, however, I would introduce an important change in administrative machinery and a much more important change in method. I would make the work of resettlement the special duty of one or two Commissioners, and leave what is called 'direct sale' from landlord to tenant to his

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That is to say, that where an estate is of such a character colleagues. That is to say, that where an estate is of such a character that no change in the holdings is necessary, it should be allowed to that no change in the holdings is necessary, in order to make some process; but where rearrangement is necessary, in order to make some process; but where rearrangement is necessary, in order to make some process; but where rearrangement is necessary, in order to make some process; but where rearrangement is necessary, in order to make some process; but where should not be judicial, but under the control of the Irish Government, because the questions which arise are questions of administrative discretion, for the exercise of which only the Government should be responsible.

The other and more important change which I would make is to introduce some method of selecting occupiers for new farms and of instructing those who are deficient in knowledge before putting them in possession and making provision for organising them co-operatively. Funds for this purpose, Mr. Lloyd George has told us, are to be available from his Development Grant. The present method is to put them in possession and trust that they will be able to muddle through.

The Departmental Committee on Small Holdings, appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, dealing with an English problem in some ways like the Irish, though in many ways unlike, insisted on the primary importance of selecting suitable candidates, and suggested the idea of a period of probation. I have myself drafted a scheme, the essence of which was the establishment of an experimental farm colony for about a hundred families, where candidates for farms should work under instruction through a probationary period before being put in possession of any land of their own. of course, insist upon this or any scheme. I do insist upon two things. First, the immense general importance to Ireland of discrediting the agrarian idea which leads every man to cling to his own land and to covet his neighbour's without considering whether he is or is not fit to manage land, and of replacing it by the idea of an ordered agricultural community in which each man finds his own level, and is allowed and encouraged to do the work he is fit for. Second, the immediate practical necessity of enforcing this idea in the sphere where Government interference is by common consent necessary, that is, in the abolition or reduction of 'congestion'; and this can only be done by the Government refusing to give a farm to any man who has neither the knowledge, skill, or working capital to make a living out of it. Of course, such a scheme of resettlement cannot work quickly if it is to have any permanent value. I have no doubt this will seem obvious to English readers. perhaps do not understand is the strength of the opposition it will meet with in Ireland, where squeezing acres out of Mr. Birrell is the equivalent of making hay while the sun shines.

I do not think I need defend the foregoing pages from the charge of class or party bias. If I have criticised what the Government may regard as an integral part of their scheme, I have done so only

in respect to the effect which it would produce upon the character in respect to the effect which and therefore upon the prosperity, of the greater part of my country. June and therefore upon the prospector, and therefore upon the prospector, when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men, more particularly those of the West, in days when the Landlord men men, more particularly those of the Landlord interest will no longer be concerned. So far as I have touched upon interest will no longer be concerned a scheme of devolution a constitutional question, I have opposed a scheme of devolution which a constitutional question, I have a property as a constitutional question, I have a property as a constitutional question, I have a constitutional question, I have a constitution which is surely open to the chief objection taken to the measure so sum is surely open to two years ago, that it was administration with is surely open to the chief ago, that it was administration without the marily rejected two years ago, that it was administration without the marily rejected two years ago, The present scheme has the further defect essentials of responsibility. The present scheme has the further defect essentials of responsibility.

that it is provincial, and not national as is the devolution I have been that it is provincial, the best years of my life. Mr. Gerald Developed promoting during the best years of my life. Mr. Gerald Balfour's promoting during the best year and state of such as scheme is working admirably in every county in Ireland. It has enabled a band of quiet earnest workers to found upon self-help a enabled a band of quiet self-help a fabric of Irish social and economic progress. We contemplate with fabric of Irish social with alarm the setting up, alongside of this sound and increasingly effective administrative machinery, an institution for which there is no pre. cedent—which owes such popularity as it enjoys to concessions made to an influential class, not in their best interests, and most assuredly to the ultimate demoralisation of those upon whose character and industry the future prosperity of Ireland must absolutely depend.

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## A TRIBUTE TO SWINBURNE

RETURNING from France on the night of the 15th of April, the night of Swinburne's funeral, we bought the English papers upon landing, and there and then read in its full significance the news that had reached us so far only in a schoolboy's letter.

As we went on then to London, I and my fellow-traveller, who had known him well, tried in vain to realise that he had that day made his last journey through the English shires, to be buried at Bonchurch, and that the familiar house on Putney Hill would see him no more. 'The greatest of our lyrical poets,' George Meredith called him in a letter to their common friend there, which we found printed in one of the evening papers. With a like sense of his genius and unprecedented powers, we had yet never quite learnt to range him with his contemporaries, having thought of him rather as one of the classic poets of an earlier world than as the true creature of the nineteenth century. Rightly to celebrate his memory and estimate his loss, one ought to have something of his own princely excess in love and grief for his heroes, as when, at the death of Victor Hugo in the spring of 1885, he wrote of the incalculable debt he owed to the master who had fostered whatever nobler passions and aspirations he could command 'with the bread of his deathless word and the wine of his immortal song.' But to make prose sing is not given to the ordinary mortal, who must be content to call up in sober memory the place and effect of the poets he has known, and leave the rest to their own great accents.

When Victor Hugo died, all Paris joined in the funeral train that bore the remains to the Pantheon. When his disciple and worshipper died, how little was London moved. One cannot but reflect on the difference, seeing that Swinburne was a greater lyric poet than Hugo (in spite of his own contrary belief), if far Hugo's inferior in drama and in certain other fields that both attempted. The difference was not only one marking off the two peoples; it was as much one between the two poets. Hugo had sung liberty and the sea and the sea-wind and wild nature, very much as his disciple had done; but he had been and he remained a poet of human nature and of the men and women of Paris up to the end; and the men and women had learnt

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation.

Tune

to recognise his voice. Swinburne after the climacteric year, 1879,

note to recognise his voice. to recognise his voice. Swindard women at all, unless we consider was no longer a poet of men and women at all, unless we consider was no longer a poet of metales was no longer a poet of metales we consider little children, of whom he became the laureate, as men and women to all intents and purposes a poet of nature Timen. little children, of whom he became to all intents and purposes a poet of nature. Living He had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become to an interest that I have the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had become the had near London, he torgot Donton, and to writing poems of memory on its neighbouring day by day through an one commons, and to writing poems of memory or present heaths and commons, and the creatures who with him were content with ecstasy, or songs of those creatures who with him were content with

one of the most distinct memories I have of him goes back to a One of the most discussed the new-come day in May, four or five years ago, when he described the new-come day in May, four or five blossoming on Wimbledon Common. Not one of the poems he wrote, dealing with the theme, and written about one of the poems no wrote, the rapturous reality of his words in describing it to the blue-eyed listener at his side, who had possibly describing it to the black, wilder charms that could linger unspoilt so near London and its smoke. The long, solitary morning expeditions over two commons, that gave him these delights, were scarcely ever intermitted. Of later years these rambles were always solitary, and during them he saw nothing but the grass, the tree, the sky-and his innocent fellow-rhapsodists. Even if he met friends he did not recognise them: a lady, an old friend of his, one morning purposely stood right in his path, to see if he would stop and speak to her. But he simply bowed his head, without noticing who the interrupter was, and passed on.

The incident would not be worth telling if it was not so characteristic of him in his older years; living so near London, yet so aloof from it; absorbed in his own thoughts and the spectacle of Nature; envisaging men more and more as a fief of Nature, not Nature as a region and dominion of man.

His affection from boyhood for certain English places and wilder countrysides, Northumbrian moors and southern sea-coasts, was of a part with this creed. It was bound up, too, just as closely with his love of England herself, and with a hatred, furious, unreasoning, profane, of her enemies, upon whom he could not shower epithets enough of rage and anathema.

And here again we have a cue to a certain alienation of his sympathies from the spirit of his younger contemporaries, which went on more or less during his last period. But, like other men of genius, he was made up of opposites. With all his spirit of revolt, he was an aristocrat of a hundred inherited prejudices; while he was to the end a hot republican, he was just as fierce a conservative. How should a school, humorous, self-conscious, that dealt in comparatives and subtleties, understand an old poet whose hopes, fears, passions, memories, rages, were all cast in superlatives?

This is, I admit, to suggest a picture of an intellectual Berserker

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that does not quite tally with the familiar order of his days as they that does not der the roof of his inseparable friend and fellow-poet, were lived the Watts' of other years—Mr. Watts Dunton. They the Theorem tenour enough as time went on, especially after the illness kept an even to prostrated him for a season kept all which prostrated him for a season.

A five-mile ramble under the open sky, during which he thought out and completely shaped down to the last line any poem he had in out and out afterwards it was written down without the change of a syllable; a return then to a late lunch party with two or three ot a symbol when he was as companionable and witty, as full of interest in the newspapers and events of the day, as before he had been selfabsorbed and solitary; and an evening of books and bookish delights, when often some newly discovered quarto, say a play of Dekker's or Webster's, was opened between the tall candlesticks by whose light he invariably read. So the days went by.

Old books, and best of all, old play books, were never to him, what they seem to the multitude, soulless things, closed testaments of dead They were communicative and magnetic, alive and enlivening companions. It was so when he was a boy, as we know by the uncontrollable excitement he showed over a copy of Victor Hugo's Notre Dame, which he carried home to Capheaton in his holidays, and which gave him his first Hugo fever. It was so up to the very end, as you realised in watching him over his beloved quartos and the plays that he wrote about in his sonnets on the Elizabethan dramatists, including unconsidered trifles like Doctor Dodypol and Nobody and

Somebody :

Whose fame forlorn time saves not nor proclaims For ever, but forgetfulness defames And darkness and the shadow of death devour.

Who in our time has known these forgotten dramatists as did he-Haughton, Barnes, blithe burly Porter, Rough Rowley, light Nabbes, lean Sharpham, 'soft Davenport sad-robed,' and 'Brome, gipsy-led across the woodland ferns '? The room that housed these treasures, his own special sanctum, was walled and enveloped in books, those of his own earlier contemporaries included; noticeably Robert Browning's and Dante Rossetti's poems, and Sir Henry Taylor's Philip van Artevelde. The influence of Browning and Rossetti faded out of his pages as he advanced. But that of the latter, and of the mediæval French poets he loved, was shown in Swinburne's tribute to his translation from Villon, The Ballad of the Ladies of Old Time, 'so incomparably rendered,' so far beyond any feat of the younger poet's in that way; and it was to be seen in the influence of pictures like Bocca Baciata upon his own painted rhyme and mediæval fantasy.

The influence of Rossetti's poems and pictures, his theory of art, exorbitant and all-engrossing, his neo-Romanticism and his Italianate temper, upon Swinburne, might easily be over-estimated.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotriRy

But it gave stimulus to his early imagination; did him a master's But it gave stimulus to him possibly, too, some human damage inestimable service, did him possibly, too, some human damage.

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shed.
Swinburne left Oxford in 1858 or 9, having already there made acquaintance with William Morris and other congenial spirits. His first book, The Queen-Mother and Rosamund, published in 1861, is crude and often imitative, but it is magically informed with the spirit of poetry; and there are lines in Rosamund that show how he was reading his Elizabethans, and seeking for a mode suited to his own imaginative conceit and sense of words:

I that have held a land between twin lips And turned large England to a little kiss; God thinks not of me as contemptible.

But it is clear, as one looks back, that the writer of these ardent plays, although he confessed that his first ambition and his most urgent was to do something not unworthy of 'a young countryman of Marlowe the teacher and Webster the pupil of Shakespeare,' was much more strongly moved by lyrical than by dramatic impulses. He conceives his scenes as pictures or as songs: his people are wonderfully set in the stage scene; but it is rare that they speak individually, or from innate dramatic compulsion. They are like people figured in tapestry and it is the poet behind the arras, and swaying them as he moves to and fro, whose emotional, monotonously heightened voice we hear.

This image occurs to one naturally as a result of having heard the poet at any time read or recite any poem of his aloud. The unusual volume and sonority of his voice heard in an ordinary room like his study at the 'Pines' were startling on a first experience. I remember hearing him read Ex-Voto, and at first feeling almost overwhelmed by the orchestral tones, as he chanted, verse by verse:

When their last hour shall rise Pale on these mortal eyes, Herself like one that dies, And kiss me dying The cold last kiss, and fold Close round my limbs her cold Soft shade as raiment rolled And leave them lying,

If aught my soul would say Might move to hear me pray The birth-god of my day That he might hearken, This grace my heart should crave, To find no landward grave That worldly springs make brave, World's winters darken,

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Nor grow through gradual hours
The cold blind seed of flowers
The cold blind seed of flowers
Made by new beams and showers
From limbs that moulder,
From laws my part with earth,
Nor take my part with earth,
But find for death's new birth
A bed of larger girth,
More chaste and colder.

Not earth's for spring and fall, Not earth's at heart, not all Earth's making, though men call Earth only mother, Not hers at heart she bare Me, but thy child, O fair Sea, and thy brother's care, The wind thy brother.

Yours was I born, and ye,
The sea-wind and the sea,
Made all my soul in me
A song for ever,
A harp to string and smite
For love's sake of the bright
Wind and the sea's delight,
To fail them never.

First printed in the Athenaum, Ex-Voto is one of the second series of 'Poems and Ballads.' This must have been very near the dividing equator in his career, the year when he began his second stage. If we try to range now the stars of his first period with those of the second, we have to remember that, born in 1837, he published in 1861 his first boyish book of plays; went on with his dramatic studies in Chastelard, in which he was still feeling his way; then dropping it as the lyric impulse supervened, wrote Atalanta in Calydon, one of the few really supremely great things done in poetry in all the century, and one which proved triumphantly that he had found his way. So far his masters are clearly enough to be distinguished. Shakespeare, Browning, and Rossetti are the chief influences in the first three plays; Æschylus, Landor and Shelley, all certainly helped him to speed his mingled lyric and dramatic imagination in Atalanta.

Meanwhile he was writing some of the 'Poems and Ballads' that were to shake the coteries and provoke a storm of criticism. In this book, the guiding spirits are much mingled; black, white and grey; classic, mediæval, and modern; they included Sappho, Catullus, Lucretius, Gautier, Baudelaire, Hugo, and again Rossetti, and again Browning. Why did the book cause such an outcry? Plainly enough because it was flagrantly at odds with the Victorian tradition that, gross as may be the excesses it covers, shuns the language of animal passion, sensuous and unashamed, common to the Latin races. One cannot wonder that the book was attacked, though the mode and incidency of the attack were unworthy, seeing that it came from a fellow-poet who had put on a mask and a Mother Shipton's cap for the occasion. Two of the poems that came in for especial censure were Faustine and the Laus Veneris. Let us hear what the poet has to say in his own defence in reply to his critics:

Faustine is the reverie of a man gazing on the bitter and vicious loveliness of a face as common and as cheap as the morality of reviewers, and dreaming of past lives in which this fair face may have held a nobler or fitter station; the imperial profile may have been Faustina's, the thirsty lips a Maenad's, when first he learnt to drink blood or wine, to waste the loves and ruin the lives of men; through Greece and again through Rome she may have passed with the same

face which now comes before us dishonoured and discrowned. Whatever of the transmigration of a strengmigration of a strengmigration of a strengmigration of a strengmigration. face which now comes before us the verses, the idea that gives them such life merit or dement there may be in the verses, the idea that gives them such life merit or dement is simple enough: the transmigration of a single soul, door life merit or demerit there may be in the transmigration of a single soul, doomed as they have is simple enough: the transmigration of a single soul, doomed as they have is simple enough to all evil and no good, through many age. as they have is simple enough: the transfer of a single soul, doomed as though by accident from the first to all evil and no good, through many ages and though by accident from the same type of fleshly beauty. The change and though by accident from the first to all the good, through many ages and though by accident from the same type of fleshly beauty. The chance which forms, but clad always in the same which may happen any day to any forms, but clad always in the same vypo the happen and day to any man suggested to me this poem was one which may happen any day to any man sight of a living face which recalled the well-known likeness of suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one suggested to me this poem was one sugges the sudden sight of a hving face which the noble and faultless type of the elder dead for centuries: in this instance the noble and faultless type of the elder dead for centuries. Out of that casual glimpse and dead for centuries: in this instance dead for centuries: in this instance dead for centuries: in this instance dead for centuries in this instance dead for centuries: in this instance dead for centuries: type of the elder Faustina, as seen in coin and bust. Out of that casual glimpse and sudden sudden sudden dead for centuries: in this instance dead for centuries: type of the elder faustina, as seen in coin and bust. Out of that casual glimpse and sudden sudden sudden dead for centuries: type of the elder faustina, as seen in coin and bust.

## And of Laus Veneris he writes :

Of the poem in which I have attempted once more to embody the legend of Of the poem in which I have say only that my first aim was to rehandle the Venus and her Knight, I need say only that my first aim was to rehandle the Venus and her Knight, I have say to rehandle the old story in a new fashion. To me it seemed that the tragedy began where old story in a new rashion. The immortal agony of a man lost after all hitherto it had seemed to leave off. The immortal agony of a man lost after all hitherto it had seemed to leave the hope into fearless despair—believing in repentance—cast down from fearful hope into fearless despair—believing in Christ and bound to Venus—desirous of penitential pain and damned to joyless Christ and bound to comparable pleasure—this, in my eyes, was the kernel and nucleus of a myth comparable pleasure—this, in my eyes, was the kernel and nucleus of a myth comparable only to that of the foolish virgins, and bearing the same burden. The tragic touch of the story is this: that the Knight who has renounced Christ believes in him; the lover who has embraced Venus disbelieves in her. Vainly and in despair would he make the best of that which is the worst—vainly remonstrate with God, and argue on the side he would fain desert. Once accept or admit the least admixture of pagan worship, or of modern thought, and the whole story collapses into froth and smoke.

He alludes, then, to the account by Baudelaire of Wagner's Tannhäuser, as given in Paris, and points the reader to 'the magnificent passage in which M. Baudelaire describes the fallen goddess grown diabolic among ages that would not accept her as divine.'

In this defence of his treatment of forbidden themes, we see at once that Swinburne was not a writer gifted with extraordinary music and imagination, who had no moral sense and no reasoning lobe in his brain, as was often declared afterwards. He had his intellectual side highly developed too. But he was, like most lyric poets, led by emotions not by ideas; and his ideas were too often caught up only when his flying machine was about to start, and the parish church and its moral boundaries were about to drop away and diminish to an anthill's compass. The same impulsiveness marked him as a religious and political rebel. There he owed his first lesson in individual liberty, I imagine, to a very early master, his grandfather, Sir John Swinburne of Capheaton, who had been a friend of Mirabeau and who lived to be near a hundred without abating a jot of his viking courage and contempt for expedient ways of thought. One hears the old man eloquent once and again in the poems; it is his voice that sounds, speaking to the impetuous boy, standing wide-eyed at his knee, in Songs before Sunrise:

> Master, what of the night?-Child, night is not at all Anywhere, fallen or to fall,

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Save in our star-stricken eyes.

Forth of our eyes it takes flight,

Look we but once nor before

Nor behind us, but straight on the skies;

Night is not then any more.

We have to take the one break for liberty with the other. The same indifference to customary sentiment that marked his first book of the ecstasy and liberty of love, gave him his charter in going to Italy, and becoming fired by the ardour of the liberators there. His Song of Italy, inscribed 'with devotion and reverence' to Mazzini, is the first book of this testament of his to the European struggle for the life and soul of a race. It was published in 1867; and its accent still unforgettably recalls the event:

Thou too, O little laurelled town of towers, Clothed with the flame of flowers, From windy ramparts girdled with young gold, From thy sweet hillside fold Of wallflowers and the acacia's belted bloom And every blowing plume, Halls that saw Dante speaking, chapels fair As the outer hills and air, Praise him who feeds the fire that Dante fed, Our highest heroic head, Whose eyes behold through floated cloud and flame The maiden face of fame Like April's in Valdelsa; fair as flowers And patient as the hours; Sad with slow sense of time, and bright with faith That levels life and death; The final fame, that with a foot sublime Treads down reluctant time; The fame that waits and watches and is wise, A virgin with chaste eyes, A goddess who takes hands with great men's grief; Praise her, and him, our chief. Praise him, O Siena, and thou her deep green spring, O Fonte Branda, sing.

As inspiriting a pæan of a hero ever sung, the Song of Italy yet shows one of the besetting snares of its writer, caused by excess of the lyrical over the logical impulse. The poem is a third longer than its ideal argument demands. Four years later came, however, Songs before Sunrise, the one book in which the ideas and the emotions act and react musically and intrinsically upon one another; in which the 'War of Liberation of Humanity,' to use Arnold's phrase, seemed to find once and for all its English voice. The very dialect of liberty seems to be enlarged by this noble book, which breathes a humane and a religious ardour, a love and a longing for morning light and a hatred of darkness, not to be found elsewhere unless it be in his especial masters, Shelley at home or Hugo abroad. And at the end of the

music, how does the soldier and trumpeter of the new day remember

the is a lover too:

The originality and the individual weight of the poem called The originality and the interpolation of the poem called Hertha in this book have been often remarked upon since Swinburne's Watts-Dunton, the 'Theodore Watts', of the colors with the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the colors of the Hertha in this book have been the three transfers of those winds of those winds of those waters of those to the three transfers of those to the transfers of those to the transfers of those to the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of the transfers of t critic, Mr. Theodore watts of those days, first underscored its lines in red as first giving voice to the spirit days, first underscored his included was to develop in after years, of the new cosmogony which Swinburne was to develop in after years, of the new cosmogony which and as being the only poem abreast of the most advanced thought of and as being the only pound and as being the only pound in the region which the poet was the time. It brings us within sight of the region which the poet was the time. It brings as the time to occupy in his last years, in which nature, the cordial earth and her to occupy in his last years, he wore to him than human nature except kindred elements, were to be more to him than human nature except in regard to children in all its dramatic life and colour.

But on the shelf Bothwell succeeds Songs before Sunrise, and in But on the short Detribed and in this magnificently impossible drama, his drame épique as he termed it in the dedication to Victor Hugo—the poem which like Spenser's Faerie Queene, no man reads right through, and the play which no theatre will ever play—Swinburne I believe took his revenge on the public, much as Browning did with Sordello. Nevertheless, a play written with a strong hand, in which the minds of men are better expressed than they are themselves, considered as dramatic forces, They speak too often in lofty monotone; the hands may be the hands of Bothwell or Darnley; the voice is always Swinburne's, Mary Queen of Scots is most euphuist when she is most moved: a mistake in art. What are those lines in Act 2, sc. xii?

> Why should love Have not the force to pluck but twelve hours back, And twice consume and twice consummate life, Twice crowned and twice confounded?

But the blank verse is often magnificent, and one of the best dreams ever wrought into the woof of tragedy is Darnley's dream in Act 2, sc. xix. (Yes, actually scene nineteen!) Since no one reads Bothwell now, let us quote half the passage to show what the irresponsible reader misses:

> I dreamed this bed here was a boat adrift Wherein one sat with me who played and sang, Yet of his cittern I could hear no note Nor in what speech he sang inaudibly, But watched his working fingers and quick lips As with a passionate and loathing fear, And could not speak nor smite him; and methought That this was David; and he knew my heart, How fain I would have smitten him, and laughed As 'twere to mock my helpless hands and hate. So drove we toward a rock whereon one sat Singing, that all the highest air of heaven

1714

<sup>&</sup>quot;It forecasts the new nature-worship which is beginning to assert itself as the religion of the twentieth century."

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Was kindled into light therewith, and shone As with a double dawn; stars east and west Lightened with love to hear her, and the sky Brake in red bloom as leaf-buds break in spring, But these bore fires for blossoms: then awhile My heart too kindled and sprang up and sang And made sweet music in me, to keep time With that swift singing; then as fire drops down Dropped, and was quenched, and in joy's stead I felt Fear ache in me like hunger; and I saw These were not stars nor overhead was heaven. But a blind vault more thick and gross than earth. The nether firmament that roofs in hell. And those hot lights were of lost souls, and this The sea of tears and fire below the world That still must wash and cleanse not of one curse The far foul strands with all its wandering brine.

Bothwell was half written in London, in the poet's rooms in Great James Street, and while he was living its life, as he had written his play, with a characteristically reckless expense of nervous energy. He studied closely the town, delighting in its streets, its playhouses. its queerest haunts from 'Solferino's 'to the 'Coal Hole.' We know how he went to the Marston nights, much favoured of young poets and critics; Noctes Ambrosianae that began at twelve and went on till daylight broke in on the late debaters. He became, because of his unconventional personal effect and his joyous indifference to public opinion, the scapegoat of the aesthetic movement, to whom every myth of Bohemia attached itself. Villon's companions and Marlowe's cronies were his, according to the lurid legend: he ate strange flesh, drank blood, spat fire, and read the works of Jeremy Taylor in bed at half-past three in the afternoon. This is life down in a city with a vengeance. 'But bless you, it's dear-it's dear!' to quote one of his favourite books of those days, Browning's Men and Women.

The wonder is that his highly-strung, over-susceptible frame, whose nerves seemed to have been fed on quicksilver, ever stood it. As a matter of fact his constitution did not stand it. Judging by what his shrewd and wise physician in Welbeck Street, Dr. George Bird, who often saw him in those days, said of him, I gather that he was in danger of hopeless neurasthenia when he left London in 1879.

All the while he was maintaining his art with an apparently undiminished flow of books. His novel, A Year's Letters, was running through The Tatler in 1876-7; his Essays and Studies, full of characteristically extravagant appreciation and daring heresy, appeared in 1875, and the same year saw his essay on George Chapman. In the former volume, his first real prose testament, he showed not only his love of those poets, his chosen masters, who were gone, but a generous zeal for the work of his contemporaries. In his tribute to Coleridge, and in other vehement essays, he uttered some of those

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sayings which became proverbial and passed into the Victorian traits pages he arrived at his favourite division. sayings which became provention at his favourite division of the currency. In its pages he arrived at his favourite division of the currency. It has Olympians: 'Sometimes a supreme poet is here. currency. In its pages he arrive division of the currency. In its pages he arrive division of the Clympians: Sometimes a supreme poet is both at the Clympians and the Olympians: Sometimes a supreme poet is both at Titans and the Olympians.

Once: such above all men is Aeschylus: so also Dante, Michel Angelo, Milton, Goethe, Hugo, are gods at once and giant. once: such above all men is recorded and giante, Michel Angelo, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Hugo, are gods at once and giants; they Shakespeare, Milton, Goether, They can see in the night as he described they have the lightning as well as the light of the world, and in hell they have the light as in heaven; they can see in the night as he described they have the lightning as in heaven; they can see in the night as by day, have commands as in heaven; of his dogmatic idolators it

In the same statement of his dogmatic idolatry it was that he In the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement of the same statement challenged Matthew Allice and said that Byron was a singer who could the claims of Shelley outsang all poets on record by the claims of Shelley outsang all poets on record but some two not sing,' while 'Shelley outsang all poets on record but some two or three throughout all time. . . . He was alone the perfect singing-God; his thoughts, words, deeds, all sang together.' This is trans. cendent praise; but the appreciation of Hugo's books, L'Homme qui Rit and L'Année Terrible, is carried a pitch beyond it. Once more, he said with the prostration of a devotee, we receive from the hands of our supreme poet a book full of light and music; but a book written in tears and blood and characters of flame.' Dante Gabriel Rossetti's poems, William Morris's Life and Death of Jason, Arnold's New Poems, and John Ford for one older author, help to make up the book, the most exorbitant record of the artistic enthusiasms and literary ecstasies of a young poet to be had in the language.

However, in 1875, when Essays and Studies appeared he had already made the acquaintance of an encyclopedic fellow critic, who was, as we shall hear, destined considerably to affect his mind as time went on; and four years later he went to live with him close to Wimbledon Common. The first prose-book he wrote there was his Study of Shakespeare, and it was written while he was revolving his play of Mary Stuart. But in 1880, too, came his Thalassius, the first of the Songs of the Springtides, in which we seem to hear him definitely renouncing London and its fitful fever. Easy to see that it is the poet himself who is receiving his sea-baptism in the close of the poem, and listening to 'the old great voice of the old good time.' This too is part of the autobiography written intermittently and with varying emphasis in all his books that are most likely to count in the end, being lyrical in essence. We shall find it often referring after this to the remarkable friendship that was to colour all his second period, lasting from the year of Thalassius until his death. A friend, too, of George Borrow's and Rossetti's, and an anonymous critic of weight, Mr. Theodore Watts(-Dunton), was an evolutionist among the Victorian aesthetes, who had a theory all his own, and could prove to Rossetti that his inspiration was not really pre-Raphaelite, and could offer to Swinburne the post of lay clerk of nature in his new cosmogony. He acted as a conductor of the new ideas which Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Huxley and others were then busily expounding; and painted the way from a mere eclectic aestheticism to a faith in which a passion for

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the sea and a sense of the joy of earth were not incidental, but dethe sea and demanded by ideal logic. This seems to have given Swinburne's demanded demanded and impetus: it resolved some of the erratic atoms in imagination a new impetus: it resolved some of the erratic atoms in imagination in the erratic atoms in his make-up, and gave them a constructive nucleus. It is not neceshis make ary to apply this test to each of his books in turn. If his imagination had run riot in youth, out of exuberance and wantonness of spirit, it did not fail him now that he had passed the dangerous age, thirty-nine, that so often kills the lyric impulse in poets. With him the energy remained, apparently unabated. Take his Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor, and note at the thirty-eighth of the complex sixteen-line stanzas, some of which seem only to repeat the old figures and the accustomed effects and images, how the Tuscan motive lifts the melody.

Clothed as with tenderest weft of Tuscan air.

The new ideas above referred to are the ideas, it may be said, that have tended and are tending to destroy the romantic spirit. But Swinburne, born a poet and made a romanticist in his salad days, could not forego his birthright: and as it happened his new guide, philosopher and friend was a romanticist too who could show the two spirits not incompatible. Every great English poet has touched, or longed to treat at one time or another, Celtic romance. Swinburne had fallen under its charm in his turn, and the spell was that of the magic of Iseult, the Essylt of the Welsh tales, the Isolde of Wagner; but the poem is inspired by the goddess Rhianon too.

Long before, reading Boccaccio, and searching for a vehicle in which to make Italian romance run delicately in English verse, the poet had tried and found good Dryden's narrative couplet. The Two Dreams, in the first series of 'Poems and Ballads,' is the prelusive strain to the later music of Tristram of Lyonesse. But the pace of the first is

but tardy compared with the poem of 1881-2:

Within this house a righteous lord abode, Ser Averardo; patient of his mood, And just of judgment; and to child he had A maid so sweet that her mere sight made glad Men sorrowing, and unbound the brows of hate; And where she came, the lips that pain made strait Waxed warm and wide, and from untender grew Tender as those that sleep brings patience to. Such long locks had she, that with knee to chin She might have wrapped and warmed her feet therein.

Compare these with the lines that paint Iseult in the opening of the later romance, The Sailing of the Swallow, and see how magically he had learnt to surcharge with melody the same close couplets. The lavish music and sumptuous colour of the love-passages in this romance of Cornwall and Brittany have often been praised. There lay indeed the very rapture and self-indulgence of its writer's

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sensuous art. But the scene at the close where Tristram lies wounded, sensuous art. But the scene at the other Iseult of Brittany, shows and in his despair confers with the other Iseult of Brittany, shows a

er control of the lyne-epic interest and consciously gathered all In Tristram of Lyonesse Swinburne had consciously gathered all In Tristram of Lyonesso schievement, and he excelled himself in his powers up for a decisive achievement, and he excelled himself in his powers up for a decisive action and seen the mastersingers, his contemporaries, one writing it. He had seen the mastersingers, his contemporaries, one writing it. He had seen the satisfied writing it. He had seen the satisfied writing it. He had seen the satisfied writing it. He had seen the satisfied writing it. He had seen the satisfied writing it. He had seen the satisfied writing it. He had seen the satisfied writing it. He had seen the satisfied writing it. after another take up certainly he was not quite satisfied with any with it after their manner. But he was not quite satisfied with any with it after their manner.

Of their modern settings. Certainly he did not find the idyllic grace

Of their modern settings. But this very discussion of their modern settings. of their modern settings.

Only helped to quicken his action of the Idylls of the King to the with Tennyson's method only helped to quicken his own artistic desire to deal with the stories told by Malory and the French taledesire to dear with tale. tellers. Matthew Arnold's delightful Tristram poem, which he rated much higher, stirred in him a finer spirit of emulation, and Wagner's Tristan und Isolde, one of the few things in modern music that had appealed to him—for he had little ear for music apart from verse\_ served to decide the impulse. His unaffected delight at the triumphant accomplishment of the theme may be read in the sonnet of dedication he prefaced to it:

> Life stands crowned Here with the best one thing it ever found. As of my soul's best birthdays dawns the third.

Whether it was before writing Tristram or after that he went with Principal Jowett to Cornwall, and visited Tintagel and the sea scenes that figure in the romance drawn from that wild coast, I am not sure. Poets have sometimes been content to figure first the scenes in art that they have gone to nature to confirm or not afterwards. If this were taken to imply that Swinburne did not study, and for that matter too paint, his chosen subjects in plein air, the suggestion would be libellous. He lived half his days out of doors, and what he did not know about some of the wilder coasts of England, north and south, would not be worth recovering. And one of the essential qualities of Tristram comes of the glorious conceit of the sea and the wilder elements as enlarging the wild passions of men.

Tristram was written yesterday, as it might seem, for a generation in literature is like a day. But a change in the spirit of poetry and in the current of thought has come about since then, and one is not sure how they affect the achievements of a generation ago. importance of the romance in Swinburne's history cannot be overlooked because in it we see the amorist and love-romancer passing at recurring moments into the new style romanticist, the first articles of whose faith were written by Wordsworth and Shelley. After this, his genius was more and more deliberately given over to the nature-poetry and the religious rhapsodies of earth, sea, and sky, which were, as he fondly hoped and believed, to complete his greater

In his last books are many noble poems which express his growing The volume entitled Astrophel, after the Arcadian poem pantheish it, and published in 1894, twelve years after Tristram that opens, contains one of the most characteristic of them all, 'A Nympholept':

I dare not sleep for delight of the perfect hour, Lest God be wroth that his gift should be scorned of man. The face of the warm bright world is the face of a flower, The word of the wind and the leaves that the light winds fan As the word that quickened at first into flame, and ran, Creative and subtle and fierce with invasive power, Through darkness and cloud, from the breath of the one God, Pan.

Needless to tell, what so many of these later pages show, that his sea-obsession, too, lasted and never lost its force. Guy de Maupassant has narrated for us one of his early adventures at Etretat, which helped, it is said, to inspire Ex Voto, and in which Swinburne (who for long secretly hoped to die at last by drowning) all but lost his life. The story may be summarised as follows from the original notes:

One morning some sailors gave the alarm, crying out that a swimmer was drowning near the Porte d'Amont. They took a boat, and I went with them, The swimmer, not knowing the terrible current that runs there, had been drawn in, but luckily picked up by a fishing boat behind the Petite Porte. I learnt the same evening that the imprudent bather was an English poet, M. Algernon Charles Swinburne, who had been staying for a few days with a M. Powel, owner of a little chalet that he had baptised Chaumière Dolmancé. M. Powel it seems astonished the natives by a life solitary and bizarre. The two foreigners asked M. de Maupassant to join them at déjeuner next day; and he found them in a pretty garden behind a low thatched house built of flint. Both were of small stature, M. Powel fat, M. Swinburne thin, thin and surprising at a first glance,-indeed in the guest's eyes a kind of fantastic apparition that reminded him of Edgar Poe.1

Other adventures almost as perilous might be told of him when he was a much older swimmer. In 1882 we hear again of him and Mr. Watts-Dunton in Guernsey, and swimming in Petit Bot Bay, and trying the amphibious resources of Sark. Later years took them

'Le front était très grand sous des cheveux longs, et la figure allait se rétrécissant vers un menton mince ombré d'une maigre touffe de barbe. Une très légère moustache glissait sur des lèvres extraordinairement fines et serrées et le cou qui semblait sans fin unissait cette tête, vivante par les yeux clairs chercheurs et fixes, à un corps sans épaules, car le haut de la poitrine paraissait à peine plus large que le front. Tout ce personnage presque surnaturel était agité de secousses nerveuses. Il fut très cordial, très accueillant; et le charme extraordinaire de son intelligence me séduisit aussitôt.'

Guy de Maupassant, however, indulged in such fantastic fictions about Swinburne, that he must be accepted with caution. Swinburne used to call him 'that liar of the first magnitude—Guy de Maupassant!!'

But the exact record of these again to Norfolk and the Isle of Wight. again to Norfolk and the life of these episodes, celebrated in the pages that contain A Swimmer's Dream, episodes, and their fellow-poems, must be left for episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes, celebrated in the page episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes episodes

What is to be said of him now he has gone, and lies buried by the What is to be said of fine ? What will time, the great decider seacoast he loved, at Bonchurch? What will time, the great decider seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoast he loved, at Bontana seacoa of men's labour and rame, we are too near him to judge with any certainty how he will appear to those who look him to judge with any collection of the perspective will direct it is back to him as he routed hard to believe that any change of the perspective will dim the bright. hard to believe that any oness and apparent greatness of his lyric achievement. He was proness and apparent greathers music he had taught the old tongue; digal of his music, that respectively that verse may run once too often over-prodigal at times, seeing that verse may run once too often even in the triple-lilt of his magical cadences. But he has left English poetry reinforced at point after point, where he used his strength on his real themes, and while he was at heart a Pagan—a Pagan of the Pagans—he was religious in his worship of nature, and if pantheism ever becomes a church, he will help to furnish its litany.

The news of the death of his old friend George Meredith comes to interrupt this imperfect tribute to him. It recalls the letter, already alluded to in another page, that the great poet and novelist wrote to mark his loss only a month ago; and this recalls the brave letter Swinburne wrote at the outset of their literary careers to protest against an irresponsible review of Mr. Meredith's book of poems, Modern Love. Swinburne's letter is dated the 7th of June 1862, and it deserves quoting because it links the two great Victorians together, and shows again Swinburne's loyalty to his art and his fellow-artists:

Praise or blame should be thoughtful, serious, careful, when applied to a work of such subtle strength, such depth of delicate power, such passionate and various beauty, as the leading poem of Mr. Meredith's volume; in some points, as it seems to me (and in this opinion I know that I have weightier judgments than my own to back me) a poem above his aim and beyond the reach of any but its author. . . . As to execution, take almost any sonnet at random out of this series, and let any man qualified to judge for himself of metre, choice of expression, and splendid language, decide on its claims. And after all the test will be unfair; every section of this great progressive poem being connected with the other by links of the finest and most studied workmanship.

'Splendid language,' to take the word from this letter, was a thing Swinburne cared for, not only in George Meredith but in his own work, almost beyond all else. He used it and lavished it, even too freely at times for the day of plain prose; and there Meredith, regarded as a contemporary influence, had the advantage, being a novelist and having his prose medium to restrain him. Swinburne's one novel, which Meredith considered a marvel of dramatic self-repression,

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1g k, at 8 ıd ıl, n, surprisingly finished narrative prose as it is, is still a poet's novel. For the rest let us end remembering how he triumphed with 'splendid For the longuage, in Itylus, in Atalanta, in Erechtheus—noblest Greek play language in English, in his Songs before Sunrise and his hymns of the written in the earth: everything that could be done with it, he could see and the earth it. He was next in do, everything but restrain it. He was poetry's prodigal, or rather do, of him as George Meredith said,—'song was his natural voice. He was the greatest of our lyrical poets—of the world's, I could say, considering what a language he had to wield.'

ERNEST RHYS.

# PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABDUL HAMID II AND HIS COURT

I

#### CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

READERS of the Story of My Struggles will well remember the account of my first meeting with the young prince, Hamid Efendi, then sixteen years old, and how he used to listen to the French lessons I gave to his sister, Princess Fatma Sultan, to whom he was particularly devoted. As he used to come very frequently to the palace of Galib Pasha, the son of Reshid Pasha and husband to his above-mentioned sister, I have retained a fresh memory of those memorable hours of my French tutorship. The pale and frail-looking Hamid Efendi used to lean with one hand upon my knee, and, fixing his black eyes upon me, he seemed anxious to snatch away every French word from my lips. He changed his position only when the usual cup of black coffee was brought, or when the Princess, called away by some domestic affair, had retired from behind the curtain, where she was sitting during the lesson. When he addressed me with his timid, slow, and shy voice he rarely touched the subject of my instruction, but preferably began a conversation about his sister, her husband, and the father of the latter-namely, Reshid Pasha, who was then the influential Grand Vizier of Sultan Abdul Medjid. So inquisitive and scrutinising were his questions that I was frequently perplexed as to the satisfactory answer. Whilst I was reflecting, Hamid Efendi looked stealthily towards the curtain, inquiring whether his sister had already returned, or whether she had listened to his inquisitive conversation. It was only later on that I was enlightened about this behaviour. I was told that the young prince Hamid Efendi played the part of a spy in the Imperial harem, and, being in the service of the ruling party, he was much feared by those ladies who do not enjoy the Imperial favour in a high degree, and Hamid Efendi's malicious looks were watched and feared by the party in ascendency. The reason of his resorting to such unprincely activity lies in the humble and submissive position he occupied in his most tender age, having lost his mother in 1849,

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of Hamid Efendi.

when seven years old, and being handed over to the influential Peresto when seven the fourth legal wife of Sultan Abdul Medjid, who was herself Hanini, and had taken care of the young Prince. I am told by good childless that his mother, Chandir by name, did not belong to the better class of Odalisks, but rather to the inferior ones, called housebetter ones, called house-maids, and it was only accidentally that she attracted the favour of the Sultan. Grown up without the maternal love, and feeling himself strange and forsaken in the Imperial harem, the hotbed of intrigues and plots, the young Prince Hamid Efendi grew suspicious, and thought himself surrounded by enemies and detractors on all sides. Eshinef Efendi, his lala (governor) of that time, and afterwards treasurer in the old palace of Sarai-Burnu, related to me curious stories about the early developed closeness of his pupil, who, whilst humble and submissive to everybody, eminently played the part of a secretmonger, and, thrusting himself into every circle, very soon became the depositary of all Court secrets and harem stories. In this respect he differed greatly from his younger brother, Reshad Efendi, who distinguished himself by seriousness and grave character, and was never well disposed towards his elder brother. The youthful days of Hamid Efendi were not very gay: he

neither loved nor was beloved by anybody; his primary instruction was neglected, and instead of devoting his time to his lessons he preferred to roam about in the various households of the harem ladies, to inform himself of all kinds of slander and scandal, of which there is plenty of material in the palace; and in the course of time he in fact became the main fountain of all kinds of harem gossip. As the ladies' department of the Imperial palace is strictly secluded from the rest of the world, few Turks, and still less foreigners and Christians, can have an idea of the horrible life carried on by the inmates of the harem. Originally uneducated and barbarous Circassian girls, who were either bought indirectly from the slavedealers at Topkhane or from the ladies of the chief dignitaries, these members of the Imperial household live in constant enmity and jealousy with each other; each of them is ready to calumniate the others, to diminish their beauty, and to lower their value in the eyes of the Sultan. Anybody who lends assistance as a sneak to these female rivals is most welcome, and young Hamid Efendi, having been the foremost of these informers, his services were much appreciated, and it was in this way that he became the favourite of Pertevala Kadin, the Sultan-Valida of Abdul Aziz, an uneducated woman, well known for her fanaticism and belief in sorcery and magic power. main reason for her attachment to Hamid Efendi was the distrust of Abdul Aziz, her ruling son, against Murad Efendi, the heir presumptive; and the latter was already at that early time a rival in the eyes

Hamid Efendi contracted the disastrous propensity for sorcery and all

It was in the company of the said lady that young

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chicken a remnant of these habits he slinging to astrology, which used to influence even a strong to astrology. kinds of supernatural things, which used to influence habits he was always clinging to astrology, which used to influence even State was always clinging to assisting, was always clinging to assisting, forming very often a riddle in the eyes of those Europeans who affairs, forming very often a riddle in the eyes of those Europeans who

I to transact business with His father, Sultan Abdul Medjid, was not at all indifferent to the His father, Sultan Abdul Medjid, was not at all indifferent to the His father, Sultan Abdul Elega, and several teachers were employed in the weather was quote Kemal, Ömer, Sherif Efendi Der in the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of education of his children, and the palace. We may quote Kemal, Ömer, Sherif Efendi, Edhen the palace. But Hamid Efendi, Edhen the palace. We may queen the palace. But Hamid Efendi, Edhem Pasha, besides MM. Cotelli and Ganday. But Hamid Efendi always Pasha, besides MM. Cotton.

Pasha, besides MM. Cotton.

Ried always disliked learning; his literary education was, consequently, very together. Kemal Efendi, a good Persian solution. disliked learning; his heart Efendi, a good Persian scholar and defective. His teacher, Kemal Efendi, a good Persian scholar and defective. His teacher, Turkish envoy in Teheran, told me very often of Hamid previously Turkish charged and of the utterly neglected education Efendi's dislike for study, and of the utterly neglected education Efendi's dislike for stady, of the Imperial princes in general. Reshad Efendi was of a more of the Imperial princes in gold an outspoken aversion against the Persian docile character in the Persian language; but Hamid had an outspoken aversion against study, and language; but Hamid Language; but Hamid Language, and language study, and in fact he never succeeded in mastering his difficult mother-language, which is composed of Turkish, Arabic and Persian; and when in the course of my conversations with him I made use of extra-elegant expressions, he said 'I do not understand that exalted literary Turkish. Pray speak to me a plain language.' In his later age he supplemented this lack of study by his extraordinary natural gifts of sagacity, shrewdness, and rare memory, which I had often an opportunity to admire.

A good handwriting is an indispensable quality of the welleducated young man, and most people in the East endeavour to attain a certain degree of proficiency in caligraphy. Young Hamid Efendi, however, sadly neglected also this part of his education; and besides being unable to write orthographically, his hand is extremely bad, and in order to save him from opprobrium the first secretary of the palace used to destroy at once the small notes, written with a lead pencil, which he received from his master. Surprised at what seemed to me an act of discourtesy, I asked Sureya Pasha, long-time first secretary of the palace, the reason of his doing so, upon which he answered me: 'Imperial handwriting ought not to be exposed to the eyes of everybody.' It is superfluous to emphasise the fact that the Sultan's knowledge in history, geography, and belles-lettres was sadly deficient. His literary accomplishment was not much higher than that of the majority of the male and female servants around him; still less was he versed in religious questions, and when I happened to quote in one of my conversations a generally well-known sentence of the Koran, he looked aghast at me, and, trying to cover his surprise by a compliment, he said 'Indeed, you know our religion and habits as well as we do. It was only in arithmetic that he acquired a certain degree of proficiency. He became early famous as a good calculator, and when harem ladies were unable to settle their accounts they often turned to Hamid Efendi as an arbitrator. He betrayed also a certain amount of skill are also of skill as a horseman and shot, qualities which he retained to a later

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age, and he easily managed the most fiery and indomitable horse, even age, and indomitable hor at a time when his bodily strength was already on the decline.

Dividing his time between riding, hunting, gardening and listening to all kinds of harem tales, Court gossips and scandal reports, Hamid Efendi did not attract a particular attention on the part of his father, the late Sultan Abdul Medjid, who disliked this his second son for his negligence in study and for being too grasping, a characteristic early developed in the young Prince. During the reign of his uncle, the Sultan Abdul Aziz, his position became somewhat better, thanks to the influence of the before-mentioned Pertevala Kadin, the mother of Abdul Aziz, with whom Hamid Efendi was intimate, and, patronised by this dear auntie, he was favourably regarded in the eyes of her son and more liked than Murad Efendi, his elder brother and heir-apparent to the throne. During the reign of his uncle, Abdul Aziz, Hamid Efendi lived partly in his house at Mashlak, partly in his villa at Therapia, the place where to-day rises the German Embassy, cultivating social intercourse with all kinds of private and official people, for, being the younger son of the late Sultan, he did not live under suspicion of intriguing with the outer world. Being of a thrifty disposition he took great care in the administration of his properties; he used to send to the market the vegetables and other produce of his farm and was inquisitive as to the daily price in the bazaar. It was said that he was also interested in the Stock Exchange of Galata, where he speculated with good luck through his Greek agent, Assani, whom he invited after his accession to public state dinners, to the great disgust of the susceptible foreign diplomatists. The young Prince was altogether very economical, for, besides covering the expenses of his princely household with his monthly appanage of one thousand pounds, he had collected a small fortune, and he related to me that at his accession to the throne he had of savings a ready cash of seventy thousand pounds. No wonder that owing to his economical habits he got the reputation of a miser, and sundry stories were in circulation about his stinginess. A couple of eggs or a bundle of horseradishes was quite a sufficient cause for the dismissal of any of his servants, and even at the time when he was the almighty sovereign of a big country I found him for many hours sitting with Agop Efendi, the director of his private fortune, engaged in the examination of the The shrewd Armenian took great care that the items of his accounts should tally with those of his master, and if there was an occasional hitch in the matter the Sultan did not spare time and trouble to recommence the accounts from the beginning.

Strange to say, his parsimonious habits did not extend beyond the palace and the circles of his family. He was generous and lavish to his guests, and by this the German Imperial Family and their relatives mostly benefited, whilst his own children and his next kinsmen bitterly complained of his close-fistedness, and almost all of them were in debt.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chemical Prince in the palace of his At the time when I have a not developed. Yet he was gentle and sister, his character was not developed. Yet he was gentle and sister, his character was not friendly manner, and did not and sister, his character was nost friendly manner, and did not at all amiable, spoke to me in a most friendly manner, and did not at all amiable, spoke to me in a most and the spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke to me in a miable, spoke t show the qualities I noticed Hamid Efendi only once in my palace of Bebek I met Prince Hamid Efendi only once in my palace of Bebek I mee I and palace of Bebek I mee I are palace of Bebek I mee I are palace in the occasion of the following incident. Living during the life, on the occasion of Rifaat Pasha, in Kanlijia, on the Asiation the Asiation of the I are palace in the palace of Bebek I mee I are palace in the palace in the palace in the palace of Bebek I mee I are palace in the palace of Bebek I mee I are palace in the palace of Bebek I mee I are palace in the palace of Bebek I mee I are palace in the palace of Bebek I mee I are palace in the palace of Bebek I mee I are palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace in the palace i life, on the occasion of the Land Ranks, in Kanlijia, on the Asiatic side summer at the villa of Rifaat Pasha, in Kanlijia, on the Asiatic side summer at the vina of Italian summer at the vina of the Bosphorus, I used to go to a shady place near by called Chibuklu, of the Bosphorus, I indulged in my study. One of the lawn, I indulged in my study. of the Bosphorus, I used to go the Bosphorus, I used to go the Bosphorus, I used to go the Bosphorus, I used to go the Bosphorus, I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and the Bosphorus, I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the difficult text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the latest text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the latest text of Healt Transfer and I in the reading of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of the latest text of th where, stretched on the tanny whilst plunged in the reading of the difficult text of Hesht-Bihisht whilst plunged in the restance of Hesht-Bihisht (an historical work written in Persian), I heard steps approaching in (an historical work with the distance, and shortly afterwards I felt somebody touching me with the distance, and shortly with his stick, who said 'Where did you learn this churlish manner to Frightened I. his stick, who said the indecent way?' Frightened, I looked up, and saw a small company headed by a stout man, next to whom stood Hamid Efendi, who excused my behaviour by my being a foreigner and unaccustomed to the Mohammedan usages. It was, as I after. wards learned, the heir-apparent, Aziz Efendi (the later Sultan Abdul Aziz), who went with his retinue to his chiftlik (farm) close by and seemed to be shocked at my un-Turkish habits. From that time until his accession to the throne I never met Prince Hamid Efendi.

#### II

#### ABDUL HAMID AS SULTAN

'Honores mutant mores' says a Latin proverb. No wonder that I found the young Prince Hamid Efendi morally and materially changed when I saw him, thirty years later, as ruler of Turkey in the palace of Yildiz. With a similar surprise he also may have looked at me, for in the beginning of our meeting again he hardly recognised me, and it was only when I called to his memory the Topal Khodga (the lame teacher) of his late sister, Fatma Sultan, as I was then called, that he stretched out his hands towards me and said, in a semi-plaintive voice, 'Ah, my good sister! You gave her lessons in French; you have very much changed indeed.' When I explained to him all the phases of life I had been through since that time, and when I sketched to him the outlines of my adventurous career, he looked amazed at me, and the first thing he asked was, why I did not come sooner to see him; he would have been delighted to convince me of the steadiness of his friendship, and he hoped that in future we should entertain the same relations as before; this the much more, he added, as the knowledge and experience I had acquired during my travels in Asia and in Europe might be very useful to him. Looking upon the Sultan standing before me, arrayed in a very costly sable fur and surrounded by princely luxury and wealth, I had some presentiment of the change

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which had taken place in him. I was very cautious and reserved in which had reserved in my conversation, and it was only gradually that I grew warmer, my conversed by his great affability and courtesy. In spite of all his encouraged by and amiability a certain shyness took hold of me. Condescend the great difference between former times and now,

I saw closed accordingly the manner with which I had to treat him. Having been the only European who, dispensing with the aid of an interpreter, had free access to Sultan Abdul Hamid, and whom he treated with a certain amount of openness, as far as he could be open, I shall try to portray this Oriental prince in the salient features of his character, and I shall begin with the often-discussed and differently explained timidity and distrust which marked all his deeds and actions, and which run like an ominous black thread across his whole life. Grown up without the tender love of a mother, disliked and suspected by his surroundings, and driven very early into the range of intrigues and plots, one may easily imagine the impression left upon him when he witnessed the sad end of his uncle and when he had to be instrumental in the not less cruel fate which awaited his elder brother, Sultan Murad. He saw everywhere enemies; he suspected everywhere treason, and neither day nor night did he enjoy a moment of rest and security. Noticing this pitiful and wretched condition of life I have often tried to convince him of the groundlessness of his fears by alluding to the great power at his disposal through royal favour and wealth, by being able to attach everybody to his cause, and by making his life the main fountain of existence to many thousands of his subjects. It was all in vain; my arguments were useless. He pointed to the attempt of Suavi Efendi, the well-known revolutionary, who intended to kill him; he instanced many plots happily discovered, or rather invented, by his courtiers, who readily exploited this foible of their master. One day in returning from a walk in the park I noticed his favourite chamberlain, Hadji Ali Bey, a stupid, illiterate Arab, remaining at the door of the room after the Sultan and myself had taken our seats. 'Why do you not go away?' cried the Sultan two or three times, and when after a reiterated command that officer ultimately withdrew, the Sultan said to me: 'Now you see that silly fellow; he is afraid that you, an unbeliever, will kill me, and that is the reason why he hesitates to leave me alone with you.' I had to witness many other similar scenes; and admitting that there may have been amongst his faithful, ignorant, and fanatic servants one or two solicitous for his welfare and trembling for his life, this did not prevent many others from duly exploiting this foible by inventing plots and conspiracies without the slightest reality. As I said, all my power of persuasion was useless. He started with fright at the slightest noise and at any sudden movement of a visitor. When walking with him in the garden it was most unpleasant to me to notice his fright and terror when anybody appeared suddenly at the corner, and when the unexpected was a servant he was strongly the corner, and when the unity of the palace they were generally surrounded and were the palace they were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and were generally surrounded and surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded surrounded rebuked. When foreign carpenter generally surrounded and watched the precincts of the palace they were generally surrounded and watched the precincts of the parace they in the precincts of the parace they in the precincts of the parace they in the precinct and watched by soldiers, and wor to the poor craftsman whose eye strayed beyond by soldiers, and to him. Most stringent precautions were talk by soldiers, and woe to the poor the process of the work allotted to him. Most stringent precautions were taken with the work allotted to him and to pass a special gate, and missisters. the work allotted to min. Shows a special gate, and with occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and, minutely occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and, minutely occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and, minutely occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and, minutely occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and, minutely occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and, minutely occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and, minutely occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and, minutely occasional visitors, who had to pass a special gate, and minutely occasional visitors. occasional visitors, who had be produced by a watchman, interrogated by the guard, they were always followed by a watchman,

o had to ascertain the latter this precaution was doubled, nay It goes without saying trebled at night, when the main entrance of the palace was garrisoned trebled at night, who were most rise and the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the palace was garrisoned to the supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the supplied to the palace was garrisoned to be a supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the supplied to the s either by an Arab or Albanian regiment, who were most rigorous and either by an Arab of Theorems and ready to shoot anybody refusing to answer at once. This stillness of ready to shoot anybody refusing to answer at once. ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready to shoot any body ready mortal was to be seen and where the swift flight of the owls was the only interruption in the dreary calm—this horrible stillness will be never forgotten by me, just as I shall always remember the frightful anxiety I felt when sitting alone at midnight in one of the rooms, whilst the heavy steps of the military watch, consisting of fifteen or twenty-five soldiers, who passed by my window, re-echoed far away in the distance, leaving a thrill in the heart of the most courageous This awful impression is heightened by the loud and melancholy singing of the Koran-reciters at the gate, whose lugubrious voices fill a great part of the park and penetrate even to the Imperial bedroom, the inmate of which feels secure only on hearing the sound of this holy text, said to be most efficacious against all wickedness of the Shaitan. When sitting late in the night during the month of June in the Chalet Kiosk with the Sultan, he drew my attention to the aweinspiring solemnity of the voices of these Koran-reciters, and said 'Tell me, can there be a human heart able to withstand the impressiveness of these singers?' I said 'No, Sire, but the ear must belong to a true believer, acquainted with the Arabic,' which seemed not to have satisfied him, and he dropped the subject. In spite of all these most elaborate precautions the poor Sultan very rarely fully enjoyed his night's rest. 'Tired nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep,' never refreshed his tortured mind. Nobody knew in which palace he passed the night, and, steadily haunted by the spectre of persecution, he rose tired from his bed, and it was but the morning bath which gave him some strength. 'What a horrible fate to be a Sultan! And is it not curious that there are men ready to fill such a dreadful office?' I said often to myself on watching the unfortunate prince called Sultan Abdul Hamid.

From the foregoing remarks referring to his fear in the interior of his palace it may be easily guessed how extraordinary were the measures taken for his security when he had to leave the precincts of Yildiz, be it even for the short distance to the palace of Top Kapi (the Old Seraglio) in Stambul Act in Stambul. As here are guarded the holy relics of the Prophet—such

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as the standard, his cloak, his sword, two of his teeth, and a portion of his beard—it is incumbent upon the Sultan to pay an annual visit of his peared to these relics in the month of Ramazan, to do homage to these objects to these relics in the month of Ramazan, to do homage to these objects to these rest there. Being unable to withdraw from this duty he went and to pray the with reluctance and fear. Formerly he used to go by land, but there with the passage by sea, not before stories of his spies, he being the passage by sea, not before strict orders had been given later chose the passage by sea, not before strict orders had been given to all vessels in the harbour to keep far away from the imperial steamer and to abstain from using glasses and kodaks at those on board. Similar precautions were taken on the way from Yildiz to Beshiktash, where even a look through the latticed windows of the harems was regarded as indecent and offending. Visits or excursions to the environs of Yildiz, such as to the Sweet Waters of Europe and Asia, or to Tchamlidjia, were quite impossible, for although Sultan Abdul Hamid in the beginning of his reign did not mind paying visits to distinguished foreigners at the Hotel Royal in Pera, this custom has long ago been abrogated, and it was only the Emperor William the Second to whom he accorded a reception at the landing place of Dolma-Bagtche. Strange to say, he observed the same reticence also with his own children, and when I once advised him to send his favourite son Burhan-ed-din on a visit to Europe, and I offered my services as a mentor, the Sultan answered with his usual smile, 'Good books and a clear brain will teach more and better than all travels.' I also smiled and quoted the following sentence of the Koran-Allah said: 'Go wandering about, for God's earth is large and worthy to be seen.' But the Sultan dropped the subject, and I never touched it again.

In most cases I was unable to discover the motive of his fear and When I decided to introduce the late Dr. Herzl, the head of the Zionists, I had to use all kind of pretexts to disarm the Sultan's apprehension. He was fond of the Jews, he knew that Jewish colonisation in Palestine would serve as a counterpoise against the steadily intruding inimical Christians and would strengthen his rule in Syria. But it nevertheless cost me days and days of persuasion, and when he ultimately acceded to my wish and agreed to receive Dr. Herzl, he did it under the condition that I must leave Constantinople at once, which I also did. Now I am quite at a loss to discover the reason of his command, and I shall probably never know it.

In a word his utter distrust against everybody, originating as it did from the unceasing plots and intrigues of the Harem where he grew up, had unavoidably a paralysing effect upon all his doings as a ruler and a private man. From this want of confidence sprang up his marked feature of irresolution, a most disastrous feature in the character of an Oriental ruler, where the prevailing habit of procras tination kills all activity. In state affairs he put a severe trial on the diplomatists accredited to his court, and amongst other instances I might quote the case of the English occupation of Egypt, at the

negotiation of which with the late Lord Dufferin he exhausted the

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This want of decision was marked also in small and insignificant This want of decision was invited to dinner for a certain affairs. How often did it happy affairs. How often did it happy affairs. How often did it happy affairs. How often did it happy affairs. How often did it happy affairs affairs. How often did it happy affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs. How often did it happy affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs affairs. 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This comedy was repeated with a certain ambassador several house. This comedy was repeated and refused any first house. house. This comedy was represented and refused any further invitatimes, when at last he leave much more exposed to these tion. Of course minor people were much more exposed to these imperial whims, originating sometimes in the augury of the astrologer just mentioned in whose prophecies the Sultan firmly believed, and even at the time when I enjoyed his highest favour I had to drive from five to ten times to Yildiz before I was admitted to a long promised interview. On such occasions he pleaded some slight indisposition or extraordinary engagement, for the requirements of politeness were never neglected. On one occasion, namely during the flight of his brother-in-law, Damad Mahmud Pasha, to Europe, I was suddenly called from my summer resort in Tirol to come to see him on urgent business. Reluctantly I left my quiet corner in the mountains of Pusterthal, and arrived at Constantinople; I was told that his Majesty wanted to send me to London in order to persuade the fugitive member of the imperial family to return home under the promise of full pardon, but whilst on my way to the Bosphorus the Sultan changed his mind, owing to the whisperings of Izzet Pasha, my declared enemy, and so I had to return re infecta in the midst of a sultry summer. Feeling myself safe under the shelter of respect for greater age and learning, acknowledged by him, I ventured one day to remonstrate against this imperial habit and quoted the Persian verse:

> Kurbi shahan ateshi suzan buved (i.e. The proximity of kings burns like fire),

upon which he smilingly said 'Yes, but sometimes it warms also.'

Well, he accorded to me more liberties than to many other people in his entourage, but I never felt safe from the caprices of his fickle nature. In the beginning he really intended to put me in a high position if I would settle down permanently on the Bosphorus; he made allusions to it, promising me all kind of wealth and dignity. I might have become an ambassador and even a Minister, but, having seen through his character, I never had the slightest desire to enter his service and contented myself with the title of a foreign friend.

I must not omit to mention that firmness of character did not fail to influence him under certain circumstances. Sureya Pasha, his first Secretary, and decidedly the most honest and laborious' official at 9

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Court, had the courage to oppose his Imperial command. After having called six times at Yildiz without being received, the Sultan sent late in the evening a message saying: 'Reshid Efendi (my Turkish name) and Sureya are to come to the palace at eight o'clock in the morning.' 'No!' said Sureya, 'I shall not come, I am not his dog, nor is Reshid Efendi.' Strange to say, these words, although remitted to the Sultan, had no evil consequence for the Secretary, for he had to disregard the offence.

I dare say his constant fear and distrust alienated from him his best friends and most reliable supporters. In fact he had no friends at all, not even amongst those uneducated, ignorant and fanatic men whom he raised to high position and upon whose gratitude he relied. In reviewing the list of his chamberlains, private servants, high and low Court officials, we shall be surprised to find amongst them mostly men of unknown origin, or of non-Turkish nationality, such as Arabs, Kurds, Bosniaks, and Albanians, for the simple reason that he thought these non-Turkish men, feeling themselves strangers in a Turkish milieu. would be more attached to his person. With reference to these nearest attendants he said to me one day, 'You see, I do not give particular importance to high birth or wealth, I have always given preference to mental superiority, and I have chosen my chamberlains out of the ranks of the best students in the college or from amongst these young men whose achievements have appealed to me.' In fact, the younger generation of Court officials were all of the said category. chamberlain Emin Bey, a Caucasian, wrote a book on Central Asia; Arif, Bekir and Sadik were known as capital stylists and perfect French students, and in a similar way he enlisted in the ranks of his numerous secretaries all young people of certain merits irrespective of their origin and exterior. Originally he tried to follow the same principle in the appointment of the high functionaries, but he was powerless in the face of the old system sanctioned by time and custom; he fully knew the weakness of such men and often complained to me that he was the involuntary victim of an unreasonable usage. it came about that, in spite of his firm will, he had reposed temporary confidence in a number of uneducated, illiterate and common men has remained quite a riddle to me. Such was his relation to the stupid and fanatic Hadji Ali Bey, mentioned before, who had an unlimited influence upon the Sultan, and who always acted as his chief adviser. Of the same category was the well-known Sheikh Ebul-Huda, an Arab molla of dark origin and of a very dubious character. He acted as a religious adviser, but much more as an expounder of occult sciences; hence the general belief prevailing in Turkish circles that the Sheikh was formerly an Arab gipsy, who succeeded in ensnaring the Sultan through his conjuring tricks. Arabs and Circassians were always preferred by him as more faithful and more humble than the Turks; hence his predilection for Izzet, Ebul-Huda, and Emin Efendi, but I dare say he was mistaken, for the Turk is the most reliable amongst all Asiatics

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I know. Last, but not least, among these obscure worthies round the I know. Last, but not least, the least, the softicial capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the Sultan was the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of the famous Lutfi Aga, in his official capacity Master of th Sultan was the famous Little Lag, Sultan was the famous Little Lag, Robes, but in reality the most intimate confidant of the Sultan, in Robes, but in reality the most intimate curious adventure mid. Robes, but in reality the Manager Carlo of the Sultan, in spite of his Turkish origin. I had a rather curious adventure with this spite of his Turkish origin.
spite of his Turkish origin.
worthy. One day, whilst walking with the Sultan in the garden, I worthy. One day, white worthy and looking closer in his face saw this man approaching his Majesty, and looking closer in his face saw this man approaching I recognised in him the servant of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, formerly I recognised in him the solution of the solution in Russian sympathies; hence his Grand Vizier, distinguished by his Russian sympathies; hence his Grand Vizier, distinguished by house in Bebek I acted formerly as a nickname Nedimoff, in whose house in Bebek I acted formerly as a nickname Nedimon, in the nickname Nedimon, in the said teacher of French to his son-in-law, Rifat Bey. In accosting the said teacher of French to his son-in-law, Rifat Bey. In accosting the said teacher of French to his said teacher of French to his face, former servant somewhat boldly, I noticed a perplexity on his face, former servant somewhat was the blushing of the Sultan, who asked but still more remarkable was the blushing of the Sultan, who asked me whether I knew his favourite man before. 'Of course,' said I, 'Lutfi was a servant in the house of Mahmud Nedim Pasha, and he often cleaned my boots—.' Tableau! The most intimate man of His Majesty a shoeblack by origin; but this intermezzo did not dis. concert Abdul Hamid, for Lutfi went on in his delicate service until the end of his life. Such is the East, and such are Orientals, however so much gifted!

It is nevertheless preposterous to assume that with all his praise. worthy choice of his servants he fully trusted to his own creatures, No! No sooner did he notice some intimacy between any of them, when he at once decided to estrange them and to make them enemies, One day he said to me, 'What have you done to Sureya Pasha (his first Secretary for many years, and one of my best friends in the palace), that he constantly is bent upon calumniating and accusing you of misdeeds, to which, of course, I shall never give credit?' Although I had at once penetrated his devilish device, I feigned astonishment, and when I related the matter to Sureya, he grew wild and said, 'That is just like him, his wicked soul is exasperated in discovering two friendly-disposed men. Allah will not withhold from him the due punishment.' The use of this language on the part of a servant of the Padishah may well cause surprise, but it must be remembered that Sureya Pasha, the possessor of all the secrets of the Sultan and the main executor of his will, was fully conscious of the gravity of his position, and had more than once dared to oppose his Imperial master. With a rigid autocrat like Sultan Abdul Hamid, in whose eyes the Sublime Porte sank down to the level of an instrument, the office of the First Secretary (Bash Kitabet) was the real centre of the administration of the whole Empire. I used to spend hours in this office as an idle spectator, where I met all the great men of the country, for, excepting the Grand Vizier and the Sheikh-ul-Islam, the Sultan rarely or never accorded a personal reception, and everything was submitted to him through his First Secretary. With this man he was in constant correspondence, carried on through chamberlains hurrying from one or the other and letters, or the other palace to the Secretariate as bearers of small letters,

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cautiously folded and sealed, which the secretary had to destroy or burn after having read their contents. Only once or twice I succeeded burn and burn attention of the secretary, getting short specimens of the Imperial handwriting. The scenes I witnessed in this Chief Secre-Imperior will be ever memorable to me. Here I met the representatives of all the different nationalities and Churches of the Empire. Bishops and Sheikhs, Patriarch and Koreishits from Mecca, the Khakham-Bashi, and the envoy of the Pope, all sat here in friendly intercourse, anxiously watching the door by which the Sultan's messenger entered and spasmodically listening at the announcement of the Pasha. Even the verdict of life and death was communicated here to the culprits, and most appalling was the scene I witnessed once late after midnight, when the poor delinquent threw himself down at the feet of Sureya. crying and wailing in a most heartrending way, but to no avail, for the death sentence was sealed. The unfortunate victim had to be dragged away by the servants.

The Chief Secretariate served also as a medium of intercourse between the members of the diplomatic circle and the Sultan. The first dragomans of the different embassies had free access; they went straight to Sureya, sat down next to him, and, as the room was mostly full of visitors, they bent their heads to his ear and arranged their affairs whispering. One day it happened that the French Attaché Militaire just called when I was present, and, taking me for a genuine old Turkish gentleman, he reported quite freely about his experiences during his trip in Asia Minor, where he was sent by his Government. 'Please to report to His Majesty,' said the French officer, 'that the English have got an eye on Alexandrette and that their intrigues are extending far into the interior. Attention would be most recommendable.' As the Pasha always looked at me, the Frenchman got restless, when ultimately the spell was broken by the Pasha's saying 'Monsieur le Capitaine, you evidently do not know my friend who sits there. It is Professor Vambéry, the guest of the Sultan.' The perplexity of the Frenchman can be easily imagined, he changed all kind of colours, and I am sure another time he will be more careful in delivering his report. A similar adventure I had with Baron T-, of the German embassy, but the shrewd Levantine was more cautious and dropped his loud conversation at once.

Invested with an office of such importance, Sureya Pasha was by no means the loom in the hand of his master, for he used to remonstrate, and I know cases where the Sultan had to give in. Pasha began his arduous work at nine o'clock in the morning, retiring from it only one or two hours after midnight, interrupting his gigantic task for the two meals and five times daily prayer, preceded by a religious ablution. No wonder that this man, who was besides a stout eater, died of aneurism at an early age, which gave rise to the rumour that the Sultan had poisoned him; this, however, is a false imputation.

Sureya Pasha, whom I knew in 1857 as a kiatib (writer), was a kind. Sureya Pasha, whom I knew in political and humanitarian his master, particularly since the latter began hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very hearted man, differing very he questions from his master, per questions from his master, per to give ear to Izzet, the instigator of the Armenian massacres, an act of ear to Izzet, the Sureva strongly demurred. Before Sureva the Sureva strongly demurred. ear to Izzet, the insugator ear to Izzet, the insugator strongly demurred. Before Sureya, the Sultan cruelty to which Sureya strongly demurred. Before Sureya, the Sultan cruelty to which Sureya strongly demurred. cruelty to which Sureya Strong. Said, later Grand Vizier, and Rashid had two secretaries, one Küchük Said, later Grand Vizier, and Rashid had two secretaries, one state who died a premature death. His last Efendi, a clever young man, who died a premature death. His last Efendi, a clever young man, secretary, Tahsin Pasha, the son-in-law of my former pupil, was a secretary, Tahsin Pasha, but lacking all notoriety, he remained secretary, Tahsin Fasha, but, lacking all notoriety, he remained a genuine creature of Lutfi Aga, but, lacking all notoriety, he remained a genuine creature of Luth Aga, but, Luckish Efendi class, ignorant and servile, representative of the old Turkish Efendi class, ignorant and servile, but grasping and corruptible in the extreme.

The Court officer of importance next to the First Secretary I found in the person of the Sultan's First Interpreter, who acted also as Introducteur des Ambassadeurs. In my time it was Munir Pasha, a man of elegant manners and a kind heart. His office was not a light one. Besides serving as interpreter in most important diplomatic negotia. tions, he had to stand on the right hand of the Sultan during the dinner parties given to foreign visitors, and as the imperial host used to speak to his neighbour at the table and to pay flattering compliments to the European ladies present, the translator had constantly to turn from right to left, and the patient skill and readiness the Pasha exhibited on such occasions were worthy of admiration. After the demise of Munir Pasha the office of the Grand Maître des Cérémonies went over to Ibrahim Pasha, a kind-hearted gentleman of the old Turkish school. and after the death of the latter, one Galil Pasha, a clever and welleducated young gentleman, was invested with the not enviable position of First Interpreter to His Majesty. At some private interviews I had to serve in the same capacity, and Prince M-, the Greek envoy, appeared much astonished at the confidence the Sultan had shown The office of an interpreter was at all events a delicate one, for the Sultan had a smattering of French, and he was always restless, fearing that his Turkish sentences had not been duly rendered. A not less important part was played in the household of the Sultan by the Kizlar Agasi (i.e. the Chief Eunuch), called also out of politeness Dar es Seadet esh-Sherife Agasi (viz. the master of the noble house of happiness), formerly Yaver Aga, and later on a certain Abdul-Gani by name, both most horrible looking creatures, whom I happened to know personally, and who, on my first meeting them, reminded me that the title Altesse is due to them, and that their rank is next to that of the The conversation with these illiterate and stupid Grand Vizier. people was most disgusting to me, and they not only claimed a high title but also a corresponding treatment. In connection with this queer dignitary of the palace, I may mention that Sultan Abdul Hamid was not at all so fervently attached to the imperial harem as generally

If my intercourse with the Sultan did not belong to the comforts supposed.

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of life, for I had to be careful of his whims and freaks, the association of life, the Court officers was certainly the most unpleasant task I had Whilst the educated and semi-Europeanised portion to perform were extremely jealous at my position, the ignorant and of uneducated were all my enemies, suspecting in me a Giaur who had bewitched their master, and who, assisted by the Shaitan, had appropriated Mohammedan learning. To the former class belonged the famous Izzet Pasha, the Second Secretary of the Sultan, my and every European's most inveterate enemy, and who was regarded as the chief adviser of Abdul Hamid. The ways and means which brought this man to the palace are not generally known, much less the art with which he succeeded in enticing the suspicious ruler, to whom he was evidently superior in cunning ruse and all kinds of lies and treachery. I have seen a portion of the letter which he had addressed to the Sultan, full of denunciations of the leading statesmen and of confessions of his own loyalty, patriotism and Moslem zeal. He produced even proofs of sedition against a leading minister (of course, forged) and, assisted by his countryman, the Sheik Ebul Huda, he succeeded in ensnaring the distrustful ruler and in becoming his chief adviser. aforesaid sheikh have been the chief cause of the Sultan's anti-European Suffice to say that Izzet persecuted me from the very moment that he entered the palace, and he made no secret of it, for he used to dart at me furious looks of anger and hatred, and he made it known to me that I should no longer continue to make the palace Poor, innocent Sultan; he unsafe and beguile the Padishah. certainly was an easy prey to the seducer! Izzet having made up his mind to exclude every non-Mohammedan from intercourse with the Sultan had an easy task to put me aside, since the representative of a foreign great Power, suspecting in me a secret agent of his rivals, had a similar object in view. Sultan Abdul Hamid noticing that he could not make me a willing instrument in his hands, and that I was disliked by his friend in Europe, readily gave up his plans of winning me over entirely to his interests, and without betraying his displeasure our relations grew gradually colder, until I ceased visiting Constantinople and his palace. A. VAMBÉRY.

The University, Budapest.

(To be continued.)

## THE FUTURE OF THE PUBLIC-HOUSE

MERCILESS contempt is poured on anyone who can be labelled a friend of the brewers by many of the Temperance party. How much more, then, will they consider me unworthy of credence, for I write as a director of a brewery! And yet one would imagine that a brewer would have sufficient knowledge of the trade in beer to entitle him to write about it. In the case of any other business which it is proposed to affect by legislation, those engaged in it are considered peculiarly

qualified to express their views on the subject.

Of course the question of the future of the public-house is more important to us than to anyone. We are told by some temperance writers that all we care about is to sell as much alcohol as possible. regardless of the degradation of our fellow-men. But since the Act of 1904 provided that licences should only be taken away (without compensation) for misconduct, the fact that anything that will reduce drunkenness, and improve the status of the public-house, is directly to our pecuniary advantage is more obvious than ever. I think there is little doubt that the present state of the public-house is in various ways unsatisfactory to all concerned. And also I am confident that it is in the improvement of the public-house that one of the most important advances of temperance will lie. This improvement should be both in the form of the structure and also in the entertainment offered to its patrons.

In his speech at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on the 25th of

June 1908, Mr. Balfour said:

I have sometimes doubted whether, in the long series of legislative enactments connected with the sale of alcohol in this country, we have not been on the wrong tack. On the Continent, at all events, you see, and everybody who has been there must rejoice to see, a man and his family going to enjoy music, it maybe under cover in winter, or in the open air in the summer, hearing the band and enjoying nature and art, and accompanying that enjoyment by consumption of lager beer and alcohol, which is rarely, in such circumstances, used to excess. Who but must regret that we see so little of that in this country, and that when a poor man desires—not a rich man—but when a poor man desires to consume a later than the most desires to consume alcohol, even in the utmost moderation, you for the most part compel him to go to a house in which you have forbidden, by the police and other regulations and drink? other regulations, anything to take place except the bare sale of food and drink? 0

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But it is often said that the main obstacle to reform lies in the fact that nearly all houses are now tied, and that consequently no improvethat nearly no improper that can be made. On the face of it this is most improbable. ment can to a house should make it more fit to serve its end; and so more valuable. The better it meets the real needs of the population the better for all concerned. It is true that there has been popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popular popula of the population have largely changed, but the public-house remains to a much larger extent than should be the case the mere drinkingshop of many years ago. But if one asks the reason of this strange and important phenomenon, it is to be found not so much in any want of progressiveness, or moving with the times, on the part of the trade as in the fact that licensing benches control absolutely every change of any kind, either in the fabric of the house or in what is permitted to its users. The public-house has been regarded too often as an evil necessary indeed, but to be kept as unattractive as possible. is rare that any enlargement is permitted, and games such as even chess or draughts are frequently forbidden, billiards only being, apparently, considered a moral game; music usually is taboo; in fact nothing is left in many cases but drinking. This is a policy with which on every ground I profoundly disagree. I do not believe that it makes for temperance in the people, and I believe it to be an interference with liberties and rights which would need a very strong and clearly proved reason to justify.

I propose to discuss first what a tied house is, and then, having stated the present situation, to consider in what direction improvements may lie. I hope to give reasons for thinking that a new type of house more suited to present needs would be of public benefit. Of course it is necessary that the new type of house should pay its owners. You cannot hope for any great change unless philanthropy goes with 5 per cent. But holding, as I do, that there is nothing that pays owners of public-houses so well as true temperance, I do not think it should be impossible to suggest great improvements which will come about by the working of the laws of commercial profit, if liberty

can be allowed to owners to experiment.

First as to tied houses. Though everyone talks glibly about it, I doubt if everyone understands exactly what a tied house is. Anyway, a short definition will not be out of place. A tied house is a public-house whose licensee has entered into an agreement with a brewer or brewery company, by way of tenancy or by way of loan, or both, which contains among its covenants one providing that the licensee shall buy certain articles exclusively from the brewery. These articles, of course, invariably include malt liquors (though even in regard to them a latitude is allowed in respect to the stocking of one

This may, I imagine, be supposed to be one reason for some of the present Budget proposals.

or two world-famed brands). In the case of London houses that or two world-famed brances.

or two world-famed brances.

usually represents the extent of the 'tie.' But a 'tie,' extending to extending to the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of usually represents the extent the usually represents the extent of the extending to wines and spirits, &c., is not uncommon in various parts of the country. wines and spirits, &c., is not the country.

In such cases the licensee buys these other articles also from or through

In such cases the licensee buys these other articles also from or through In such cases the licensee buys. The tie extends for as long as the agreement the brewery company. That is to say, in the case of a tenancy agreement the brewery company. The say, in the case of a tenancy agreement remains in force; that is to say, in the case of a tenancy agreement it whole of the licensee's tenancy; where the remains in force; that is to be a series in force; that is to be a series operates during the whole of the licensee's tenancy; where the agreement it is a series of it by way of loan, the licensee can get rid of it by operates during the whole of the agreement is merely by way of loan, the licensee can get rid of it by paying this definition should be added a reference that the agreement is merely by way of loan, the licensee can get rid of it by paying ment is merely by way of the second second be added a reference to the off the loan. To this definition to the managed house, which is often confused with the tied house, but is managed house, which is in reality quite distinct. These managed houses are common in the in reality quite distinct.

There the licensee is not a tenant great Northern and Midland towns. There the licensee is not a tenant working on his own account for a profit, but a servant of the brewery working on his own account of a salary as manager, just like a branch manager company in receipt of a salary as manager, just like a branch manager of a bank or the manager of a branch shop of a big boot stores. He of a bank or the manager of the sales of beer or spirits, but lives on a weekly salary, and gets a percentage on food, aerated water, tea, &c., which he may sell.

Now how did this tied-house system arise? Historically, it goes back much further than is commonly supposed. The report of a House of Commons Select Committee issued in 1818 declared that 'nearly one-half of the victualling houses in the Metropolis, and more in the country, are held by brewers.' But later there appears to have been a period in which the free house was much more in evidence: and this development of the free house must be connected with the policy which began with the Duke of Wellington's Act of 1830, under which beer-houses were encouraged. Practically, anyone could obtain a licence (only an excise licence was needed) if he paid the fees, had premises of sufficient rateable value, and was a man of good character. This policy, though checked somewhat soon after the start, really remained in force until 1869, during which period the number of licensed houses increased very considerably. For not only beer licences but full licences were comparatively easy to obtain during this period; some magistrates, indeed, preferring to grant full licences rather than beer-house licences, because of the better-class premises in which full licences were usually housed. So freely were licences granted that it became not uncommon to see two next door to each other. Now that had an adverse influence upon the tiedhouse system. Let me illustrate how it worked by a quotation from a speech by Mr. Henry Mitchell, the chairman of Messrs. Mitchells & Butlers Brewery, at the last annual meeting of that company:

Under such conditions [said Mr. Mitchell] it will be readily understood that no incentive at that time existed for brewery firms to become possessors of publications property. house property. People with comparatively small capital could then enter the trade as possessors of public-houses. In Birmingham and district at this time there was comparatively small capital could then the trade as possessors of public-houses. there was comparatively no 'tied trade' and certainly no 'monopoly value.'

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The enormous number of licences created by the Act of 1830 thus prevented any The enormous value attaching itself to licensed houses. In 1867 Henry Mitchell & Mitchells and Butlers) were the owners of and monopoly Mitchells and Butlers) were the owners of only one public-house, Co. (now into or 'loan' on any other public-house. In 1869 the discretion to and had no 'tie' or 'loan' on any other public-house. In 1869 the discretion to and had no produce licences was placed in the hands of the magistrates. Regrant new beer-house licenses was placed in the hands of the magistrates. Regrant in licensing (for all classes of houses) then commenced grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant new grant striction a marked rise in values. Simultaneously with this further restriction took a marked increased stringency of magisterial regulations, and also a more place, notice supervision commenced. These difficulties and the increased drastic Politics of publicans, with higher values obtainable for their houses owing to the restriction adopted in licensing, induced many publicans and owners owing to with houses which they had formerly acquired on comparatively easy to pare they found that they could sell at what was then regarded as remunerative prices. These changes began to force the hands of wholesale traders, who for these reasons often found their customers changed to competitors. The changes in licensing and the competition to retain and secure business caused such further advances in values that eventually the class of buyers with formerly sufficient capital to secure houses for themselves were now compelled to apply to wholesale traders for the necessary financial aid to enter the business; and brewers, to protect their own interests, were likewise impelled to invest additional capital, conjointly with their customers, in order to maintain the sales of beers they were producing. Naturally the customer was willing, and agreed to purchase his beers from those who risked their capital jointly with his own in the undertaking by which he had to earn his living. Apart from brewing, capital is applied in the same manner by other traders, and no unwillingness is found, and no objection raised, to such arrangements on fair terms.

In London the modern, or second, development of tied houses was of rather later date than in the country. Up to 1880 there were practically no tied houses in London, the system prevailing in the early years of the nineteenth century having practically vanished. The covenant to deal with a particular brewer was unknown to London tenants, as was also any management on behalf of a brewer or distiller, except in the ordinary way when a mortgagee was in possession. But in the early 'eighties competition set in, being stimulated by the Beer Duty Act of 1880, and by the commercial conditions then prevailing in the trade. It was, however, some years later before tied began to supersede free houses. For example, one of the biggest owners of tied houses in London to-day is the amalgamated brewery company known as Watney, Combe, Reid & Co. But in 1888 Mr. Cosmo Bonsor stated in the House of Commons that 80 per cent. of Combe & Co.'s customers were free. The practice in London about that time was a free market in public-houses. The publicans were men of means, though they also borrowed capital necessary to their business from their brewers, their distillers, or from their friends. If there was a mortgage, it did not contain a covenant to deal. The custom of the trade was that if brewer A supplied beer to a house at which brewer B had an account, A became liable for that account, whether it was on security or only for goods supplied. This system, of course, tended to keep the trade in the same brewer's hands. About 1885 one of the London brewers broke away from the custom and commenced

buying reversions, &c., of public-houses. Money was cheap, and the buying reversions, &c., or passed to lend on mortgage of licensed large insurance companies began to lend on mortgage of licensed The publicans naturally took advantage of the situation, premises. The publicans have everywhere. As a result of this, the and the price of houses rose everywhere. As a result of this, the and the price of houses rose found that the channels through which old-fashioned London brewers found that the channels through which old-fashioned London brewers reproduced through which they supplied the public were being rapidly closed. They had either trade or enter into competition for the purch they supplied the public metric competition for the purchase of

The above is an outline of the origin of the modern tied-house The economic origin is clear: it is the policy of restriction. whether the restriction of public-houses be wise or not from the point Whether the restriction of the point of view of temperance, it has been the manifest cause of the tied-house of view of temperation, it was system. The more the State restricts the number of public-houses, the system. The more the beauty's products, the more necessary it becomes for brewers to secure a proportion of these restricted outlets, other. wise their businesses might go to pieces for lack of channels of distribution. Nothing, therefore, could be more illogical than the present policy of the Government and the Teetotal party. They abuse tied houses, and at the same time propose further restrictions in publichouses, though restriction is the very thing which fosters the tied house, making it an economic necessity to the brewing trade. The promoters of the Licensing Bill said that the tied house was a curse, and they must legislate to get rid of it; the legislation they propose was to destroy at least a third of the number of the houses still left that is to say, to accentuate the very thing which produces tied houses.

But is the tied house such a curse? Let us examine the leading arguments against it. And I think I shall exhaust them if I classify them under the headings of the following assertions: (1) That the tiedhouse system is a menace to the State by placing enormous political power in the hands of brewers; (2) that it is a menace to temperance by inducing undue pushing of the sale of drink; (3) that it means bad liquor; (4) that the system implies the enslavement of the publican.

As to the first assertion, I can say confidently that it has no firmer basis than the notion in the minds of Liberal politicians that brewers are Conservatives, who give valuable support to the Conservative party, coerce their tenants into giving the same support, and turn their houses into Tory committee-rooms. And is that, in simple fact, a sound basis? One would almost think, when Liberals talk of the Conservatism of brewers, that such names as Whitbread and Buxton were unknown to the Liberal party, not to mention other names of brewers who have been active Liberals. The notion that Conservative brewers coerce their tenants is merely foolish. The ballot is secret; that is sufficient answer. But this further consideration may be added: the more the publican becomes, in the elegant phraseology

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of Radicals, the 'slave of the brewer,' the less likely is he to feel that of Radicais, are wrapped up with those of the brewers. The more he his interests the more he tends to become a man without capital of his own, or a salaried manager tends to be be the party which safegue and the salaried manager of other's property, the less likely is he to feel that his interests are of other s party which safeguards the right of property. identical with definition of the region of the right of property.

As to turning public-houses into Tory committee-rooms, cannot those As to turn of ordinary business comes of public-houses with who use the possession of ordinary business acumen? Why should we, more the possessions down threats of unpalatable opinions down throats of customers? In point of fact we don't do it. The public-house is the resort of men of all parties, and the publican knows it, and acts on that knowledge with the same circumspection which is practised by everyone else who has business dealings with men of varied opinions.

If brewers had in the past the immense power they are credited with, would they tamely have submitted to taxation which frequently amounts to 20 or 30 per cent. on their ordinary shares, when the average dividend paid on the ordinary shares of all breweries last year was under 5 per cent. ? And this in addition to the enormous sums the trade pays in rates, assessments on public-houses being in many places about three times as high as on other businesses. Would they also have submitted to the increased restrictions of late years—restrictions which we do not by any means believe invariably make for temperance? It must be remembered that, as far as these restrictions fulfil the expectations of their originators, they can be expressed in terms of money by the trade. In some cases they may be for the public good, in others we think they are mistaken; but wherever they limit the sales they partake of the nature of an extra tax.

The assertion that the tied-house system is a menace to temperance, because under it the sale of drink is unduly pushed, is as baseless an argument as that which we have just discussed. It can only be used by persons who have no knowledge of the inside of a public-house. Such reformers appear to think that the bar of a public-house is like the counter of a draper's shop—that customers have drink pressed upon them, and when they have finished a pint of beer are entreated to try a glass of whisky. A customer asks for what he wants; if he is sober he is served; and for the rest the barman or barmaid remains a passive and indifferent spectator. This applies equally to free and to Of course brewery companies like tenants who increase the trade of their houses; but how is the trade increased? For the most part such increase comes of its own accord. Where it is owing to the licensee's own exertions, it is simply because the licensee keeps his place well appointed, sells good drink, and serves it in an agreeable manner—that is to say, attends to the fulfilment of the proper social function of a public-house. Even enemies of public-houses will admit that those concerned in the business are deserving of praise

rather than of censure when they give the public decent accommoda. rather than of censure when the start of the tied house it is, and good liquor. In so far as the tied house it is, and tion, cleanliness, courtesy, and go the tied house it is, and can be, house system increases the custom of the tied house it is, and can be, house system increases the customer the sale of drink is meant the by these means only. If by pushing the sale of drink is meant the by these means only. It by purposes the strength of the strength of drink is meant the pressing of drink on men who have already had enough, the notion pressing of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the strength of the streng pressing of drink on men who have the owners of tied houses is that such a system is encouraged by the owners of tied houses is the control of the limit that it is to imperil the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit that the limit t that such a system is checked a drunken man is to imperil the licence, palpably absurd. To serve a drunken man is to imperil the licence, palpably absurd. To serve a major the licence, and therewith the capital which the brewer has put into the house, and therewith the licence, by not serving drunken me of the licence. and therewith the capture. The preservation of the licence, by not serving drunken men, is one of publicans, and a brewery company of the licence of publicans. The preservation of the house, and a brewery company with capital the preoccupations of publicans, and a brewery company with capital the preoccupations of public-house owner to encourage at stake would be the last sort of public-house owner to encourage at stake would be the last the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the state of the over the licensed victualler must be more complete in the tied than in over the licensed violation of the free house. For the tied tenant has not only his own money and reputation at stake, and is under the inspection of the police equally with the free, but he is also constantly under the inspection of officials from the brewery company.

Now as to the third assertion, that the tied-house system means That inferior beer is sometimes sold in tied houses I will not attempt to deny. Beer is a commodity which can easily be spoiled in the handling; and from improper treatment, unclean appliances, weather conditions, and so forth, it sometimes happens that beer which leaves the brewery in excellent condition does not reach the consumer in the like state. That is often the explanation of bad beer in tied houses. I also admit that beer of inferior quality does sometimes leave a brewery for the tied house. that there are black sheep in every flock. But their sphere of operations is practically confined to a comparatively few small country places, where the public-houses are so few that one brewer can get a monopoly—a danger which the Licensing Bill, with its proposed wholesale reductions of licences, tended to increase. A brewery company advertises conspicuously on tied houses that its beer is sold there. That brewers generally should make a practice of advertising their own bad wares is simply contrary to common-sense. Nor does it impute much common-sense to brewers to suppose that they would knowingly sell bad beer. A man is not forced to drink, and in most places, if the beer at one house does not suit him, he has easy access to another house. Trade leaves the house where inferior beer is sold.

Having endeavoured to enlist the varying sympathies of the Liberal politicians, the temperance reformer, and the drinker, the enemies of the tied house finally address an appeal to the tied tenant himself. It is a curious appeal. They tell him that he is a 'slave,' which at any action appeal. which at any rate is not complimentary, and so one would think not particularly well calculated to evoke a warm welcome; as last year's by-elections have proved, in spite of the sporadic activity of that bogus institution, the Tied Tenants' Defence League.

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term any more true than it is complimentary? If for value received term any into an agreement in which I covenant with the seller of a lenter into an agreement in which I covenant with the seller of a I enter that so long as the agreement lasts I will buy from him what I need of the commodity which he sells, does that convert me what I have? Is a barrister a slave to a firm of solicitors from whom into a slave? Is a barrister a slave to a firm of solicitors from whom into a place a general retainer? Is a literary man who agrees to confine his contributions on a particular subject to a particular newspaper a slave to the proprietor of that paper? Is an actor or musicpaper at the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper of the paper and not at others, during the term of an agreement a slave to the proprietors of those places of entertainment? Again, how many of the teetotalers and Radical politicians who are now denouncing tiedhouse 'slavery' themselves employ managers, clerks, workmen, or domestic servants, whose exclusive services they retain? Are there any who don't? Would even Sir Thomas Whittaker allow the officials of his insurance institution to spend half their time in forwarding the interests of some rival institution? The term 'slave' as applied to tied-house tenants is as foolish as it is offensive.

I think I have examined in as much detail as the arguments themselves demand the case against the tied house, and incidentally have shown that there is a case for the tied house, and that under these four heads which I have examined are to be found the arguments which are being used in the current discussions. Yet there is an objection which might be urged against the tied-house system, and which would not be altogether invalid. It is, however, an objection which, so far as my reading informs me, is never advanced. I mean the objection of the individualist—the objection that when the tiedhouse system is carried to the management point it impinges on the economic freedom of the individual, and substitutes a big capitalist organisation for a number of small independent men. If the tiedhouse system were attacked from that point of view I could understand some weight being given to the cry. But it is not, and for this reason—the substitution of the big company for the small man is not confined to the public-house trade; it exists all through industrial society; it applies to 'A. B. C.' shops as much as to managed publichouses. But, indeed, one need not cite instances, for it is a universal phenomenon. Why, then, should anyone expect that the publichouse trade should, practically alone of all trades, be exempt? More particularly, why should one expect this when, by an artificial policy of State restriction of public-houses, as well as by State demands for heavy expenditure, and State-made risks in the conduct of the business, special efforts have been put forth to force this ordinary development in retail business upon the public-house industry? The existing economic phrase is industrial organisation through joint-stock com-We may regret the disappearance of the independent artisan and of the small shopkeeper, but it is futile to abuse those controlling

the modern organisation, whether they be public-house owners, tea. the modern organisation, shop owners, cocoa manufacturers, or newspaper proprietors.

p owners, cocoa manufactures, proprietors.

Having, I hope, convinced my readers that the tied-house system that the us now are the convinced my readers that the tied-house system. Having, I hope, convinced my does not stand in the way of improvement, let us now consider does not stand in the nature of that improvement should be. does not stand in the way of that improvement should be. But first briefly what the nature of that improvement should be. But first briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the public house to be briefly what the nature of the briefly what the nature of the briefly what the public house to be briefly what the nature of the briefly what the public house to be briefly what the public house to be briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the briefly what the let us ask the very elements to be regarded desired or not? In other words, Is the public-house to be regarded desired or not? In other words, Is the public-house to be regarded desired or not? In other as some morbid growth on the body politic, which should be excised as some morbid growth on the body politic, which should be excised as some morbid growth on the solution as some morbid growth on the solution in the present policy of ever-increasing restrictions as some morbid growth on the present policy of ever-increasing restrictions. as soon as may be: If to, is desirable, and the present policy of ever-increasing restriction and is desirable, and the present policy of ever-increasing restriction and is desirable, and the problem I public-houses cease to exist. But if we do not adopt that view, let us proceed to discuss what useful

There are two classes of customers in a house who may usefully be separated in considering the problem, though in practice the same

building has often to cater for both.

There is, first, the regular habitué, and, secondly, the passer-by. The regular habitué is the man who comes in most days, often in the evening. Very large classes of our population live inadequately housed; there are thousands of families in one or two or three rooms apiece. If the man or the wife wishes to meet a friend, or to have a little quiet, it is not possible to do so in their homes. some place to meet in where they can enjoy the elementary luxuries of fire, light, and space, and where they can read the paper, And this is no unreasonable wish. or write a letter. obviously not one for the State to try to curb. Rather it is to be encouraged. The more intelligent and educated people are, the more interests they have in life, and the more necessary does such accommodation become. And it would appear wise to give them not only light and warmth, but such other relaxation and amusements as they may wish, as far as practicable. Games, music, dramatic performances, &c., may well be useful. This has been tried with great success in Denmark and in other countries. The club movement shows clearly that such accommodation is much appreciated. There is perhaps no better solution of this side of the problem existent at the present time than the first-class workman's club. Clubs vary, of course, indefinitely in their tone and usefulness. In some the feeling against excess in the use of alcoholic liquor is so strong that drunkenness means expulsion. There can be nothing that would make better for self-restraint than such a public opinion. And I think that the existence of such a sentiment may fairly be looked for, as the drunken man or woman is noisy and a nuisance, and not wanted by either publican or customer.

A criticism on this idea has been put to me in this way. we quite see that a club of some kind is wanted, especially in poor districts, but we do not wish to encourage it in the public-house, where there is such risk of intoxication and where the surroundings are not

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ere not all we could wish.' If you could reconstitute human nature, and all we could numan nature, and start afresh, it might seem to some wise to eliminate the desire for But we must take facts as they are, and choose deliberately alcohol. Either a public-house should be made, as Mr. Lloyd George our ideal. Big Rudget speech, 'an establishment of the Rudget speech. our ideal. Budget speech, 'an establishment which lives and thrives on mere swilling and tippling,' or we should strive to make it, what on mero to make it, what lam confident the great bulk of its habitués want, viz. a comfortable club for rest and refreshment.

For the other class, the passer-by, another problem presents itself. The present type of house meets his needs in a way, but the Con-

tinental café form might in some places be better.

What, then, would the ideal house be? I think the ideal house should be large; that the owner should be encouraged, not discouraged, to enlarge it, since there is as a general rule less drunkenness in a large house than in a small one, and this partly because you have a greater pressure of public opinion, and partly because the more important the house the better the class of publican that can be secured. should be as spacious as possible, with plenty of light and air. should, where possible, contain rooms where people can talk, and see their friends in as much comfort as may be. Where any open-air space is available, the licensee should surely be encouraged to use it, and not forbidden to do so. There should be as much for the people to do besides drinking as possible. Games of all kinds should be encouraged, and the publican should be allowed to provide music as may be desired. Singing and entertainments and debates, which are found to be so popular in clubs, should surely be encouraged. The aim should be to provide a place of respectable entertainment, where the wife would go with her husband. Why should we not have in London the sort of place which the Bishop of Birmingham so admired in Spain? He was there during the great festival of Christmas week, and again and again visited the large cafés corresponding to our There, in a great hall, he could see as many as a public-houses. thousand of the working-class people of the city. They were all seated at tables, and in many cases a man would be accompanied by his wife and children. There was music and every kind of refreshment. of the people were playing games, while others were drinking mild beer or coffee, syrups or milk, and all the time there was an immense noise of talking of the most cheerful and happy kind. He never saw anything in these cafés that was at all disagreeable or unpleasant.

This has developed in the ordinary course of commercial life. trader has been left free, as he is in all other trades, to supply what the public demand. It is to be remarked that in most countries the liberty permitted as to the hours of opening, and as to the type of building, and as to the entertainment offered, is very different indeed from our methods of constant restrictions and magisterial control. This is, no doubt, why the two systems have worked out so differently.

I am very confident that it would be far wiser and would do more I am very confident that It is a would do more for temperance if we aimed to make our public-houses more respectable for temperance if we aimed to make our public opinion against druple. for temperance if we aimed to make the decry them and do all that is possible to make the decry them and do all that is possible to make the decry them and do all that is possible to make the decry them and do all that is possible to make the decry them and do all that is possible to make the decry them and do all that is possible to make the decry them are the decry them and do all that is possible to make the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry them are the decry the decry them are the decry the decry them are the decry the decry the decry them are the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the decry the dec and useful, and so toster a surving reacher than to decry them and do all that is possible to make them rather than to decry them and do all that is possible to make them rather than to decry them that the results are present to make them disreputable and mere drinking-shops, as is at present only too much disreputable and here I would venture on a suggestion to the disreputable and mere unitary to a suggestion to the clergy. As long as public-houses remain in any form, the publican must be As long as public-nouses remained always a man of local influence. If drunkenness is the thing he most always a man of local influence. If drunkenness is the thing he most always a man of local limited and cause his ruin, then you and he dreads, as that which may easily cause his ruin, then you and he dreads, as that which may have really the same interest with regard to drunkards. If you have really the same introduce which you will find him often only too ready to respond; enlist his help, you wan and the prejudice which years of vilifica. that is, when you have naturally raised in his mind. I have known tion by many clergy have naturally raised in his mind. I have known more than one clergyman who has conducted his temperance work on these lines, to the very great advantage of all concerned.

If we are to have improved public-houses it will imply various other changes. More money will have to be invested in them. Consequently licences should not be taken away for merely technical offences. Some benches have taken away licences for technical irregularities which the owners were anxious to remedy as soon as they were brought to their notice. In any future legislation it would, I think, be of material advantage to licence the man and the house separately. If John Smith of the White Hart misconducts himself, the house may be shut up. This is illogical. There would be good reason to punish John Smith, but none surely to punish the neighbourhood, as is now done, by shutting up the White Hart. It might be wise for benches to have power to punish not the publican only, but the superior lessees, or owners, if the house has not been properly inspected, perhaps by way of fine; but shutting up a house, presumably wanted in the district, is not a satisfactory way of expressing their disapproval of the way the house is conducted. The offences a publican may commit are terribly numerous. I have before me a list of about seventy offences into which a publican may fall, most of which no one else can commit. Penalties vary from 1l. to complete ruin, i.e. forfeiture of licence. Certainly it seems illogical that when the publican falls into an offence the men who have used the house, perhaps for years, should be penalised by its disappearance.

I would conclude by repeating that underlying the whole subject is the question, Do you wish to improve or to destroy the public-I do not for one moment believe that it is, or ever will be, within practical politics to forbid all forms of the retail sale of alcoholic liquor, even if such prohibition be held to be the ideal. It remains, then, for sensible temperance reformers to consider how best public-houses can be improved. I hope I have shown that public-houses are wanted, that they can be improved, and that the

tied-house system does not stand in the way.

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### THE ROYAL ACADEMY AND THE SALON

Some of these little things are very nice,' said a lady at the private view of the Royal Academy, making her way up to Sir L. Alma-Tadema's picture, a centre of attraction in its usual position in Gallery III. The condescension of the remark applied (perhaps not consciously) to the work of one of the most learned and accomplished painters of the day was amusing enough; but it suggested some reflections as to size in relation to subject in a picture; perhaps also it might stand for a kind of characterisation of the Academy as contrasted with the Salon, where everything is on so great a scale that the collection at Burlington House impresses one, by comparison, as an exhibition of cabinet pictures. A practical measure of the difference of scale is furnished by the appearance at the Salon of Mr. Ralph Peacock's fine painting of mountain scenery at last year's Academy, where it looked emphatically a 'Gallery picture,' but looks much smaller and, it must be admitted, less powerful at the Salon than it did at the Academy. Mr. Edgar Bundy's rather crude piece of tragedy, The Sands of Life, which made somewhat of a sensation at the Academy, and occupied the centre of a wall, might easily be overlooked at the Salon. The excuse (or the necessity) for these spacious galleries lies in the encouragement given in France to public art—to decorative paintings on a great scale for the embellishment of museums and town halls; such paintings as hardly exist in England, and for which the Academy rooms could not afford space, but which form no inconsiderable proportion of the contents of the annual Salon. It must be admitted, however, that French artists are somewhat demoralised, by the knowledge of the great space at their disposal at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, into painting a good many pictures on a larger scale than their subjects will justify.

For there is a certain fitness of relation between subject and scale in a picture. It is a mistake to paint life-size a mere domestic incident of no great significance, and in which much of the canvas is occupied by the representation of objects of subordinate interest. There are two very clever pictures prominent in the present Academy, Mr. G. Harcourt's *The Tracing*, and Mr. Campbell Taylor's *Bedtime*, which certainly do not justify their scale, unless it is replied that they are

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practically and in intention portrait groups, which would put them in practically and in intention posterior, and all that is in them in another category. Otherwise they are genre, and all that is in them another category. When the size at most. another category. Otherwise the size at most is in them might very well have been painted half the size at most. Mr. Har. might very well have been partially against the light of the Window, court's picture, with the lady standing against the light of the Window, her head to look down at her children, is a very good court's picture, with the lady bear and turning her head to look down at her children, is a very good one: and turning her nead to lost the principal figure, and there is an ease and grace of line about the principal figure, and the there is an ease and grace of the qualities might have been equally children are charming; but these qualities might have been equally children are charming, such that the been equally well presented on a smaller expanse of canvas. To adapt Ben Jonson In small proportions we just beauties see,

And in small frames pictures may perfect be.

And it is not only a question of the significance of the subject, but of the value of the objects painted and the degree in which they are worth elaboration. Sir L. Alma-Tadema prefers to paint on a small worth elaboration. On a small scale, but his 'little' picture of this year, the interior of a Roman bath, would very well have borne to be painted on a larger scale, There are two nude figures (or as much of them as is seen above the water) in the foreground, and other figures in the beautiful classic costume, and details of Roman architecture; all these are better worth painting on a large scale than modern dresses and carpets and furniture.

There is no great picture in this year's Academy, no predominating work which is admittedly the picture of the year. This is so far a loss; but, taken as a whole, it is an interesting exhibition, above the average—at least as far as the pictures are concerned. There is some interest in the fact that one or two artists have broken new ground, Mr. David Murray surprises us by a sea-and a very good one, broad and free in style and excellent in drawing-a 'seascape' much to be preferred to his rather ragged and uncomposed landscapes. Colton, hitherto known as a fine sculptor of the human figure, exhibits a powerful life-size study of a tiger. There is one decorative mural painting by Mr. Sargent; a semicircular lunette representing Israel and the Law, surrounded by a Hebrew inscription which presumably gives the key to the subject, and might as well have been translated in the Catalogue for the benefit of the Gentile visitor. It is painted in a heated pinky tone which is not agreeable in its present position, but we do not know for what conditions of lighting and surroundings it may have been intended. In a decorative sense it is defective, in that the composition of the group does not properly fill the semicircular space, and shows an irregular lumpy outline leaving shapeless intervals between it and the border line, with an effect ungracious to the eye.

On the whole perhaps the portraits have the best of it, if we except the class of perfunctory official portraits of chairmen of boards and institutions, or gentlemen whose chief title to a portrait is the ability to pay for it; productions which might surely be allowed to find their way to their ultimate destination without being passed through an une m in hem Harlow. one: the la]]y nson but are mall

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Academy exhibition where no one wants them. Mr. Shannon's large Academy portrait of three sisters is a noble work both in colour and group Position; in this class of painting he is beginning to run Mr. Sargent hard; and his portrait of Mr. Leyland Prinsep is a remarkable example of the combination of realistic portraiture with artistic effect in colour and composition. But the portrait of the year, though it has less of pictorial charm, is Mr. Sargent's of the Earl of Wemyss. Mr. Shannon's portraits are essentially pictures; so have Mr. Sargent's been in many cases. His Lord Wemyss is simply a portrait, with no attempt at pictorial effect, but it presents that kind of summary of character which we used to see in Millais' portraits of public men, and which perhaps is a higher intellectual quality in portrait-painting than the achievement of pictorial effect. Among other portraits Mr. Melton Fisher's group of three girls is a charmingly composed picture, but two out of the three heads are not made out with sufficient decision for portraiture. Mr. Bacon has had a good idea in painting the portraits of three ladies in a box, under the title At the Play; but the faces hardly realise what the situation demands—the expression of strong but varied interest in the play; more might certainly have been made of the situation. In a group of three children seated on the floor, painted under the title Us, Mr. Keith Henderson has made a notable success; nothing more charming and lifelike in the way of child character and expression has been seen at the Academy for some Three other portraits challenge attention from their manner of execution. In Signor Mancini's portrait of a little girl the face may obtain an added delicacy by contrast with a treatment which makes all the rest of the picture look as if the canvas had been injured in some way, but it is an affectation. Mrs. Swynnerton's portrait of a lady is a tour de force of strong and brilliant colour carried off by a surface texture which removes all effect of hardness; but the defiant colour and equally defiant exposure of the bust combine to make it, as a portrait of a lady painted by a lady, what one might call unladylike. It is impossible to overlook it, but it is not an agreeable picture, and it is a relief to turn from it to Mr. Sims's beautiful and spirituel portrait in Gallery VIII. of a lady walking quickly through the picture, her figure relieved against that fleecy lightly touched evanescent sky which this artist has learned the secret of; a beautiful and original style of portrait, and Mr. Sims's best work of the year: his more ideal subject, in illustration of Herrick's To Julia, suffers (oddly enough) exactly from the want of that lightness of hand; the shooting stars 'and the 'elves' are too materialised.

Apart from portraits there are not many figure pictures which appeal very strongly either to the imagination or to the sense of pictorial composition, the two strongest appeals that representations of the human figure in painting can make to us. Mere execution is something, no doubt; but that, after all, is a superior sleight of hand

(a very superior one, we will admit) rather than art in the intellectual (a very superior one, we will account the intellectual meaning of the word. In regard to imaginative subjects, the worst meaning of the word will paint them (in England more can be worst meaning of the word. In regular them (in England more especially) of it is that painters will paint them them on them. There especially of it is that painters will part on them. There are two without bringing any imagination to bear on them. There are two without bringing any magnitude without bringing any magnitude are tame and harmless sorceresses, Lamias in the Academy, but they are tame and harmless sorceresses, in the best: there is a certain mixture of wearing Lamias in the Academy, there is a certain mixture of weariness sorceresses, Mr. Draper's is the best: there is a certain mixture of weariness and which reflects in some degree Keats's fantage. Mr. Draper's is the best.

Mr. Draper's is the best.

malice in the face, which reflects in some degree Keats's fantasy. There malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which remarks a malice in the face, which is but a figure study a mid archaic Greek ornaments; and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a carterian and a Circe who is only a rather hard nude study; and a certain painter and a Circe who is only a technique of various large religious 'machines' (as the French would call them) of various large rengious has turned Pagan this year, and painted a piece of Paganism as claphas turned Pagan this generity as his former religious marelist. has turned Pagan this jour, trap and as devoid of sincerity as his former religious moralities. And what is this mermaid taken up with the appearance of 'a land baby' on the shore—what is she but a modern lady rising from the water, on the shore—what is done up, but whose figure unaccountably with her hair carefully done up, but whose figure unaccountably desinit in piscem? If painters will handle mermaids, can no one ever attempt to give us a convincing mermaid, with a figure that has 'suffered a sea-change'? To be sure, the drops of water that roll down the lady's fair skin have been most carefully painted, each with its little sparkle of light-reflection, and the painter has his reward, for they are the delight of the children in the exhibition.

Of figure-subjects which are really pictures in the highest sense, perhaps Mr. Stott's small circular picture, Two Mothers, deserves to rank highest. It is a real composition, in which (according to Millet's dictum) nothing is introduced which does not assist the subject: there is a unity of conception about it, not interfered with by some charming and delicate detail in the foreground foliage, lightly put in so as not to obtrude on the eye. Another work which is truly pictorial is Mrs. Stanhope Forbes's The Half Holiday. Nothing in the subject but a lad in shirt and drawers who lies on the bank of a brook amid a broadly painted wooded landscape; a happy moment of life translated into artistic form. This is one of the kind of pictures that the crowd pass over. The crowd (the English crowd at least) must have a subject, something that tells a story, and this has none; but it is a work every artist will appreciate. Mr. Cadogan Cowper's Venetian Ladies listening to a Serenade has no story either, and is mainly a study of rich costumes in a lighted balcony, with the deep blue of the night sky behind. A fine piece of colour the whole is. One of the ladies combs out her luxuriant hair:

Dear dead women—with such hair too; what's become of all the gold Used to hang and brush their bosoms?

But the heads are hardly equal in interest to the costumes. Mr. Hornel's The Chase (of a butterfly) is one of the pictures that interest us as presenting a special method: the children's faces are charming, the foliage and other surroundings are not like nature; they are a

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method of translating nature into pigment. In his earlier works Mr. Hornel's manner suggested that his pictures were composed of a mosaic of shells, flints, and pebbles; but the crudity of the effect is modified now, and we see the result as a very interesting work of pure art, of a kind that is painted for artists rather than for the public. A few years ago a picture so hors ligne in style would hardly have found a place on the walls of the Academy; now it is in a central position; so do times change. In the next room we have an example of the opposite kind of painting—the picture with a moral, in the shape of Mr. Dollman's Am I My Brother's Keeper? a study of London outcasts on a bench in the foreground, with the well-lighted windows of the wealthy in the background. Well, there is no reason why painting should not be used to point a moral, if it is done with sincere intent and not merely as a cheap appeal to our emotions; and this impresses one as sincere; it is, at any rate, powerfully put.

In those which we may call idyllic pictures, in which figures and landscape are blended in one conception, Mr. Wetherbee keeps his place, but his smaller picture, A Pastoral, is the better and more complete of the two; it nearly repeats, by the way, a previous composition of his. Mr. Arthur Hacker's The Gloaming—a cow and its keeper trudging across the picture in the twilight—is another quiet

and pleasing pastoral, recalling Milton's

What time the labour'd ox In his loose traces from the furrow came,

though with a difference; and Mr. La Thangue's apple orchards are still flecked with joyous sunlight. This class of picture affords the

transition to landscape proper.

We have charming landscapes, but no great ones. The strongest achievement is perhaps Mr. Hughes-Stanton's St. Jean, near Avignon: the foreground of this is the most forcible piece of work of the kind in the Academy, and the whole painting has that built-up appearance which a landscape composition should have. There seems to be an uncertainty among English painters as to the object of landscapepainting; there is no school of landscape in England, but everyone does what is right in his own eyes. There are those who seem to think-and a large portion of the public manifestly think with them (if they think at all)—that the most careful imitation of Nature is the end of landscape-painting; hence we have such a work as Mr. Leader's There is Sunlight in the Valley, which carries realism, we will not say as far as it can be carried (remembering Didier-Pouget and Biva at the Salon), but as far as English painting ever And yet the effect is weak; the eye is not cheated after all, and the spirit misses something undefinable but which we cannot dispense with. And there is an extraordinary want of composition sometimes. Mr. Murray's Home Moorings, for instance, is not a

picture at all: there is literally no composition in it; it is a collection of picture at all: there is interary in a beach with flotsam and common objects at the seaside, as—item, a beach with flotsam and common objects; item, a ship; but they are merely item. 'common objects at the season, some some with flotsam and jetsam; item, an old jetty; item, a ship; but they are merely thrown jetsam; item, an old jetty; all landscape needs to be as careful. jetsam; item, an old jetty, attn., and jetty are merely thrown together, not composed. A landscape needs to be as carefully controlled to the suilding. Granting this element of composition together, not composed.

together, not composed.

Granting this element of composition, what structed as a building. Granting this element of composition, what structed as a building.

we need is, not the imitation of facts (though that is of course the spirit of the scene as felt by the artist we need is, not the initial basis of it), but the spirit of the scene as felt by the artist; not it basis of it), but the spirit of the scene as felt by the artist; not it basis of it), but the spirit saw certain trees and hills, and I have painted them,' but 'I had saw certain trees and hills, and I have painted them,' but 'I had saw certain trees and many mind from this scene, and I have ena certain impression on the deavoured to convey that.' Mr. Adrian Stokes sees the beauty of deavoured to convey that deavoured to convey that Sunlight in the Birches, and we feel it with him; Mr. Aumonier has been Sunlight in the Birches, aloom of The Castle Valley Tintaged. Sunlight in the Diverses, and struck by the solemn gloom of The Castle Valley, Tintagel, in evening struck by the soleming growing struck by the soleming light, and conveys to us the impression of it. These are good landlight, and conveys to as Marker is probably the most popular scapes. Mr. East's Lavingdon Water is probably the most popular of his pictures of the year, but it looks a little ragged, though the trees have been carefully designed; Amberley Bridge is his best worka real landscape composition. Near it is a fine Bavarian winter landscape by Mr. Gardner Symons, very solidly painted, and interesting as a scene of special and unfamiliar character. Mr. Black's Cornwall: a December Asternoon has a fine effect of atmosphere, and rather recalls the style of the late David Farquharson. Mr. B. Eastlake Leader gives high promise in his Moonlit Common. There is too much light for moonlight (English moonlight at all events), as there almost always is in moonlight pictures, but it is a work with a character of its own. Mr. Reid's Porto Maurizio, Northern Italy, must class as landscape, though it is mostly buildings, a fine clear painting of a city and its churches set on a hill in Italian light. Then there is Mr. Bertram Priestman's Valley of the Wharfe, with a real element of grandeur in the dark mass of rock and trees piled up in the centre of the composition; perhaps as a whole the most striking landscape in the exhibition.

Sculpture, during the last few years, has generally been the best element in the Academy exhibitions, but it is rather weak this year. Mr. Brock's Justice, a half-size model of one of the groups for the Victoria Memorial, has a fine easy sway in its lines; and Mr. Toft's seated figure, forming part of a Welsh national war memorial, with an architectural background, has a classic dignity of style. But the Octagon Room is made terrible by two of those colossal figures in boots and frock-coats which sculptors have to produce, apparently, from time to time (oportet vivere), but which are sad sights in a sculpture gallery. What hath sculpture to do with colossal boots? Why cannot we adopt the French expedient of confining the likeness to a bust, and grouping ideal figures with it, as in Guillaume's beautiful The life-size monument to Regnault at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts? This plump nudes in the Lecture Room are not very ideal either. female, with rather short legs, Atalanta the swift racer? Believe it not. As the sporting folk say, she is carrying too much flesh. Probably

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Atalanta was but a name to dignify a life-study. And the author of Atalana has assuredly never made this pain-contorted, struggling Prometheus has assuredly never made this panirous of Shelley's Titan. Two heads, Mr. Mackennal's the acquaint and Mr. Leslie's The Muse of Theocritus, are the best bits of marble in the Lecture Room. Mr. Reynolds-Stephen's Memorial for the Grave of One who Loved his Fellow-men, with its bronze angel at each end, is original, and decorative in effect, and as such would be remarked anywhere; but it is hardly sculpture in the full sense of the word; and the best of the nude figures would pass but for second best at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, however patriotism may wish it otherwise.

It is not merely the difference of execution, but the difference in intellectual interest that strikes one, in the French sculpture especially. The vast spaces of the Salon are typical of a certain largeness in the conception of art. And even the quantity of work is amazing. All this is the product of one year's artistic work: it is an annual wonder, a testimony to the immense vitality of the French artistic world. Even in out-of-the-way corners one comes on things that cannot be passed over; even the crowd of small works, statuettes and other minor fancies, on the daïs at the end of the central hall, is full of things of exceptional talent. As far as the paintings are concerned, it may be true that the proportion of good things is larger at the Academy than at the Salon; that there are crude and vulgar works thereoccasionally very vulgar—that would not find place in the Academy. But it would be easy to pick out fifty pictures (I have more than sixty down in my note-book, after passing over many works of average excellence) any one of which would make a certain sensation at the Academy, some of them a great sensation. The apologetic and condescending tone adopted by English newspapers towards the Salon exhibitions is absurd. With whatever faults—rather faults of aim than of execution—it is a great spectacle.

The large room, No. 1, at the top of the stairs, does not present this year one of those vast pictures, intended for the decoration of a Mairie or other public institution, which one often finds there; indeed, decorative painting is not at its highest this year. M. Henri Martin, the foremost master in this class of art, does not exhibit; and the largest decorative painting of the year, M. Grau's scene for the Hôtel de Ville of Tourcoing, is not decorative, but merely an easel picture on a gigantic scale. But Gallery I. contains two large decorative uprights: M. Gorguet's cartoon intended for a Gobelins tapestry for the Parliament House at Rennes, which shows how well the French understand tapestry design and its symbolical rather than pictorial treatment; and M. Devambez' painting for the Sorbonne, intended to commemorate the fusion of the Ecole Normale and the Sorbonne. This, again, is a large realistic easel picture, but the force of effect obtained by the contrast between the dark-clad mass of the Ecole Normale crowd below and the bright robes of the Sorbonne professionals

above, divided by the white stonework of the staircase, is very striking. above, divided by the white Stories above, divided by the white Stories ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of Saint-Mandé; the figures float here, as figures in a contract of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the Salle des Fitzes of the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same gallery is M. Tavernier's ceiling for the same g In the same gallery is in. Latter figures float here, as figures in a ceiling the Mairie of Saint-Mandé; the figures float here, as figures in a ceiling the Mairie of Saint-Mandé; the figures float here, as figures in a ceiling the married by the attempted illustrates. the Mairie of Saint-Manue, the little marred by the attempted illusion of painting should, only it is a little marred by the attempted illusion of painting should, only it is a little marred by the attempted illusion of painting should, only it is a little marred by the attempted illusion of painting should. painting should, only it is a first a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective—a superstition of ceiling-painting columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in columns seen in upward perspective columns seen in upward perspective. For the real type of decorawhich some French painters stated and not too precise in definition, to Callery 22, where M. Paul Steck exhibits his two si tive ceiling-painting, imaginer M. Paul Steck exhibits his two circular we must go to Gallery 22, where M. Paul Steck exhibits his two circular Rême-Pensée and Essor-Vérité, for the Hôtel de Vin we must go to Gallery 22, survey and Essor-Vérité, for the Hôtel de Ville of Ceiling panels, Rêve-Pensée and Essor-Vérité, for the Hôtel de Ville of Chapter is especially fine; two seated drawless of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of t ceiling panels, Reve-1 choco as specially fine; two seated, draped figures Saint-Brieuc.

The former is especially fine; two seated, draped figures of composition, gazing into a stall figures. Saint-Brieuc. The former and figures falling into beautiful lines of composition, gazing into a starlight sky; falling into beautiful files a visionary manner, not materialised,

Of figure-pictures of the year the most important is M. Gervais'

Jardin des Hespérides (33), an immense canvas ostensibly divided into a triptych by two vertical gilt bands, though the composition is really continuous. It is a picture in a grand style of drawing and composition, somewhat subdued in colour, and his nude nymphs are rather solid in their proportions; but there is a glamour of the antique world about it, and it will rank as one of the best and most serious of the compositions of this fine artist, almost unknown in England, who combines poetry of conception with unsurpassed mastery in drawing,

After this perhaps the three pictures that leave most impression on the memory are those of MM. Paul Chabas, Joseph Bail, and Tattegrain. M. Chabas' L'Algue (18) is only inferior to his last year's work in that it is less of a composition; it shows a young girl kneedeep in the sea, dragging up a large frond of seaweed, the glistening green of which forms the darkest colour in the piece; the face is turned away from the spectator, so that we lose one element of interest, but the painting of the nude body and of the sea is perfectreal without realism. If anyone wants to understand the meaning of style in painting-that quality indefinable in words-there it is for him. That brilliant but unequal painter M. Tattegrain makes one of his successes this year in Attendant Marée Basse (7), a figure of a fine healthful Normandy shrimp-girl, lying prone on the shore in her humble patched garments, and playing with the sand running out of her hands, while she waits for low tide to begin her work. It is a beautiful moment out of real life. M. Bail paints, on a larger scale than is usual with him, Les Communiantes (17), four or five girls coming out of the sunlit porch into the church, their white garments toned to a warm tint in the golden light, an effect emphasised by the more darkly dressed figure standing in shadow in the fore-

The figures in brackets after the titles give the number of the room in which painting is to be said a said and said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a said a sa the painting is to be found, which may be of use to any reader visiting the Salon, as the preposterous French system of an alphabetical catalogue with no indication of the placing of the pictures with a large except by the placing of the pictures renders it impossible to find any special picture except by a process of hunting a process of hunting.

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ground. Not only is it a beautiful composition in line and colour, but the faces have a tenderness and seriousness of expression in keeping with the scene and subject.

A feature of the exhibition is the collection in one room (16) of the late Albert Maignan's pictures, some of them old friends. They include that tremendous piece of diablerie called La Voix de Tocsin, now in the museum of Amiens, where the spirits of discord tug at the great bell in the centre of the composition; and the remarkable painting in memory of Carpeaux, in which the sculptor's chief works are collected together in a kind of dream composition. It is to be regretted that the Tentation—Eve and the serpent—is not among them; one of Maignan's last and finest works, which was in the Franco-British Exhibition last year.

Nude studies abound, of course; many able, as studies in execution; a few beautiful with the beauty of line and composition; none, perhaps, with that higher beauty of poetic sentiment which is the crowning quality in a nude figure. The merely perfect execution, perhaps, is so difficult that it is considered as sufficient achievement in itself to glorify the artist. M. Mercié, who is now almost as prominent in painting as he has long been in sculpture, chooses for the subject of his principal work the legend of Pygmalion and Galatea (27), the nude statue just beginning to flush into life. It is a little bit of a trick, and a trick that has been done rather too often. (His other picture, Jeune Parisienne, I could not find.) One is tired, too, of La Cigale, and M. Comerre's figure of her (25) looks comfortless lying on the dead leaves. M. Benner's Reveil de Psyche (6) is pretty, as she wakes and stretches up her hands to a butterfly hovering above; but it is hardly spiritual enough for Psyche. But hung as a pendant to it, in the same room, is the nude of the year, Solitude, by M. Seignac; a young girl lying under trees by the side of a lake; the whole scene, the trees and the distance as well as the figure, painted with the greatest tenderness and delicacy of touch—a harmonious whole; a vision of pure beauty which one does not easily forget.

Looking round more generally, we notice that a M. Scott (a Parisian by birth, in spite of his name) has attempted to do with Général San-Martin, Libérateur de l'Argentine (43) what Regnault did with General Prim and his black horse; the imitation is rather too obvious. M. Béroud, who so loves big pictures, has painted Le Rêve de Quasimodo à Notre-Dame; the gist of the picture is that it is a grand and solid piece of painting of Gothic architectural detail on a scale the size of reality; it hangs in the open gallery opposite the grand staircase. The figure is well imagined, but it is the architecture that makes the picture. M. Rochegrosse has missed his mark this year; his Fête Intime (3) in some impossible interior (the intimity' consists in dancing with transparent garments or none at all) will interest no one. M. Roybet, on the other hand, has made

a new kind of success in his picture (5) of a Flanders burgher refusing a new kind of success in his please, and paints to pay his taxes on certain political grounds; he has got rid for once to pay his taxes on certain points the large moustache, and paints the scene of the fat-faced man with the large moustache, and paints the scene of the fat-faced man with the scene with a great deal of dramatic force. A fine picture is that by with a great deal of diameter a noble-looking woman stands by M. Ridel, Le Jet d'Eau (6), where a noble-looking woman stands by a M. Ridel, Le Jet a Ban (6),
small sculptured fountain, her figure relieved against a background
small sculptured fountain, her figure relieved against a background small sculptured fountain, as small sculptured fountain, as said a background of trees; one of those pictures which suggest many meanings without of trees; one of those process, for the spectator who brings his own poetry

There are some interesting pictures of real life, some of them much There are some interest of the French are more prone than we are too large for their subject, for the French are more prone than we are too large for their subject, to the painting of genre pictures life size. M. Avy, however, has made a fine picture out of the Versailles gardens and the holiday people in them, backed by the rich masses of the trees. M. Sieffert has made a clever study, Au Salon des Poètes (12), of the personalities of some of the audience—the child, the sentimental woman, the vulgar bourgeoise old lady, and the girl whose face shows real feeling. The official purchases of pictures are wonderful and bewildering. Their judgment in purchases of sculpture is usually good; but what they are aiming at in their picture purchases one cannot imagine. Why did they buy M. J. Grün's large vulgar picture, La bienvenue (18)? Is it because it represents French middle-class life? And why M. Synave's large coarsely-painted sketch of an ugly woman lying on her bed in a striped petticoat? And why M. Saint-Germier's Entrée du Palais des Doges (7), one of the worst architectural paintings I ever saw? There was some cleverness of execution in the other two, but none in this. Possibly it was supposed to be of topographical interest. some amends in their purchase of landscapes, for M. Rémond's small picture, Les Moulins de Marée (3), is a fine work in an original style; and M. Guillemet's La Vallée d'Equihen (30: also a State purchase) still better.

There are so many fine portraits that one must be content with merely mentioning three or four exceptional ones. M. Humbert is the Gainsborough of modern France; that he has studied that master closely there cannot be a doubt. Of his two works (30), that of Madame Regnier, an upright of a lady in a furred walking dress, is perfect in its broad consistent style, avoiding the one fault of some of the most gifted of the French portrait painters, the tendency to hardness and over-M. Bonnat does not quite escape that in his portrait of Général Florentin (13), otherwise a fine production in which he has managed to harmonise (more or less) some very inharmonious details of official costume, as M. Schommer has done also in his portrait of M. Nénot, the eminent architect, and at present the President of the Société des Artistes Français—in other words, of the Salon. There are many beautiful portraits of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies, none more pleasing and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and characteristic than the state of ladies and ladies are stated as the state of ladies and ladies are stated as the state of ladies and ladies are stated as the stated and ladies are stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the stated as the st teristic than that of Miss Phyllis, by Mr. MacEwen, a native of Chicago, ne

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though now domiciled in Paris. And one of the chief honours for portraits of men is certainly carried off by the Polish artist M. Tadé Styka (born in Paris, however), in his portrait of his father (8) seated in his garden in a dressing-gown and straw hat. For ease and natural manner, and (apparently) facile breadth of execution, this is one of the cleverest portraits of the year.

In no department is the Salon stronger than in landscape, though a hasty tour of the galleries might fail to bring this out, for the French school of landscape is, for the most part, sober and reserved in its treatment of nature, and is not to be appreciated but by careful con-M. Didier-Pouget is an exception; his two large and wonderfully real and powerful pictures (Rooms 22 and 27) no one can pass by; but it must be admitted by this time that he practically only paints two pictures—a morning effect with a high heather-clad plateau in the foreground, and an evening effect with water and heavily massed trees behind it. That a man can paint two such landscapes, however, is something to boast of—there are those who can only paint one; and if the Academy would invite M. Didier-Pouget to send samples of his two landscapes to Burlington House, one can fancy what a sensation they would create. He can, at all events, be realistic without being weak, and on a grand scale too. And if one wants realism on a smaller scale, there is nothing to compare with M. Biva's L'Après-midi; Villeneuve-l'Etang (7), which is quite astonishing in its reality of detail. Having this special power, he is right to make the most of it; but this is not, of course, the typical French school of landscape. The note of that school is breadth of style, the power of giving reality of effect without losing breadth, and the power to seize and express the essential sentiment of a scene. In M. Cabié's Matinée de Novembre (1), for instance, the foreground road with the sunlight on it is as real as anything in Mr. Davis's foregrounds, but it is painted in a much broader and more vigorous style. As examples of the grasp of the essential quality of a landscape may be mentioned M. Planquette's Dans la poudre d'or du soir, a landscape and cattle picture of one of those evenings in which the level sunset light seems to pervade everything; M. Calvé's Bords du Gat-Mort (18), a dark expanse of heather, painted just as it would appear in fading twilight, with the last light of the evening sky beyond; and M. Cagniart's La Bretagne (21), a grand, sombre, undulating plain, with one level bar of red light in the sky, reminding one of the evening sky in Sordello :-

A last remains of sunset dimly burned O'er the far forests, like a torch-flame turned By the wind back upon its bearer's hand In one long flare of crimson; as a brand The woods beneath lay black.

The veteran landscape-painter, M. Harpignies, too, still paints as finely as ever, in that complete and balanced style of his, the trans-

Digitized by Arya Samaj r Canal to the can say of two perfect pictures perfect than the other, I think it would be said to the can say of two perfect pictures than the other, I think it would be said to the can say of two perfect pictures than the other, I think it would be said to the can say of two perfect pictures than the other, I think it would be said to the can say of two perfect pictures than the other, I think it would be said to the can say of two perfect pictures than the other. lation of nature into terms of the other, I think it would be that that one was more perfect than the other, I think it would be that that one was more perfect than the other, I think it would be that that one was more perices à Villefranche-sur-Mer (25), as beautiful small landscape as ever was painted. and poetic a small landscape as ever was painted.

Nothing has been said so far of the New Salon, for indeed the Nothing has been said so really in proportion to its extent, as a new Salon cannot be considered, in proportion to its extent, as a new Salon cannot be considered, it is 'thin sown with aught of profit very important exhibition; it is 'thin sown with aught of profit very important thing in it is M. Besnard's decrease. very important exhibition, or delight.' The most important thing in it is M. Besnard's decorative painting for one of the four divisions of the dome of the Petit Palais, painting for one of the following the three others being La Pensée, La Matière, illustrating La Plastique; the three others being La Pensée, La Matière, (which two were exhibited last year) and La Mystique. La Plastique (which two were exhibited as ymbolise than the two which have been is a more difficult subject to symbolise than the two which have been already exhibited, and it is not equal to them; but the whole will be already exhibited, and it is a large whole will be a fine decorative scheme. M. Dubufe exhibits a rather fine decorative design of ships—Le Départ, intended for the main staircase of the design of snips—10 Depart, Mairie of Saint-Mandé; and M. Roll's Jeune République, symbolised by a young woman in red robes standing with outstretched arms on the summit of a hill, is an effective piece of bravura.

The sculpture at the old Salon is, as usual, a wonderful collection, both in extent and in the number of fine things to be found in it, French sculpture is not quite what it was ten or fifteen years ago; there is an evident striving after novelty, at the expense sometimes of sculpturesque quality and of rational aims. Irrational, certainly, is the exhibit of a team of six great plaster oxen, with their driver, more than life size, which stretches all across one end of the sculpture court. Yet, if one makes up one's mind to take notes only of works of real interest, it is surprising how many things there are that one cannot possibly pass by; and no less impressive is the evidence of the official encouragement given to sculpture. I did not keep an exact list, but I am sure that in the wide central portion of the sculpture court I must have counted twenty important works bearing the label 'Acquis par l'État' or 'Commandée par l'État.' Can one wonder that more is accomplished with sculpture in France than in England? It is worth while to be a sculptor in a country where the art is thus fostered and encouraged.

One can only mention a few prominent works. M. Mercié again contents himself with a figure of real life, Le Départ du Village, a pretty peasant girl in her short-skirted country dress setting out for market; charming in her naïve expression and pose, but not what one wishes to see a great sculptor devote himself to. But we may run the whole gamut from the classical to the pictorial (the too pictorial) in sculpture. The old classical ideal meets us in M. Marqueste's beautiful nude Hebe, holding out the cup at arm's length; the pictorial and sentimental in M. Hippolyte Lefebvre's Printemps—three couples, alto-relief, in modern dress, representing three stages of love—the boy and girl, the courtship, the engaged (or wedded) lovers. There is a charming grace

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the ace and expression about the figures and faces, but it is more a subject for painting than sculpture. Monuments form an important portion of the collection; among others a beautiful one to Corot, by M. Larche; the control the spirituel head of the painter, and a young girl starting forward from the background, who seems to typify the spirit of Corot's spring woods and foliage. M. Alfred Boucher exhibits his monument to the late sculptor Dubois, in severe classic style; a stepped granite erection bearing the portrait head in bronze in the centre, and seated bronze figures at the sides. M. Marqueste, besides his Hebe, exhibits a striking work of quite different type, called an Allégorie sur la Loi des Syndicats Professionnels, with the further description—'La Démocratie protégeant la classe Ouvrière vient rendre homage à Waldeck-Rousseau.' Two noble nude figures of workmen, their gaze directed upward, are attended by the heavily draped figure of Democracy in the rear, forming a fine sculpturesque contrast. M. Guillaume has a large monument of considerable pathos, apparently to a mother and child—Dans le bras de la Vierge elle l'a retrouvée; the whole moves up in flowing lines from the mourning figure at the foot to the child and mother at the apex of the composition; the treatment has a little too much of the art nouveau in its rather formless curves, but it is an impressive work. Among the many works representing fine modelling of the figure, and not without a meaning beyond mere modelling, are M. Blanchard's Jeune Femme interrogeant le Sphinx, a grandly posed nude woman gazing intently into the face of a carved sphinx; M. Allouard's charming figure Innocence; Mdlle. Debienne's La Terre Endormie; and M. Greber's Narcisse, a decorative fountain (a State commission) where a beautiful nude youth looks down as at his own image in the fountain basin below. But one might fill a couple of pages with the mere mention of the things of interest in this collection of what France has thought in marble or clay during the past year.

H. HEATHCOTE STATHAM.

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## A SWEDISH EXPERIENCE IN EDUCATION

At the present time many earnest people who are interested in social work are puzzling their brains over the educational question. They are beginning to realise that the education provided by our elementary schools is conducted on a wrong plan. The results do not seem to be satisfactory, and it is suspected that the defect is owing to the undue prominence given to book-work in contrast with practical work.

We seldom take up a newspaper but we see some pertinent question on the subject. In a speech recently made at the Mansion House in support of the Congress for the Development of Drawing and Art

teaching there occur the following words:

For every boy intended for an office a hundred are intended for crafts and mechanical operations, yet knowing this our schools persist in preparing a hundred for the office and one for the crafts. Former generations learned to be handy and dexterous in their own homes, or as apprentices to various trades at an early age. But now compulsory school attendance takes the children from their parents at the age and during the hours when they would have been learning to use their hands skilfully.

Physiologists tell us that little children find it far easier to acquire manual skill and dexterity than boys and girls of thirteen and fourteen years of age. Before that age their sensitiveness to touch is already dulled, and it is impossible to learn a craft so delicate as watch-making

or fine jewel work.

I learn from a review of a recently published book on education by Mr. F. H. Matthews that he discusses what are the general qualities of the mind which education is able to develop. He comes to the conclusion that they are flexibility and exactness. Exactness is dependent on observation, the foundation of knowledge. It follows that the training in colour, shape, and sound forms the first stage in intellectual development. If this idea is right our elementary educational system is on wrong lines. It puts the cart before the horse, for we are developing in the early years the powers of the mind, and we follow in the later years with the training of the eye and hand. Surely this is the reverse of sound sense.

It is true that an attempt has been made to introduce a little manual training into our elementary schools, but it is a mere drop in

the bucket, and so small is the drop that the effect is insignificant. the example, I find that at one of the large elementary schools in Cambridge only about one boy in eight does any carpentry or ironwork, and those few who do work have only from six to seven hours. work, a week from the age of twelve until they leave at thirteen or fourteen. At the same school only one girl in eleven has cooking lessons, and that only for three hours a week. The master of this school, who is most intelligent and enthusiastic in his profession, told me that from the very first manual lesson which the boys had he could see a difference in the way in which they went to work to prepare other lessons, such as history or geography. In fact, the manual training seemed to develop the general intelligence quickly. He said that he thought it would be excellent if quite two-fifths of the school hours were given to training the children in manual work. When a boy leaves an elementary school his real interest is often in cricket scores and in football matches. Indeed, the craving for pleasure and the lack of interest in manual work seem to me to be a very bad side of modern education.

In the concluding paragraph of the report of the Registry and Apprenticeship Committee of the Women's University Settlement at Southwark they say:

The task of choosing an occupation for a boy or girl is a comparatively easy one if any particular bent is shown by them, but the Committee is often confronted with the problem of selecting a career for a girl or a boy who apparently has no particular interest or ability for any special trade. This suggests the question whether more could not be done in the school to test and develop the manual ability of the children. It seems that the introduction of more training of this kind would have both educational and practical value.

Again, a Sub-Committee of the London County Council recently brought up a recommendation that the curriculum of a certain school should be changed, with a view to developing the intelligence of the children by means of a larger proportion of manual instruction. The Committee reported that it was generally recognised that children learned in different ways—some through the eye and ear, and others by creating things. They recommended that metal-work be taught to the boys, and more domestic training given to the girls. It was also proposed that the girls should have their artistic perceptions more developed, as well as their manual skill, by teaching them to make artificial flowers.

When a boy leaves school he generally finds it easy to get work as an errand boy. His wages rise rapidly from four shillings to seven, eight or nine shillings. When he is about sixteen or seventeen years of age his employer generally tells him that he is now too big for him, and he must, in his own interest, go and get work elsewhere at better wages. The boy then tries to get permanent work, but finds it difficult, because he has not been trained to use his hands. If when a boy

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leaves school he is not at once put to a trade he is often left to look leaves school he is not at once I left to look after himself; his parents have little control over his movements, and left to look after himself; his parents have little control over his movements, and after himself; his parents and a second policy of the end he drifts from one casual job to another. He perhaps soon in the end he drifts from one casual job to another. He perhaps soon whether he gets even that, loafs about, and here in the end he dritts from one that, loafs about, and becomes a criminal. Is it the boy's to ceases to care whether no grand becomes a young hooligan and later perhaps a criminal. Is it the boy's fault or the fault of his education?

Many people think that children ought not to be taught a trade Many people tillia that at school, because in the early years they should be learning the at school, because in the state of the intellectual qualities but may not enable things that will develop the intellectual qualities but may not enable things that will develop the think most of us would agree to this, if the results of the plan were as they are supposed to be. We do not wish a child to be taught a trade at a tender age, but we do want him to learn the use of all his powers. By the time he has finished his schooling some definite aptitude ought to become apparent.

The technical schools are doing excellent work, but are handicapped by the fact that when the boys come to them they have already lost the most precious years for learning dexterity. Moreover, they often do not go directly from the elementary school to the technical school, and they have begun to forget what they had learned,

so that it takes them some time to make up the leeway.

In a speech made at a technical school's exhibition in April 1908, Sir Gilbert Parker emphasised the point of view which I have been setting forth. He said that England was more lacking than any of the other great Powers in the organisation of the elements which made for industrial success.

England was at one time the most original and most individual of all the nations in designs and inventions in arts as applied to industries. The minds of the artisans of England were then full of resource, full of individuality. Machinery came in, and during one generation changed the whole course of their industrial life, steadily swamping the manhood and mental individuality of their artisans. It still exists, but it is not what it was. Germany was far ahead of them in the organisation of those elements which made for industrial success in the application of the arts to industry; but the trouble in Germany was that she over-systematised and over-organised, the result being somewhat monotonous. But in France and the United States great developments were going on; and America combined with the German methods great flexibility and a brilliant imagination that was sweeping ahead in all the finer designs as applied to the finer industries. England was in the position that she must either revolutionise her present situation in this relation or else go down.

The revolution which Sir Gilbert Parker desires must come from a change in our methods of education. Manual training not only teaches handiness, but it also exercises an excellent effect on the moral qualities.

Mr. Sadler, as President of the Moral Education Congress, in his

opening address said :-

There is also strong reason for thinking that the moral and character-forming uences of a school are strong work, influences of a school are strengthened by making constructive, practical work, 'real work,' as boys call it, work done for the needs of the community in a spirit of thoroughness, of science, and of service, a very much more important part of thorough than the sedentary traditions of the revival of learning have of school training We have all, I venture to submit, much to learn from the experience of the best industrial schools.

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An employer of many men and boys, in a manufactory where there is much handwork, told me that he had noticed the great moral good which was developed in his employees by their manual work; he added that he had not originally been of this opinion, and he would not have believed it to be true without this personal experience. this connexion it may be noted that ninety-eight per cent. of the boys sent from Dr. Barnardo's Homes, in which manual training takes a large part, as emigrants to Canada are said to have turned out well. If we consider the parentage of a large proportion of these boys, it is truly surprising that the result should be so excellent.

Again, the manual training given to young prisoners between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one in the Borstal Prison System, and to children sentenced to schools for juvenile offenders, has been found to have an equally good result, for a decided minority of them relapse into criminal habits on their release.1

In confirmation of this evidence in favour of manual work, we have the results of an experiment in education which has been carried on in Sweden for the last twenty years. The time may be too short for the statistics to be quite conclusive, but at least twenty years has given the time for a child to grow up to manhood, and thus to afford a test as to whether good habits are firmly established or not.

Twenty years ago Madame Gustaf Hierta Retzius and a committee of ladies and gentlemen opened the first workshop for children in Stockholm as a memorial to the mother of Madame Retzius. In Sweden the national schools are only open in the morning from eight to one, or, if the school is too small to accommodate all the children in the neighbourhood, the younger children, aged from seven to nine, come in the afternoon from two to six o'clock. during the early part of the day many of the youngest children have nowhere to go, as their parents are out at work. It was to help these little ones that these workshops were started, with the idea of giving them shelter before and after school hours, and to teach them manual

Since then many such workshops have been opened, and now there

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<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners of Prisons in their last annual report state that out of 189 lads who passed under the Borstal System, 125 were doing well, 23 badly, 27 were re-convicted, and of 14 sight was lost. There are now 211 schools, with 30,000 pupils, in England and Scotland, to which juvenile offenders are sent. A large number of the 14,000 children who were convicted of offences last year were sent to industrial schools and reformatories. Of the boys discharged from reformatory schools in 1907, 78 per cent. were in regular employment, and 13 per cent. had been convicted of offences. Of the girls 82 per cent. were in regular employment.

are sixteen in Stockholm and seventy-two in the whole of Sweden are sixteen in Stockholm and a single child so taught who has the criminal or has even been summoned before There has never been known been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal developed into a criminal or has even been summoned before a magical developed into a criminal developed into a the masters of the Swedish national schools unanimously strate. The masters of the declare that the training there has praise the workrooms, the children in their book-work and heightened the interest of the children in their book-work and improved them in every way.

The parish usually provides the rooms, and a fund is voted by The parish usually provided by the parishes and by private the town, which is supplemented by the parishes and by private the town, which is supplied to the society has received many bequests, charity. In recent years the society has received many bequests, charity. In recent your charity bequests. The average cost of teaching one child is from one to two pounds a

The older ones learn carpentry, ironwork, weaving, netting, bootmaking, basket-making, wood-carving, brush-making, metal-work, sewing, cutting out clothing, dressmaking and tailoring. Everything made by the children is sold for the benefit of the school, either at a bazaar held at stated intervals or in the workshops. The money thus earned more than covers the cost of the raw materials. In return for their work the children receive a meal, either dinner or supper. It consists of milk-soup, fish, bacon, or meat with vegetables, and sometimes of pea-soup and pancakes. The cost of the dinners is about a penny halfpenny a head, that of the suppers three-farthings or a penny. The free meal may be an attraction, but the children do not come in order to get it, because they beg to be allowed to go to the workshops during the holidays, when no meals are given them.

The children have to keep the rooms tidy and clean, and every week the girls take turns in helping to prepare the meals for the other children. They bring their own clothes and boots to mend. One hundred and eighty pairs of boots were patched in Stockholm in one

year in one of the workshops.

The teachers think it most important that the children should never be allowed to be bored with their work, so they are not kept for long at a time at patching or sewing or mending their old clothes. It is found that the making of new things stimulates the imagination and is more interesting. This seems to be a sound principle, and the workshops are very popular, and more children apply to be allowed to come than the rooms can accommodate. Among the few rules governing the management of these schools is one, that no child can take up a new trade without first making several perfect articles in the trade which is being relinquished. This ensures thoroughness. children make plaited chip-hats, straw slippers, shoes, trousers, coats, dresses, aprons, plaited chairs, tables, shelves, and baking troughs. They weave mats, dusters, and shawls. In some workshops they make iron and steel instruments, such as hammers, rakes, spades, small iron had to be a largelle small iron bedsteads and sledges. In one school a considerable success has been made and sledges. success has been made by baking bread. The children bring the

#### 1909 A SWEDISH EXPERIENCE IN EDUCATION 1023

four and materials for bread and cakes from their homes, and the parents are naturally pleased to see the loaves of bread and buns which are brought back.

They carve wooden toys and make baskets. Models for these purposes are obtained from all over the world. Great care is taken to choose work not injurious to the eyes.

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Madame Retzius told me it was a pleasure to go into a workshop and to see the delight and pride of the little fellows of from nine to thirteen in cutting out their clothes and sewing them with a machine. The care with which these garments were brushed and worn afterwards shows how thriftiness has been encouraged. Some of these suits of clothing are so well made that well-to-do people buy them for their own sons.

The Municipal Council of Stockholm passed a decree that the annual amount which had hitherto been given to the workshops should be discontinued unless the boys were taught to make their own The Committee of Management then quickly arranged to have some of the lady teachers taught tailoring, and the result proved the wisdom of this course. It is somewhat strange that it is found that the boys like tailoring work when taught by a woman and not by a man.

As a reward for good work the poorest pupils may be allowed to take home with them such work as straw plaiting, and they receive payment for the articles made, but this payment is small, because it is not desired to encourage this home work too much. For instance, the most industrious girl earned a pound in one year, and a very industrious boy two pounds. They are encouraged to put their earnings into a savings bank, and all do so.

Many of the children take so much pleasure in their work that they beg to take it home, even without payment, and sometimes it has been

discovered that they were teaching their parents.

In the national schools, at which attendance is compulsory, there is some manual training, but, as in England, it is altogether inadequate in amount and variety, and is carried on in a wooden sort of way; the children, in fact, like the teaching given by artisans and volunteers, whereas they dislike the similar teaching given by the schoolmaster in the national school. There is no compulsion whatever to attend the workshops, yet children come from the ages of seven to fourteen three times a week. The youngest ones, aged from seven to ten years, come from eleven to one, and the older ones from five until seven. Between these hours the room is open for work or reading or quiet play. There is often a lending library connected with it.

One lady who receives a salary is permanently in charge of each workshop. There are also craftsmen who receive payment for their teaching, and there are many ladies who give their services voluntarily. Classes for the gratuitous instruction of teachers are held

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every autumn, and ladies come from all over the country to learn some These trades.

In 1907 there were one hundred and two paid teachers and the workshops in Stockholm. of these trades.

sixty-four voluntary ones in the workshops in Stockholm,

Madame Retzius thinks that these twenty years of experience Madame Retzius things in the present methods of experience prove that a complete reform in the present methods of education is prove that a complete residual practical work must be given to all schools and it will develop not only hard. necessary. Manual training the street of the children in all schools, and it will develop not only handiness but the children in all schools, that the love for work. She believes that trade also the moral qualities and the love for work. She believes that trade also the moral quantities and state and state and schools should follow for children over fourteen years of age, and she schools should follow for children over fourteen years of age, and she schools should follow for schools, as well as the best French écoles professionnelles.

In the indentures now drawn up for some of the societies which are reviving apprenticeship in England, it is made a condition that the boy shall be allowed to attend any technical class that teaches his trade during the working hours. This provision is undoubtedly a wise

A short time ago I was talking on this subject with a manager of large engineering works. He showed me a letter from the secretary of the board of directors of one of the large technical schools in the North of England, asking him if he would come and tell them what the boys ought to be taught, because they were most anxious to get the views of employers. My friend thought it wiser to decline the invitation, because he would have to tell them that handiness and obedience were the first requisites, and he felt that the technical instruction afforded by these schools is to a great extent wasted. because the boys have not acquired these first requisites.

I think he would have taken an entirely different view of the value of technical training if the boys had begun the manual training at a

much earlier age.

Reverting to the children's workshops in Sweden, new ones are constantly being founded. In the present year five have been started in country villages in Sweden. The success of the workshops in the country has been as great as, or even greater than, those in Stockholm, where more manual training is given in the national schools. It is important to note that the trades unions have no hostile feeling towards the movement.

The experiment has been copied in Finland, Denmark, Norway,

Poland, France, Russia, and recently in Greece.

What an excellent thing it would be if something of the same kind could be started in England! The morning hours in the national sehools might be devoted to the most important of the lessons now already given, and the afternoon hours to this manual training. It is of importance that volunteer teachers should be enlisted for the work, for this would not only keep down the school rate, but would also introduced the school rate, but would also introduced the school rate, but would also introduced the school rate, but would also introduced the school rate, but would also introduced the school rate, but would also introduced the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate, but would not only keep down the school rate which the school rate was also in the school rate which the school rate was also in the school rate which the school rate was also in the school rate which the school rate was also in the school rate which the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate which rate was also in the school rate which rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rate was also in the school rat also introduce an element of refinement. The friendships with the

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voluntary teachers in Sweden, founded in this way, exercise both a good and refining influence on the lives of the children.

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The object of such training is not to teach a child a skilled trade as a means of earning his livelihood, but the child should be prepared, for his future life by being trained in good habits, by making his hands skilful, by awakening his observation, by giving him the power of concentration and resourcefulness, and by fostering the love of manual work.

MAUD DARWIN.

# HENRY THE EIGHTH AND THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF LONDON

I SUPPOSE it is hardly expected that one should maintain a wholly non-partisan attitude in discussing a subject around which so much hot controversy has raged as that of the dissolution of the religious houses by Henry the Eighth; and whilst I have made an honest effort to be fair to all, I frankly confess that, putting mere sentiment aside, my sympathies, as well as my better judgment, are strongly drawn in support of the King. For I am convinced that his conduct, and his motives, with reference to this matter, have both been grossly misrepresented. Any stick is good enough to beat Henry the Eighth with, but no cudgel is so handy or so popular as the dissolution of the religious houses. I know very well that this confession of my faith in the English Blue Beard, slight though it be, will offend at once a large number of well-meaning persons, who love the picturesque in religion (as who does not?) but who are not always careful to discriminate between the mere outward seeming and the true inward meaning of things.

There never has been a time in the whole history of the world, so far as I know, when religion was less picturesque than at the present moment; and we all yearn, more or less, for a glimpse, however slight, of the abbot and the abbess, the prior and the prioress, the friar, the monk, and the nun; and we read with an indignation, amounting almost to horror, how that a cruel, sensual tyrant of a king abolished, at one fell swoop, thirty-five religious houses within the single district of London, to say nothing of the rest of England. But if we pause for a moment, to let our indignation cool a little, we shall remember that this king was both a masterful man and a great statesman; and it will probably occur to us that he would hardly have been guilty of such a seeming high-handed piece of spoliation and sacrilege without good and sufficient reasons for so doing—reasons not only satisfactory to himself, but reasons that would be likely to satisfy the public as well. For, however much of a monster Henry the Eighth may have been in many ways, he was certainly too much of a statesman to disregard and to outrage the

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public sentiment and the religious feelings of his subjects, and especially of the citizens of London. No king, however secure in his autocratic power, would have dared, during the thirteenth and four-teenth centuries, to touch with his little finger such a house, for example, as the Grey Friars (the Franciscans) or their sister-house of St. Clare, 'the hoginaing of the fifteenth and the hoginaing of the fifteenth and the hoginains of the fifteenth and the subjects, and especially of the fifteenth and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects and the subjects are subjects.

Up to the beginning of the fifteenth century, or thereabouts, the people of London believed in these religious houses, and no king could have been strong enough to dissolve them, or even molest them.

Let us get these general facts and principles concerning religion, and especially concerning the life and character of the English people, kings, and governments, firmly fixed in our minds at the outset, or we shall never be able to understand and appreciate the situation as it existed when Henry the Eighth dissolved the religious houses of London, and of England.

Sentiment has played, and must always play, by far the largest part in any religious matter, and I have no disposition to turn it out of court during this investigation. To do so would be to shut the mouth of the most important, and the most creditable witness that could be summoned. In fact, I am quite willing to rest the case solely on sentiment. But it must be true sentiment, and not a false and mawkish substitute, which our historical pageants are doing so much to foster just now; where the monk and the nun, and all the other picturesque properties of mediæval Christianity are made to appear at their best-and rightly so-in these religious pictures of the past, whilst Wycliffe and Cranmer, and all the other reformers, are seen wholly out of perspective, and hence at their worst. This perhaps cannot be avoided, and may not be-and probably in no case is-the design of the promoters of these spectacles; but it is none the less the effect, and is an illustration of the danger to truth which always attends any attempt at symbolical teaching. There can be little doubt that the Roman Catholic Church is very much the gainer by all this historical pageantry so called. It could not very well be otherwise; nor do I utter one carping word of envy or detraction against this ancient Church for the advantage it derives from these reproductions of the picturesque past, especially at a time when there is such a dearth of the romantic, the poetical, and the truly sentimental in religion as in everything else. Taken at their best, in their proper time and place, the monkish communities presented a type of piety which greatly impressed the public, and were even at their worst always better than the rest of the world about them. But, apart from their special character, as examples of a superior type of godly living, the religious houses of London were of much practical usefulness to society in many non-ecclesiastical ways. They were the custodians of learning as well as of piety. This fact needs no special emphasis here, as it is known of all men; but it is, perhaps, not so well known

that they provided hospitals—such as they were—for the poor; and that they provided nospitates the they were for the education of the poor; and schools—such as they were likewise the banks, and the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe of the safe schools—such as they were likewise the banks, and the aristocracy and the gentry. They were likewise the banks, and the safe deposition of the safe deposition. and the gentry. They were must be safe depositions of the rich—the King himself frequently entrusting to their care tories of the rich—the King himself frequently entrusting to their care tories of the rich—the King himself frequently entrusting to their care tories of the rich—the thing to their care and safe keeping not only his money and his jewels, but much more and safe keeping not only his money and his jewels, but much more and safe keeping not only his right and title to the throne, sacred things, such as the records of his right and title to the throne. And best of all, the poor and the hungry were never turned away from And best of all, the poor that of thing—this quick charity, this their doors empty. This sort of thing—this quick charity, this their doors empty. This practical human sympathy and aid, were the best titles of the religious practical human sympacts, the religious houses of London to the respect and support of the public. And it should not be forgotten that this humanitarian work of the monk and should not be lorgotten a rebuke to the non-humanitarian methods of the Catholic Church—and her priests were often the most hostile critics of these houses. Mediæval London was nothing if not religious: it was, in truth, one great religious community. Nothing was begun and nothing ended without the offices of the priest, and the sound of the church-going bell was not only heard by Dick Whittington at Highgate, but by every other London citizen—north, south, east and west.

Again, it should not be forgotten that the religious houses of London were for many generations the only corporate bodies that could act for the common interests of the people of London. This privilege was of course prized very highly by these houses, and, like all privileges, was abused: it was finally sought to establish it as a perpetual monopoly; and-aided by the Crown-the houses endeavoured to prevent the City of London organising itself into a civil community—that is, into a corporate life with a mayor, aldermen, and the other officers and functions of civic life.

They—the religious communities—also opposed the formation of guilds and fraternities of all kinds, as such confederacies took power out of religious hands and put it into secular hands. Never was there, even among the Jews, a more perfect theocratic form of government than was seen in London during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; it seemed to answer very well during a certain period in the history of London when religious rites and ceremonies were regarded as the only things that mattered, and it was perhaps a necessary stage in the city's self-realisation. But this could not go on for ever; and had it been unduly prolonged it would have been fatal to the civic life The twenty-four hours and commercial development of London. of day and night were divided into three equal parts—eight hours for prayer, eight hours for sleep, eight hours for work and play. Now, it is perfectly clear that such a law of life and conduct would never have made London what it is to-day, the metropolis of the world. That kind of thing is better suited for the climate and inhabitants of Benares, or Thibet, than London or England. But besides this very serious inroad which this theocratic government made upon the working

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time of London, these religious houses hindered the development and expansion of the City in another way. They owned, or at least were expansion of, one-quarter of the land in the narrowly restricted in Possession Nature had confined the limit area to which Nature had confined the limits of the City; and this land was, of course, taken out of the market of barter or sale, and was therefore useless for any business purposes whatever. We must keep in mind that there were thirty-five religious houses, with their extensive possessions—each one a complete self-governing community. It had possession, its hospital, its brewery, its bakehouse, its corn mill, and its vegetable fields. And besides these thirty-five communities there were 126 churches and one cathedral—all within the narrow limits of what is now known as the business part of London. The finest spots of England, outside of London, were not only pre-empted, but were in the exclusive possession of the monk and the friar. So sore a grievance did this state of things become, even as early as the reign of Henry the Fourth, that Parliament prayed the Crown to confiscate. in the interests of the nation, the land that had been appropriated and sequestrated by religious bodies. This meant virtual disendowment, and it would have been carried into effect if the people of England, and not their king, had had their wish.

This national prayer for relief from the monk and the friar was repeated in the reign of Henry the Fifth, and so earnest was this prayer as to cause that royal Church zealot and bigot to dissolve the alien religious houses. Mr. James Gairdner in his Lollardy and the Reformation skims lightly over these rather significant Parliamentary incidents. Can this be for the reason that they do not help on the main purpose of his thesis, which seems to be to discredit not only the 'Lollards,' but all other Church reformers?

These two Parliamentary petitions to the sovereign show us, I think, how the wind began to blow as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century—fanned, no doubt, by Wycliffe and his disciples—and prepare us somewhat for the gale that finally set in, and continued to blow till all the religious houses of London and England fell before the blast.

I have not the time, and this is hardly the place, to attempt an estimate of the influence of Wycliffe and the Lollards in this popular movement for the dissolution of the religious houses; but that Lollardy was a most potent protest against priestly and monkish sway is an historical fact which even Mr. Gairdner, with all his ability and hostile spirit, will have some difficulty in shaking.

But let us see how the religious houses of London began, grew, prospered and decayed. They were at the first a popular movement in the widest and best sense, and depended wholly upon public favour

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These were very poor things at best, and were often actual evils, for there were not infrequently tumbled in one bed five or six patients with as many different complaints.

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for their support. Everything was given them: their land, their churches, and in many cases their daily food in their churches. for their support. Every and in many cases their daily food in the dwellings, their churches, and in many cases their daily food in the dwellings, their churches, and dwellings, their churches, and most literal sense. Public opinion was, in fact, as the very air they most literal sense. It so long as they commended themselves to the most literal sense. Fublic opening as they commended themselves to the public breathed, and so long as they commended themselves to the public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public public breathed, and so long as they breathed, and no one, be he bishop or king, their life and activity were assured, and no one, be he bishop or king, lost them. And they inspired confidence not so much the sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to be a sound to b their life and activity were actively inspired confidence not so much by dared to molest them. And they inspired confidence not so much by dared to molest them. Find the practical charity and humanity their preaching and praying as by their practical charity and humanity their preaching and praying and praying and humanity and humanity and humanity — that is, by the actual service they rendered, not to the rich and the —that is, by the actual both and the poor and the unfortunate. In the mighty, but to the stor century some Grey Friars, the followers beginning of the unit condon and quietly began their work. They of St. Francis, came to I made themselves huts of wattle and daub just outside the city walls, made themselves have their ministrations among the poor. No disease was so loathsome, no quarter so unsanitary, no person so low or depraved as to deter these friars in their brotherly ministrations. The people of London looked on and were convinced, and gave them all the help they asked for—as people always will do to such people and they grew and prospered, requiring no other protection than the good opinion of the public—a protection stronger than all the king's horses and all the king's men. Their sister-society of St. Clare—'The Nuns Minories'—settled outside of Aldgate and did a like work for the sick and the poor and the fallen of their own sex; and they, too, grew in favour with God and man.

There were five friar houses that have left their names in the streets and districts of London: The Grey Friars, or the Franciscans; the Black Friars, or the Dominicans; the White Friars, or the Carmelites; the Austin Friars, and the Crutched Friars, or the Friars of the Holy Cross.

The 'friar' must be sharply differentiated from the monk. The friar was generally drawn from the ranks of the people; and he was always and everywhere a man without property. The monk was generally, at any rate in London, drawn from the ranks of the gentry and the aristocracy. He usually paid a good round fee to be taken into an abbey or a priory, and he lived for the most part in ease and comfort-often in luxury, as luxury was reckoned in those days. Many of the abbeys and priories were little less than high-class social clubs for younger sons. They were often as exclusive as the West-End social clubs are to-day. Those who were in could keep others out; and this they often did, from social consideration, and in order to keep down the numbers, so that there might be a better division of the accommodations and the general comforts of the house. The abbot ranked with an earl, and in some instances—as Westminster Abbey—was hardly of less consideration than a prince. A prior was only of less importance than an abbot. An abbess might be of royal blood, and was, as a rule, a lady of high social rank, and the nuns usually came from the same social class. Queens sometimes

retired to London nunneries for a season of rest and seclusion from the retired to Court life. This fact in itself is quite sufficient to indicate strain of the spaciousness and comfort which the apartments in a London the spaciousness and comfort which the apartments in a London the space, such, for example, as St. Helen's, Bishopsgate—possessed. The abbey and the priory were the first of the religious houses of London to lose the confidence and the support of the general public; but by that time they had accumulated sufficient property to live in independence of public favour and in contempt of public opinion. When an abbot moved abroad for an airing, or any other purpose, he was attended by a large and brilliant company of dependents—often numbering more than a hundred—and by every other token of pride and rank and power; and the prior was second only to the abbot. The monks of London frequently vied with the nobles in horses and hawks and hounds, and in every other accompaniment of a sportsman and a man of the world. They dressed in the latest and gayest fashion, with nothing to mark their special calling. They kept their mistresses, and lived the fashionable and worldly life to the full.

Wycliffe's and the Lollards' testimony with reference to these matters is abundantly supported in the most unwitting and unconscious manner by all kinds of documents, and especially by that devoted and truthful antiquary of London town-John Stow. Such a thing as real piety was hardly thought of at all in connexion with the abbeys and the priories of London in the latter half of the fifteenth

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The friars were a wholly different and a far superior class, and they retained their character for piety and charity long after the monk had lost the regard and the confidence of the people. Mankind in the past appears to have been about the same from generation to generation, and has generally been able to see more or less clearly any notable service rendered to humanity, and we have only to take note of how mankind, acting under sane and normal conditions, has expressed its likes and dislikes, in order to know the real worth of the Church or any other society at any given time and place. I say 'under sane and normal conditions,' for there are special circumstances of stress and excitement—such as the religious mania or the mob spirit—when society seems to be possessed and insanity reigns. But true public opinion, when it can be got at, is the best, almost the only, sure test of the value of any man or association of men for a given purpose. And this public opinion is sometimes expressed as clearly and as effectually by a negative as by a positive attitude. Let me repeat, then, that the religious houses of London depended wholly for their life and support on public opinion, and so long as that opinion was favourable to them they grew and prospered. They were not, be it observed, identical with the Church, but were only societies within the Church fold. that no one was under a strictly Church obligation to contribute to their support. It was all a purely voluntary matter. A very large

proportion of the friars—always the majority—were mere laymen. proportion of the triars—arms and the best of all the houses, the triars—arms and the best of all the houses, the The founder of the most tame. It was not, therefore, wholly nor the fear of future reward nor the fear of future reward nor Franciscans, was nimber to the fear of future reward nor the fear of future punish. distinctly by a hope of ruture distinctly by a hope of ruture punishment that the people were induced to give of their substance to these ment that the people were induced to give of their substance to these ment that the people were ment that the people were regard for their noble, unselfish, houses; but it was from a sincere regard for their noble, unselfish, houses; but it was from a sincere regard for their noble, unselfish, houses; but it was from a long volunteered such generous aid. This human charity that the public volunteered such generous aid. This human charity that the people looked for salvation, and are priests should be kept wen in him and sacraments, that the people looked for salvation, and not to the and this faith in the offices of the Church and sacraments, that the property is and this faith in the offices of the Church was independent of the personal character of the officiating priest. It was his office, and not his person, that was sacred and efficacious. Not so the office of the monk or the friar. It was of little or no religious signification of the monk or the friar. It was of little or no religious significant the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the friar and authority law in the significant of the monk or the significant of the monk or the significant of the monk or the significant of the monk or the significant of the monk or the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of the significant of office of the monk of the cance as such, and his whole power and authority lay in his personal devotion and sanctity. This, and this alone, it was that so often gave to friar priests their popularity as father confessors.

Of course, the friar and the monk did their work in the name and by the sanction of the Catholic Church, and the Church got the glory of it all; but it did not shield the friar as it did the secular, or parish priest, from the censure of the public. He rose and fell in power and esteem in proportion as he convinced the public of his sincerity and his usefulness. If this distinction between the Catholic Church and the religious houses be fully grasped we shall be able, I think, without any great difficulty, to judge of the character of any religious house at any given period of its history. This judgment will for the most part be founded upon public opinion, and the best way to get at public opinion is through the individual charity of the persons who constitute the public. A man must be perfectly convinced of the merit of a cause before he can be induced to give his money to it. He may be, and often is, deceived for a time; but no device, however skilful, can deceive a whole community for very long. If the religious houses of London had been nothing more than skilful pretences of piety and charity and humanity, they could not have gone on for two hundred years and more; and if these houses had been still discharging their high functions of human service for the well-being of society, the Lollards, and King Henry the Eighth, and all the other forces of Protestantism would have beaten against their walls in vain. These two propositions are clearly selfevident and need no elaboration.

Why is it that we have not got the hermit and the anchorite with us to-day? For the very same reason that we have not got the monk and the friar—they are not wanted. And they were not wanted at the time of the Reformation, and for a very considerable period before the Reformation, as I shall now proceed to make plain; and I think that a slight review of the hermit and anchorite may help me in doing this, as it will enable the reader to see not only the growth

1909 HENRY VIII AND THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES 1083

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and the decay, but the death and the burial of these very romantic and the decimination there are requestly confused with each mediæval that they were perfectly distinct in the confused with each mediævant they were perfectly distinct in motive and character; other, but so, and even more so, than the monk and the friar.

The anchorite and anchoress—for this order was open to women was a Church institution, and could not be separated from the Church was a but as a fabric. It was not, however, an integral part of the parish or communal life, but merely an adjunct to it, and the parish priest, the abbot, the prior, or the head of the religious house was responsible both for its creation and its support. That is to say, the anchorite looked to the responsible head of the parish or the religious house for food enough at least to keep life going; and of course this food had to be brought to the recluse. But as a rule the bequests made in wills for the benefit of the anchorhold were enough and more than enough for this purpose; the fact being that the parish churches and religious houses made a considerable profit out of their anchorholds, both by the odour of sanctity which they imparted and by the actual funds they drew. The anchorite was a perfect recluse, and never for one moment quitted his cell on any account or under any pretence whatsoever. The cell might be in some part underground, but it always provided a point of observation from which the recluse could behold the elevation of the Host, and thus assist at and partake in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. It was, therefore, generally attached to the side of the church, as near the sanctuary as possible, and a window was let into the wall at an elevation corresponding to the cell. One is often shown these windows in old country churches, and is told that they were constructed as peepholes, or 'squints,' for the benefit of the village lepers, who were not permitted within the church; as though the leper was a well-understood and permanent element in the village church life. Of course the 'leper squint' is an absurd fiction. These low side windows were for the benefit of the anchorite, and their history coincides perfectly with the history of the anchorhold, so that we see no church erected after the fourteenth century with the so-called 'leper squint.' The anchorite, as I have said, was an absolute recluse, and never stirred from his cell; but that did not prevent people coming to him-and more especially to her-for counsel and advice on all manner of subjects. They were the village oracles, and were consulted by all sorts and conditions of people on the most trivial as well as on the most sacred things, but perhaps more often by the lovesick maid and swain than by the graver members of society.

The hermit—there of course could be no such thing as a hermitess—was a perfectly independent character, attached to no place or church, and played his game, so to speak, entirely off his own bat. He was not necessarily a recluse—I am speaking more of the London hermit—but often lived in the very eye of the public,

choosing his pitch where the tide of humanity ebbed and flowed choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pitch where the choosing his pit most freely, for he depended to London Bridge public; and when business became slack at Newgate, or Ludgate, public; and when business between and moved to London Bridgate, or Ludgate, for example, he struck camp and moved to London Bridge, or Ludgate, or Lud for example, he struck own, for example, he struck own, and was counted a wise and holy man, and many Tower Hill. He, too, was counted a wise and holy man, and many Tower Hill. He, too, was countries as sober alderman on his way to his warehouse stopped to consult a sober alderman on matters of the gravest concern.

The hermit and the anchorite were signs of their times, and served, The hermit and the difference of the London of their day and served, no doubt, some purpose. At any rate they struck a note of romance no doubt, some purpose. In the life and character of the London of their day, and we look in the life and disappearance with feelings of the look back upon their decay and disappearance with feelings of tender pity. But we cannot reproduce them, and would not if we could. They died a natural death, and are interred with the many other forms and customs which grew out of the circumstances and conditions of the times. The dissolution of the anchorite and the hermit was brought about by no act of violence, but by the gradual and natural processes of decay and death, for as soon as they lost the favour of the public they ipso jacto ceased to be, and no Act of Parliament or royal decree was necessary for their extinction.

This is really just what would have happened in the case of the religious houses had it not been for the property that they had accumulated—contrary to their vows, be it remembered—and which enabled them to linger on after they had ceased to perform their proper functions, or receive the public favour. We know with the most positive assurance that they did cease to receive the public support long before their dissolution. How do we know this? Through the wills of the citizens of London. These wills tell a very interesting tale, and they have now been edited in such a careful manner as to make them accessible to anyone who cares to be informed about this matter, and I refer my readers to them.2 What do we learn from these wills? That in the beginning the religious houses of London were in constant receipt of bequests by the wills of the citizens of London. The dearly beloved Grey Friars came in for the greater share, but none of them were forgotten. In Besant's Mediaeval London a tabulated statement is given showing the gradual decrease of these bequests, until they finally cease altogether. I extract from this table and from the author's comments the following significant fact. The Grey Friars—formerly the most popular of all-obtained only one bequest between 1396 and 1436; after that year none at all. The Black Friars got no legacies at all from 1413 to 1503, when one fell to them. The White Friars got none between 1395 and 1503, when they received one. The Austin Friars got none after 1395; and the Crutched Friars none from 1460 to 1518. These 'bequests' are more than straws showing the way the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sharp's Calendar of Wills, The Publications of the Camden Society, and Dr. Furnivall's Fifty Earliest English Wills.

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wind blew; they are positive, though unconscious, evidence that the religious houses of London had lost public favour long before the Reformation, and were merely existing upon sufferance and the accumulations of past favours. But for such 'houses' to have continued at all after they had ceased to hold the good opinion of the public was nothing less than a public nuisance, and a public danger of no small character. For we know perfectly well that when a large number of single men are thrown together in a community of any sort, religious or otherwise, without strict discipline and exacting duties, their own demoralisation is sure and rapid; and the wonder is that they were tolerated so long. The anchorite and the hermit had to go at once, as soon as they lost their popularity; for they had had no chance of accumulating any reserve fund, and they were without houses of their own in which to shelter themselves from the face of the storm of public disfavour. But the religious houses were not thus exposed to the changing winds of fortune; for they not only possessed good and comfortable dwellings, but they had gathered together during their long years of public good will a large reserve capital which saved them from immediate extinction, and enabled them to prolong their existence indefinitely. They thus cumbered the narrow ground of London in no mere figurative sense. This more or less scandalous state of things continued for many years after these houses had fallen from their high estate into utter disregard and disfavour. It was solely their accumulated property that kept the religious houses afloat so long after the anchorite and the hermit had gone the way of the world.

The public, however, had a positive as well as a negative grievance They were sanctuaries, and against these lingering communities. offered places of refuge for all sorts and conditions of men. This may have been at certain times, and under certain conditions, especially political, a wise and humane provision, but it had shared in the general degeneration of these houses, and had become a serious obstacle to the proper execution of the law, and thus hindered the business of the City in a most important matter., And it was perfectly well understood that these religious houses derived a very substantial revenue, from their office of sanctuary, by compounding with these unwilling This money was not, of guests, whether criminals or otherwise. course, paid down on the nail, but was disguised under the plausible name of 'board' and fees. The Knights Templars are another illustration of what I am endeavouring to make appear. No one doubts that this order had its origin in the best of Christian motives; and no intelligent person doubts that their dissolution became a public necessity. Still it did not justify the cruel, treacherous, and bloody manner in which the King of France and the Pope of Rome put a sudden end to this order. But we hear little or nothing in criticism of that high-handed piece of tyranny from such historians as

Mr. Gairdner. The causes leading up to the dissolution of the religious Mr. Gairdner. The causes tended are simple historical facts, and houses of London and of England are simple historical facts, and houses of London and of Longon the houses of London and of Longon the houses of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and of Longon the house of London and Original facts, and it is the height of folly to import into this discussion—as Mr. Gairdner and Longon the Longon the house of Longon the house of London and Longon the house of London the Longon the house of Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Longon the Lon it is the height of fony to import a rancour. We have still another has done—any religious or party rancour. We have still another has done—any diately before us in our own day and general. has done—any rengrous of a nation may bring about their example immediately below the religious houses of a nation may bring about their own dis-When the unification of Italy was accomplished in 1870, solution. When the uniform solution when the tribuses of the country were in a state it was found that the religious houses of the country were in a state of decay and vice, as they were in England at the time of the of decay and vice, as the state, acting through the Crown, dis-Reformation, and the crown, dissolved these houses, and confiscated the property, which had been solved these houses, and this drastic act caused not in the crown, dissolved these houses, and this drastic act caused not in the crown, dissolved these houses, and this drastic act caused not in the crown, dissolved these houses, and this drastic act caused not in the crown, dissolved these houses, and confiscated the property, which had been drawn from the people; and this drastic act caused no hint of any drawn from the people. On the contrary, the royal decree abolishing these houses of old Italy was hailed with the liveliest expressions of popular satisfaction by the citizens of the New Italy.

Would Mr. Gairdner have the boldness to say that the Italian Parliament passed this act of dissolution 'to please' King Victor Emmanuel the First? For that is what he says his own nation's Parliament did 'to please Henry the Eighth.' This I affirm to be a gross libel upon the English nation and race. Again, Mr. Gairdner says that 'Henry the Eighth acted from passion and self-will.' Would he say this of the act of Victor Emmanuel in a precisely similar case? One has only to travel through Italy with one's eyes open to see the truth for oneself; and no historian would dare to make such a charge against Italy's great patriot King for he could be, and would be instantly brought to book. This can be done in safety against a remote English king of bad repute; but when an English Parliament, together with the whole English nation and race, is made to suffer by this libel it is high 'time to protest. What do we find in Italy after this act of dissolution? In the public streets and squares of every town of importance is to be seen a statue either to King Victor Emmanuel or to Garibaldi—generally to both. One will also find in every town these names given to streets and quarters. On the other hand one never finds statues erected to, or a street named after, a monk or a Pope, or any other ecclesiastic. These facts prove beyond any reasonable doubt that the dissolution of the religious houses of Italy by Victor Emmanuel expressed the popular will and true sentiment of the nation. It is a sign of the times, a sign that the friar and the monk have played their part in Italy, as they had in England, and must make way for a new and a different state of things. 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new.'

Everyone knows perfectly well that the continuation of the religious houses of London after the Reformation would have been not only an intolerable nuisance but an utter physical impossibility—that is, if London was to become what it quickly did become, the market and banking house of the world. We may sigh and lament

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ie, it over the picturesque and romantic past, as we do over our youth and beauty, but it cannot be brought back. And I go further, and say that people are wanting in a true sense of the picturesque and the romantic who endeavour to carry the habits, the manners, and the customs of the remote past into the present. As the religious houses declined, hospitals, schools, colleges, and libraries took their places. The Reformation set the mind free, and the immediate result was seen in such men as Bacon, Shakespeare, Jonson, and the golden age of English letters. This classical period of England, when almost every man of rank was a man of letters, was hardly the age to pass Acts of Parliament merely to please a king. Ah! Mr. Gairdner, we are not all such fools as you think, and you may speak as contemptuously as you like of the burning of vulgar Lollards; and may shout as loud as you please of the 'Martyrs for Rome,' but you ought not to be surprised if, in the midst of your performance, the wig of the advocate is discovered under the hood of the historian.

G. MONROE ROYCE.

### THE VINDICATORS OF SHAKESPEARE

A REPLY TO SIR EDWARD SULLIVAN

SIR EDWARD SULLIVAN has published two articles in this Review¹ wherein he has done me the honour to criticise my book,² and the injury to class me, together with the late Judge Webb, among those whom he calls 'The Defamers of Shakespeare.' I should feel more resentment at this odious appellation if it were not so palpably absurd. For how, pray, have I defamed Shakespeare, or what Shakespeare have I defamed? Not, certainly, the immortal poet for whom I have expressed unbounded admiration. No, the real defamers of 'Shakespeare' are the man who wrote and the men who have repeated with approval those preposterous lines which tell us that the bard who is not of an age but for all time,

For gain, not glory, winged his roving flight, And grew immortal in his own despite.

But if I have not defamed Shakespeare the poet, can I be said to have defamed Shakespeare the Stratford player? I deny it absolutely. The defamers of Shakespeare of Stratford (unless, indeed, what they have recorded is 'true in substance and in fact') can be none other than the old note-collectors and memoir-writers such as those reverend gentlemen John Ward and William Fulman and Richard Davies; such as John Aubrey and Nicholas Rowe and John Manningham, and the later biographers who have accepted and repeated the stories, sometimes far from edifying, which these chroniclers and diarists have related concerning the man who is so generally identified with the 'Swan of Avon.' Yet were it not for such stories none of the socalled 'Lives' of Shakespeare could have been written; and to accuse a modern critic of 'Defamation' because he re-states them, and makes inquiry as to their value and their consequence, is manifestly ridiculous. For my part I may say that, so far from adopting such anecdotes and traditions in an uncritical spirit, I have been constrained by legal considerations to cast the gravest doubt upon the story of Shakspere's deer-stealing escapade (to take an example), although to

See the Nineteenth Century for March and April 1909.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Shakespeare Problem Re-stated. (John Lane.)

have accepted it as true, following in the wake of Mr. Sidney Lee and other orthodox authorities, would obviously have suited me much better in view of the case which I had to present. Nor have I laid any stress at all upon the tales of Shakspere's hard drinking propensities, for which, nevertheless, tradition furnishes us with some testimony which cannot be altogether set aside as a quantité négligeable.

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How then, I ask once more, have I been guilty of the crime I am charged withal? Well, if to argue that William Shakspere of Stratford did not write Venus and Adonis, and Love's Labour's Lost, and the Sonnets and Hamlet is to 'defame Shakespeare,' then indeed I must admit that Sir Edward Sullivan may be justified in the title of offence which he has chosen for his articles. And just as sensible (and just as silly) would it be to charge those who dispute the proposition, once universally accepted, that a certain 'blind old man of Scio's rocky isle' wrote both the Iliad and the Odyssey, with being 'defamers of Homer'! We are, it seems, defamers of Moses if we deny that he wrote the Pentateuch, and defamers of St. Paul if we deny that he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews!

The fact remains, as I have already written,3 that with regard to the life-story of Shakspere of Stratford, as the biographers have handed it down to us, 'from first to last there is not one creditable act in the whole of it—not a single act indicative of a generous, highminded and great-souled man, not one such act that has a jot or tittle of evidence to support it.' This, surely, is a fact that we must all deplore. Possibly the biographers have done the man an injustice, but if so it is they, and not we of the 'unorthodox' school, who are responsible for it. And if it should be established that the difficulty which Hallam so strongly felt (viz. in 'identifying the young man who came up from Stratford, was afterwards an indifferent player in a London theatre, and returned to his native place in middle life, with the author of Macbeth and Lear') is one that we are no longer called upon to contemplate, and that this man of the barren and banal lifestory is not, in truth and in fact, the immortal poet whom none has dared defame, and at whose shrine we all must worship, then shall we have amply earned the title which I have ventured to place at the head of this paper.4

But if Sir Edward Sullivan had confined himself to the puerile charge which he brings against me of being a defamer of Shakespeare I could have readily forgiven him. Unfortunately he does far worse. He has, I regret to say, allowed his irritation against those whose

<sup>3</sup> In re Shakespeare, Beeching v. Greenwood: Rejoinder on behalf of the Defendant,

p. 124. (John Lane.)

4 To write, as Sir E. Sullivan does, of 'a literary controversy [sic] directed to the

4 To write, as Sir E. Sullivan does, of 'a literary controversy [sic] directed to the

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views on this fascinating literary problem do not coincide with his views on this fasemating items of controversial courtesy. With his own, to blind him to the rules of controversial courtesy. He has own, to blind him to the result of the Baconians, He has styled me (p. 433) 'the new advocate of the Baconians, and has styled me (p. 433) the active as the author of a 'Baconian' hypothesis. Now Jian' throughout both his articles the Baconian hypothesis. Now I have work, and the upnotted of the Preface to my book that I make no attempt expressly stated in the Preface to my book that I make no attempt expressly stated in the 'Baconian' theory; that I confine myself whatever to upnote the myself entirely to 'the negative proposition, viz. that Shakspere of Strat. entirely to 'the negative Flays and Poems,' and that 'I have ford was not the author that it have made no attempt to deal with the positive side of the question. made no attempt to deal made no attempt to deal made no attempt to deal made no attempt to deal made no single or two the made no single or two transfers. I have advanced no single or two Throughout my book, as I have advanced no single argument in Baconian' contentions, I have advanced no single argument in Bacoman gomentons, More than that, I have expressly denied, as the fact is, that I hold the Baconian faith, for I am altogether 'agnostic' on the question whether or not Francis Bacon had any share in any of the plays which were collectively published in the Folio of 1623 as 'The Works of Shakespeare.'

Sir Edward Sullivan is well aware of all this, for not only has he read my rejoinder to Canon Beeching, which leaves no possible room for doubt on this point, but very shortly after the publication of his first article I wrote to him to this effect, pointing out the error of which he had been guilty. He persists, nevertheless, and to my great

surprise, in his deliberate misrepresentation of my position.

But the explanation is, of course, not far to seek. The fact is that just as a few years ago a rationalistic writer on theological matters was always styled an 'atheist' by orthodox disputants, because a stigma was supposed to be attached to the word, so at the present time every critic who is sceptical as to the received authorship of the Shakespearean plays is at once dubbed a 'Baconian' by the high priests and Pharisees of the Stratfordian faith, because the appellation is taken by many to connote 'faddist' and 'fanatic,' and it is so much more easy to call a man 'faddist and fanatic' than to confute his arguments. It is true that in each case the justice of the epithet may be entirely repudiated by him upon whom it is bestowed; but what matters that to your controversial theologian or to your combative Stratfordian? Magna est falsitas et praevalebit!

Coming now to closer quarters with some of Sir Edward Sullivan's pronouncements, we find this latest champion of the received belief casting about, as so many have done before him, for analogous cases to that of Shakespeare (on the assumption that Shakspere the player and Shakespeare the author are identical), and he thinks he has found a very remarkable parallel in the case of Plautus; nay, he even affects surprise that none of the 'Baconians,' amongst whom, more suo, he particularly refers to Judge Webb and myself, has made any allusion to 'so singular a parallel, and so curious an anticipation in its main

See the Nineteenth Century, April 1909, p. 635 note, and p. 641.

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he on in features, of the so-called mystery surrounding Shakespeare's career and work.' Well, I cannot speak for the Judge, and unhappily he is not here to speak for himself, but I imagine that he made no reference to Plautus because he was of the same opinion as I am with regard to this supposed 'parallel,' viz. that the analogy between Plautus and Shakespeare (assuming the identity of player and poet) does not, in fact, hold good.

But what is the proposition in illustration of which the example of the Latin dramatist is cited by Sir Edward Sullivan? 'The truth is,' he writes, 'for all that may be said to the contrary, that preeminence in the world of literature is not, and never will be, the monopoly of the educated or the high-born.' Nothing could more clearly show than this sentence how entirely this new Stratfordian protagonist has failed to understand the arguments advanced by those who believe, with Hallam, that player Shakspere was not the real Shakespeare of the *Plays* and *Poems*. Nobody, so far as I know, has ever been so idiotic as to maintain that pre-eminence in the world of literature is 'the monopoly of the educated or the high-born'; nor can I conceive that any useful purpose is subserved by that method of controversy which consists in ignoring the real contentions of one's opponent in order to trample upon foolish arguments attributed to but never in fact advanced by him.

'No man who is not either well educated or high-born can possibly become a great poet!' Such is the proposition which Sir Edward Sullivan would fain put into my mouth, knowing that a hundred

instances are vociferous to the contrary.

Let me endeavour to state once more what is the true nature of the argument put forward in this connexion by myself and others of the 'unorthodox' school. That a man of humble birth and very imperfect education may rise to the highest ranks of literature is one of the notorious facts of human history. Take the constantly cited case of 'the Ayrshire ploughman,' for example, with which I have dealt in my book on The Shakespeare Problem under the head of 'Shakespeare and Genius.' Here, if ever, we find an instructive example of what can be achieved in the realm of poetry by a man lowly born, and although by no means left in ignorance, still with a very moderate educational equipment. From the days of my boyhood the poetry of Burns, so graphic in description, so terrible in satire, so pathetic in elegy, so tender in the most exquisite of love songs, has been to me a wonder and a delight. But wherein is it that Burns so much excelled? He gives us The Holy Fair and Tam o' Shanter, and The Jolly Beggars, and he gives us his immortal songs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This could be very easily demonstrated, but in the space at my disposal for reply it would obviously be absurd for me to attempt to deal here with all the questions raised by Sir Edward Sullivan, though this is by no means my final word on his (in my opinion) most unfair attack.

'The Ayrshire ploughman sings of the scenes in which he has been with and the last been 'The Ayrshire ploughman sing.

The A bred: of the burn and the heart, and the sings of the Scotch peasantry, of their in Hallowe'en, and above all of the sweet Scotch and braes of bonny Doon.

and above all of the sweet Scotch lassies, customs, as in Hallowe'en, and above all of the sweet Scotch lassies, customs, as in Hattone co, whom he leved not wisely but too well. And all this in his own whom he leved not wisely but too well. And all this in his own whom he loved not wise, homely dialect. The very genius of lyrical poetry speaks from his own homely dialect. The very genius of lyrical poetry speaks from his homely dialect. The very seaks from his mouth, but speaks in that Scottish language for the interpretation mouth, but speaks in that Scottish language for the interpretation mouth, but speaks in the mouth, but speaks in the mouth of which the English reader requires a glossary. "He is only insipid of which the adopt the conventional English of his time." of which the English reduced the conventional English of his time," says a when he tries to adopt the conventional Biography. "When he is says a when he tries to adopt the writer in the Dictionary of National Biography. "When he essayed to writer in the Dictionary of writer in metropolitan English," says Principal Shairp, "he was seldom vited notes a common clever versifier."

And now, perhaps, the real point may dawn upon the mind of And now, perhaps,

Sir Edward Sullivan, who has hitherto so strangely missed it. The question is not whether a man of lowly birth and of imperfect educa. tion can, if naturally endowed by genius, write high-class poetry. The question is, what kind of poetry will he be able to write? If, for instance, Burns had written such a poem as Venus and Adonis we might have had a real parallel between his case and the supposed case of Shakspere the player-poet. 'Had Burns, say at the age of twenty-five, written highly polished and cultured English, abounding with classical allusions, showing intimate knowledge of Court life and fashionable society, and dealing in such a lifelike manner with foreign countries as to lead readers to suppose that he must have paid a visit to their shores; had he discussed divine philosophy for all the ages and for every phase of human life; had he held the mirror for mankind -had the Ayrshire ploughman done all this and a great deal more, then indeed there might have been some analogy between his case and that of Shakespeare.' 8

Adopting, then, Sir Edward Sullivan's formula, we may say 'the truth is, for all that may be said to the contrary,' that a man who does not know a word of Latin can never give us a satisfactory translation of Ovid. In other words the possibilities of genius do not transcend all natural laws, but, marvellous though they be, are necessarily limited by the facts of education, knowledge, and environment. A very apt illustration of my meaning is afforded by an example supplied to us by Sir Edward Sullivan himself, namely, that of John Bunyan, whom he styles 'the ill-taught tinker son of a tinker father.' This, of course, suggests a very low origin, and the reader at once imagines the Bunyans, father and son, roaming over the country with pans and kettles at their backs, the Autolyci of the tin-pot trade. As a fact, however, neither the one nor the other belonged to the vagrant tribe. The Bunyans were steady handicraftsmen dwelling in their own freehold tenements. Both Thomas and his son John had a settled home at Elstow, where their forge and workshop were.

s Ibid. ch. iii. pp. 76, 77. The Shakespeare Problem Re-stated, p. 76.

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Thomas in his will designates himself a 'brasier.' John followed the same calling, and was what at the present day we should call a 'whitesmith.' As everybody knows, he was noted in his youth for being a profane swearer, but he was 'converted' after his marriage, gave up swearing and 'blaspheming,' and took to preaching, which led to his arrest and an imprisonment of some twelve years in Bedford County Gaol. During the earlier part of this incarceration, however, he was allowed much liberty. He was permitted to preach, and even went 'to see Christians in London.' He saturated himself with constant and copious draughts from that well of pure and undefiled English, the Bible, and, together with the Bible, we know that Fox's Book of Martyrs was his constant companion. It is further known that he had ample opportunity for reading other books of a religious and controversial character. It is futile, therefore, for Sir Edward Sullivan to talk of 'the bookless neighbourhood of Bedford Gaol.' But the point is that Bunyan wrote exactly what we should have expected him to write, given his peculiar genius, his temperament, his life story, his reading, and his environment. If instead of the Pilgrim's Progress he had written Euphues, then, indeed, would there have been some analogy between his case and that of the 'Stratford rustic' (I thank the late Dr. Garnett for teaching me that word), " who, as we are told, threw off Venus and Adonis, Lucrece, Love's Labour's Lost, and The Comedy of Errors, currente calamo, all within two or three years of his arrival in town, a penniless wanderer from his provincial home. The case of John Bunyan is the very case I should myself have selected as an illustration of the very rational proposition that the output of genius is controlled by the circumstances of its environment, and is not, as some seem to think (contrary to all human experience) something in the nature of 'a first cause,' superior to and independent of all the influences by which it is surrounded.

But now, leaving the vain search for 'parallels,' 11 let us see what arguments Sir Edward Sullivan has to adduce, or, rather, how he meets those which I have ventured to put forward. He, of course, trots out once more the time-honoured joke to the effect that 'Shakespeare was not written by Shakespeare but by another gentleman of the same name,' and, so enamoured is he of this well-known little jibe that he serves it up a second time, like crambe repetita, within the limits of ten lines. My contention, however, as he well knows, is that it was a man not of the same but of quite different name who published under the pen-name of 'Shake-speare.' But, then, says Sir Edward, 'Mr. Greenwood rests his case so strongly on the spelling of the name that he tells us in his "Notice to the Reader" that all

English Literature, an Illustrated Record, vol. ii. p. 200.

Sir Edward Sullivan follows Canon Beeching in citing the supposed parallel of Michael Drayton. I venture to think that I have entirely disposed of that imaginary analogy in my rejoinder to the Canon. (See In re Shakespeare, pp. 49-52.)

through his book he writes "Shakespeare" when he is speaking of the through his book he writes the speaking of the author of the Plays and Poems, and "Shakspere" when he refers to the Reader is author of the Plays and I bone, the Stratford player.' Now my 'Notice to the Reader' is as followed the convenient process. the Stratford player. It have followed the convenient practice of lows:—'In this work I have followed the convenient practice of lows:—'In this work I am speaking of the author of lows:—'In this work I am speaking of the author of the writing "Shakespeare" where I am speaking of the author of the writing "Shakespeare" where I refer to William Shak-Plays and Poems, and speed and Poems, and speed of Stratford, whether he was or was not the author in question.' speed quoted these words, as, in common fair spere of Stratiora, whether these words, as, in common fairness, he stad them, the reader of his article would be If Sir Edward had quoted them, the reader of his article would have seen ought to have quoted them, the reader of his article would have seen ought to have quoted the spelling simply for convenience, in order to avoid that I adopt this spelling simply for convenience, in order to avoid confusion and periphrasis. I will not here again enter upon the question of the various spellings of the name, because I have fully explained my position on that matter in my rejoinder to Canon Beeching, and if the reader will do me the honour to refer to the first chapter of that little work, he will see just how much, and how little, importance I attach to this question of spelling, and how untrue it is to say that I rest my case upon it. 12 He will see, too, that, from my point of view, it is quite immaterial that the man who wrote his name Shakspere 'was at times called 'Shakespeare 'by his contemporaries, though to Walter Roche, ex-master of the Stratford Grammar School, he was 'Shaxbere,' to Richard Quiney, his fellow-townsman, he was 'Shackspere,' to his 'fellow-countryman' Abraham Sturley he was 'Shaxsper,' to Thomas Whittington of Shottery, he was 'Shaxpere,' and in the marriage bond of November 1582 he is 'Shagspere.'

But, says Sir Edward Sullivan,

the new advocate of the Baconians [sic], in his examination of the evidence does not seem to have come across a record of interest and importance which is to be found in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, drawn up by the Countess of Southampton, where 'William Shakespeare' is mentioned as the name of the actor who played before the Queen on two occasions in December 1594. And yet the Countess may be presumed to have known something of the individual who had just dedicated his two great poems to her own son. But such are Mr. Greenwood's methods; and one is left to wonder what kind of audience he really believes himself to be addressing.

Well, I fondly supposed that I was addressing an audience of fair-minded men who would not allow their prejudices to misconstrue what I wrote. I can assure the reader, who I do not think will accuse me, as Sir Edward Sullivan has done, of deliberately stating what I know to be false, that I was quite familiar with the entry to which he refers in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber. I have before me a copy of that entry in Mr. D. H. Lambert's Shakespeare Documents, marked by me before I had even heard the name of Sir Edward Sullivan. I did not think it necessary to make reference to it in my book, because it is a well-known fact, which I have never disputed, that the name of the man who wrote himself 'Shakspere' was at times written 'Shakespeare' in contemporary documents.

12 See In re Shakespeare, ch. i.

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But this entry, says my critic, was 'drawn up by the Countess of Southampton,' and 'the Countess may be presumed to have known something of the individual who had just dedicated his two great poems to her son.' Very likely; but who that individual was is exactly the question at issue. Sir Edward Sullivan quietly begs that question, just as he does when he tells us (p. 431) that if we want to know the precise amount of knowledge of Greek and Latin acquired by Shakspere of Stratford 'our best source of information is the works themselves'!

But a word more as to this account alleged to have been 'drawn up by the Countess of Southampton.' What are the real facts as to that matter? The entry referred to occurs in a roll of the Pipe Office 'declared accounts,' which contains the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber from September 1579 to July 1596. These accounts were engrossed year by year by one of the clerks in the Pipe Office and signed by the accountant in each year or period of years. Now, on the 2nd of May 1594, Mary, widow of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, married Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, and Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber. It was her husband's duty, therefore, to render the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber. But he died on the 17th of October 1595, and it seems that no 'declared accounts' had at that date been rendered since the 29th of September 1592. The Queen, therefore, as is recited on the roll, issued her warrant to the Countess, as widow and executrix of the late Treasurer, commanding her to render the account, which she duly did from the 29th of September 1592, to the 30th of The entry, therefore, of the 15th of March 1594-5 November 1595. (which is the entry in question), had, no doubt, been prepared by Sir Thomas Heneage, or, rather, by one of the clerks in the office of the Treasurer of the Chamber, and was sent in to the Pipe Office by his executrix according to the Queen's command. Further than this there appears to be no connexion whatever between the Countess and Shakspere of Stratford. Had Sir Edward Sullivan been aware of these facts I hardly think he would have written that portentous passage about these official accounts being 'drawn up' by the Countess of Southampton. As to the entry in question the probability is that she never even saw it.13

I have, of course, contended that the name 'Shakespeare,' or, as it frequently appears on the title-pages of the plays, 'Shake-speare,' was made use of as a nom de plume. Adverting to this Sir Edward Sullivan writes, 'He, of course, does not attempt to show that there is even a shred of evidence to prove that anyone at the time ever did make use of "Shake-speare" as a nom de plume.' This is a very surprising statement in view of the fact, to which I have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> I am indebted for much of the above information to the courtesy of Mr. S. R. Scargill Bird, Assistant-Keeper and Secretary of the Public Record Office.

expressly drawn attention, that many plays and poems were published expressly drawn attention, the expressly drawn attention, the during the life of the Stratford player under the name of 'Shake during the life polydown contends were written by him, and the during the life of the Butters were written by him, and that too speare,' which nobody contends were written by him, and that too speare,' which nobody contest or interference whatever on the part of player without any protest or interference whatever on the part of player without any protest of interest of player without any protest of interest of player shakspere. These plays and poems, then, as I have pointed out, Shakspere. These plays and poems, then, as I have pointed out, Shakspere. These party shakspere certainly written under this convenient nom de plume.

But let us now fairly face the problem of the First Folio, which But let us now leave and Sullivan has not yet appreciated.

I venture to think Sir Edward Sullivan has not yet appreciated.

sir Edward makes a belated and desperate attempt to prove that Sir Edward makes to be said that the Cambridge editors were altogether wrong in saying that the the Cambridge current that the setters forth' of the Folio are manifestly guilty, in their preface to the great variety of readers,' of a suggestio falsi with regard to the manuscripts from which they printed. He would fain have us think, in the face of all the evidence to the contrary, that the 'copies' of which they made use were indeed 'cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he [Shakespeare] conceived them,' and he denies that there is any suggestion made by the 'setters forth' that they had either collected or received Shakespeare's own manuscripts for the purposes of their edition. Well, the Preface speaks for itself, and I think every unprejudiced reader thereof must be brought to the same conclusion as those distinguished scholars the Cambridge editors.11 But it shows no little audacity on the part of Sir Edward Sullivan that he should here appeal to 'Dr. Sidney Lee's most admirable Introduction to his Facsimile Reproduction, of the Folio (p. 631 n). For what says Dr. Sidney Lee on the point at issue? 'Clearly they [the writers of the Preface] wished to suggest that the printers worked exclusively from Shakespeare's undefiled autograph' (p. xvii). So that the prophet whom Sir Edward summoned to bless him has cursed him altogether! Moreover, he has omitted to mention that that excellent and deservedly respected critic Dr. Ingleby says the same thing. 'Unfortunately for their credit and our satisfaction their prefatory statement contains, or at least suggests, what they must have known to be false. They would lead us to believe that their edition was printed from Shakespeare's manuscripts. . . . Now we have positive knowledge of a fact inconsistent with this excerpt.'15

So that we have the Cambridge editors, Dr. Ingleby, and Mr. Sidney Lee in full agreement on this point, while Sir Edward Sullivan, to suit the exigencies of his argument, is content to wage war

Sir Edward informs us in a note that the Cambridge editors of 1863 were Messrs. W. G. Clark and John Glover (names not unknown among Shakespearean scholars), but he conite to the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the control of the cont scholars), but he omits to add that when in that year Mr. Glover left Cambridge that distinguished scholar Mr. Aldis Wright became associated with Mr. Clark in the editorship; that his name appears on the title-page of the second volume (1863); that the edition was a second volume that the edition was never that the edition was reissued in 1887 and 1891, and that Mr. Aldis Wright has never repudiated responsibile. repudiated responsibility for the preface, or intimated his dissent from any part of its contents. See note facility for the preface, or intimated his dissent from any part of its contents. See note facing title-page of vol. ii. of the 1891 edition, signed William Aldis Wright, Aldis Wright.'

<sup>15</sup> Shakespeare, the Man and the Book, p. 66.

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against the leading authorities on his own side. But really this will not do. It is a case where res ipsa loquitur. And, in harmony with the statement in the Preface, the Folio title-page informs us that the plays are 'published according to the true originall copies,' while; above the names of 'the Principall Actors,' we read that the volume contains 'all his [Shakespeare's] Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies: Truely set forth according to their first ORIGINALL.'

Now it seems perfectly clear that this Preface, although signed by John Heminge and Henry Condell, was, in reality, written by Ben Jonson. Malone proved that to demonstration, in my humble judgment, as to the greater part of it, and old Ben was not the man to write half a Preface and leave the other half to somebody else. Be-

sides, the same hand can be traced throughout.

'Honest Ben,' therefore, as it appears, thought himself justified in writing, as indeed was the fashion of the times, a literary puff for these collected dramas which was not strictly in accordance with the facts.<sup>16</sup>

But when it is suggested that, very possibly, Jonson knew more about the true authorship than he cared to reveal-that he knew in fact that the name 'Shakespeare' had been largely employed as a nom de plume-we are asked, in tones of great indignation, 'Do you' then accuse Ben Jonson with telling a deliberate lie?' Now I have given what to me seems a quite sufficient answer to that question over and over again, viz., that a lie is an unjustifiable falsehood, that some falsehoods are quite justifiable, that in some cases it may even be one's duty to tell a falsehood, and that whether, in any given case, a falsehood is or is not justifiable must be left to the individual conscience. Would Sir Edward Sullivan charge Sir Walter Scott, for example, with telling a 'deliberate lie,' when he denied the authorship of Waverley? I should hardly advise him to do so, in Scotland, at any rate! Scott, of course, thought himself justified in answering in the negative questions which, as he considered, his interrogator had no right to put. call this 'a deliberate lie' is simply to ignore the real meaning of the word, which Dr. Johnson well defined as 'a criminal falsehood.' Moreover, I take it that in the 'spacious times' the standard of strict veracity was by no means so high as it is, or as we, at any rate, hope that it is, at the present day. I believe, then, that Ben Jonson might have considered himself quite justified in doing what it is suggested that he did in writing his eulogy of Shakespeare, albeit it was some other than the Stratford player of whom he sang that 'he was not of an age, but for all time.'

wrote in the introduction to the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647: 'Whatever I wrote in the introduction to the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647: 'Whatever I have seen of Mr. Fletcher's own hand is free from interlining, and his friends affirm that he never writ any one thing twice.' This is much the same as 'the Players,' that he never writ any one thing twice.' It seems to have passed into common according to Jonson, said about Shakespeare. It seems to have passed into common form,

For let us consider, further, all that, according even to the most For let us consider, further, orthodox critics, is concealed under this name Shakespeare. The orthodox critics, is conceased. The Folio of 1635 contains thirty-six plays all of which purport to be the Shakespeare. Does anybody believe this Folio of 1635 contains three, Does anybody believe this at the work of 'William Snakespeare.

Present day? Yes, many 'Baconians' do so, because it is generally, present day? A scented article of the 'Baconian' faith that be present day? Yes, many
I apprehend, an accepted article of the 'Baconian' faith that Francis
I apprehend, an accepted article of the First Folio; and I whom I apprehend, an accepted a special that is contained in the First Folio; and I, whom certain Bacon wrote all that is contained in the First Folio; and I, whom certain Bacon wrote all that is contained by the scant regard for either courtesy or critics and reviewers persist, with scant regard for either courtesy or malaré moi, have from the scant regard for either courtesy or malaré moi, have from the scant regard for either courtesy or malaré moi. eritics and reviewers potents, and relative moi, have frequently been justice, in making a 'Baconian' malgré moi, have frequently been justice, in making a state that cult for asserting my conviction that taken to task by members of that cult for asserting my conviction that taken to task by memora is to be found in that sacred volume, and that

But for that conviction I have the warrant of the highest 'ortho. dox 'authority. What said the late Dr. Garnett, for example? 'It may surprise some of my hearers to be told that so considerable a part of the work which passes under Shakespeare's name is probably not from his hand.' 17 To begin with, there is overwhelming authority for the view that Titus Andronicus is not Shakespearean at all. As Hallam long ago remarked, 'res ipsa per se vociferatur' to the contrary. Then it seems tolerably clear that very little of Parts 2 and 3 of Henry VI. are by Shakespeare, and none at all of Part 1. Two, if not three, pens are to be traced in Troilus and Cressida; much of The Taming of the Shrew is not Shakespeare's, and the same may be said of Timon of Athens, and, according to most critics, of Richard III. Some parts of Macbeth are commonly ascribed to Middleton. And we are assured, with much probability, that a very large part (and that some of the very best) of Henry VIII., including Buckingham's noble and pathetic speech, and Wolsey's reflections on his fall, are not by Shakespeare but by Fletcher. And this by no means exhausts the list of the non-Shakespearean portions of Shakespeare according to critics of no mean standing. And for all these other authors, whose work was thus included in the Folio, 'Shakespeare' was but a pseudonym or nom de plume! And must not 'the setters forth' have known this? Must not Jonson have known it? Did they, then, tell 'deliberate lies' in passing off all this non-Shakespearean work as Shakespeare's? And what of the two Earls, the Incomparable Pair, one of them the Lord Chamberlain of the time, to whom the Folio was dedicated? 'If the heretical contention be well founded,' says Sir Edward Sullivan, 'we have two noble conspirators introduced, one of them being the patron of the company for which Shakespeare [i.e. Shakspere] acted and wrote. Can anyone, we may ask, be imagined to have been more familiar with the internal affairs of the stage at the time, outside the Did these two dramatists and players, than the Lord Chamberlain? gentlemen accept a lying dedication without protest? Well, they seem to have accepted with tolerable equanimity the dedication of a

<sup>17</sup> Preface to At Shakespeare's Shrine, by Chas. F. Forshaw, LL.D.

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volume which purported to contain all the works of Shakespeare, and nothing that was not the work of Shakespeare, which, nevertheless, contained (as being so 'familiar with the internal affairs of the stage,' they must, surely, have known) the work of many other writers published under that well-known and comprehensive name! Perhaps they were not quite so 'unco good and rigidly righteous' as Sir Edward Sullivan. Perhaps they looked upon this literary latitudinarianism as falling short of 'deliberate lying.' Or, perhaps, they did not concern themselves to think at all about the matter. And this latter supposition is, I fancy, by far the most probable one.

But here we are confronted with a question which has often been asked, but to which, so far as I am aware, no answer has yet been given. The hypothesis is that in 1623 Shakspere of Stratford had been recognised as the great poet and dramatist, the 'sweet swan of Avon,'

soul of the age, The applause, delight, and wonder of our stage.

Well, twelve years after the publication of the Folio containing these eulogistic lines, viz. in 1635, Cuthbert Burbage and Winifred, the widow of Richard Burbage, and 'William his sonne,' presented a petition to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the survivor of the 'Incomparable Pair' to whom the Folio had been dedicated, and then Lord Chamberlain, praying that their rights in the theatres built or owned by Burbage the elder, father of Richard and Cuthbertthose theatres where Shakespeare's dramas had been presentedshould be recognised and respected. The petitioners are naturally anxious to say all they possibly can for themselves, and the company of players with whom they were associated. One of those players and one of 'the partners in the profits of . . . the House' was William And how do they speak of him? Do they remind the Earl that one of their company had been that man of transcendent genius, Shakespeare, the great dramatist, the renowned poet, upon whom Ben Jonson had pronounced such a splendid panegyric, and whose collected works had been dedicated to himself and his brother? Surely they ought to have done this! Surely they would have done so if such had been the fact! Yet, what do they say? 'To ourselves we joined those deserving men, Shakspere, Hemings, Condall, Phillips and others, partners in the profits of that they call the House'; and as to the Blackfriars theatre, there, they say, they 'placed men players, which were Hemings, Condall, Shakspere,' &c. Now to me it does seem incredible that the Burbages should thus have written about Shakspere, calling him a 'man-player,' and speaking of him in the same terms as of the other players, viz., as a 'deserving man,' if, indeed, both they and the Lord Chamberlain knew that he was the immortal poet who was 'not of an age but for all time,' and whose works had been dedicated to the two Earls, to their everlasting honour.

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Why this extraordinary reticence—if Shakspere and Shakespeare are

ntical? 18
This passage, then, so far from supplying contemporary evidence in This passage, then, so the player with the poet, appears to me, as support of the identity of the player with the poet, appears to me, as to many others, to raise no small presumption against it. But what of the positive evidence to support that identity? As to that I have of the positive evidence to establish the identity of the written 'what we require is evidence to establish the identity of the written 'what we require and dramatist,' and in a note I add, 'Observe, to player with the poet and dramatist,' and in a note I add, 'Observe, to player with the poet and "not the fact that some contemporaries" establish the identity "not the fact that some contemporaries "establish the Identity believed in it." Whereupon Sir Edward Sullivan comments with no believed in it." Whereupon Sir Edward Sullivan comments with no believed in it. Wholespeller in the interest with no little scorn: 'Personally I have been up to now under the impression little scorn: 'Personally I have been up to now under the impression that when, say, half a dozen unprejudiced witnesses said they saw that when, say, into the dock committing an assault, they did establish his identity.' Indeed! I think it is as well that Sir Edward does not sit upon the Bench to try prisoners, for he appears to think there can be no such thing as 'mistaken identity.' Suppose, for instance, there should be half a dozen 'unprejudiced witnesses' on the other side, to deny the identity of the man in the dock with the man who committed the assault! I would respectfully recommend Sir Edward to study such histories of mistaken identity as that of The Lyons Mail, for example. Moreover, the analogy, like most others put forward by Sir Edward Sullivan, does not hold. If I could produce the evidence of half a dozen writers contemporary with Sir Philip Francis, showing that they believed him to be the author of the letters of Junius, that would hardly establish the identity of Junius with Sir Philip Francis! What the Stratfordians have to show is not only that their witnesses really believed in the identity of player and poet, and that they were 'unprejudiced,' but also that they had full opportunities of knowing the truth of the matter, and were not themselves deceived.

For if plays and poems were published under the name of 'Shakespeare,' by which name the man who wrote himself 'Shakspere' was, it seems, not unfrequently known to his contemporaries, no doubt they would be generally accepted as written by the player. That many plays in which Shakespeare had no part were, nevertheless, ascribed to him, because published in that name, is a simple matter of fact. But contemporary belief that he was the author of such plays would, of course, be no proof that he wrote them. It would only show that the witnesses, however 'unprejudiced,' had been deceived. Nay, the - fact that Titus Andronicus was included in the Folio as Shakespeare's, and was ascribed to him by such an unprejudiced witness as Meres, in 1598, is so far from being considered a conclusive proof of the true authorship, that the overwhelming balance of 'orthodox' opinion is

<sup>18</sup> John Manningham's allusions also constitute a 'negative pregnant.' And the same may surely be said of the recently discovered entry in the Belvoir Castle records concerning the work done by Shakspere and his fellow player Burbage in 1613 'about my Lord's impress' my Lord's impreso'

to the effect that Shakespeare had no hand in it at all. But Sir Edward Sullivan would appear to think that the fact that Francis Meres speaks of certain poems and plays as 'Shakespeare's 'is indisputable proof that player Shakspere must have been the author thereof!

As I have always admitted, one of the best witnesses in support of the received hypothesis is John Davies, of Hereford, who addresses some well-known lines to 'Our English Terence, Mr. Will Shakespeare.' I will not repeat here what I have already said about this curious epigram. 19 It contains certain cryptic allusions which nobody has yet been able to explain; but it is not a little remarkable, as a correspondent has pointed out to me, that Terence is the very author whose name is alleged to have been used as a mask-name, or nom de plume, for the writings of great men who wished to keep the fact of their authorship concealed. This allegation is distinctly made by Montaigne, the translation of whose essays by Florio was well known The following is the passage referred to:-

If the perfection of well-speaking might bring any glorie sutable unto a great personage, Scipio and Lelius would never have resigned the honour of their Comedies, and the elegancies and smooth-sportfull conceits of the Latine tongue, unto an Affrican servant: For, to prove this labour to be theirs, the exquisit eloquence, and excellent invention thereof doth sufficiently declare it: and Terence himselfe doth avouch it: And I could hardly be removed from this opinion. It is a kind of mockerie and injurie, to raise a man to worth, by qualities mis-seeming his place, and unfitting his calling, although for some other respects praise-worthy; and also by qualities that ought not to be his principall object.

And further on he says, 'I have in my time seen some, who by writing did earnestly get both their titles and living, to disavow their apprentissage, mar their pen, and affect the ignorance of so vulgar a qualitie.' I think (in spite of the anticipated sneers of the superior person) that if Davies's esoteric epigram (which he tells us he wrote 'in sport') is considered in the light of this passage, a clue to its interpretation may very possibly be found.20

A word now as to Chettle's supposed allusion to Shakespeare, and I have done with Sir Edward Sullivan's contentions as to the alleged

'contemporary evidence.'21

Of course [writes Sir Edward Sullivan] it is all important to Mr. Greenwood's case to show that there is no identification of actor and writer here; but the adjective 'dishonest' which he thinks fit to apply to the almost unanimous body of eminent Shakespearians who state that Chettle's language describes Shakespeare, is so far from what is expected in literary controversy that it can hardly carry immediate conviction to even those amongst his audience who know least upon the subject.

18 See The Shakespeare Problem Re-stated, p. 335. In re Shakespeare, p. 62. 20 See Florio's Montaigne, Book I. chapter xxxix. Florio's translation was published in 1603. Davies's epigram is in The Scourge of Folly (about 1611).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Space, unfortunately, does not allow me to reply to Sir Edward's remarks on The Return from Parnassus. He quotes the well-known passage with regard to 'our fellow Shakespeare,' and informs us that 'rational students of Shakespeare have seen in these words an allusion to his confessed supremacy at the time.' Indeed! What

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Now, seeing that Sir Edward Sullivan has, by necessary implication of the lie direct, that he should complain of devices. Now, seeing that Bit Ecc., that he should complain of departure tion, given me 'the lie direct,' that he should complain of departure tion, given me 'the ne difference, from 'literary courtesy' far outdoes the proverbial instance of the from 'literary courtesy' far outdoes the proverbial instance of the from 'literary courtesy and But, in truth, the above passage is Gracchi complaining of sedition. But, in truth, the above passage is Gracchi complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of account of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the complaining of the co absolutely unjustments and Beeching, who writes, Mr. Greenwood has here merely follows Canon Beeching, who writes, Mr. Greenwood has here merely follows canonic charged the biographers of Shakespeare with dishonesty for their charged the biographers of Kindhart's Dream : charged the biographers charged of Kindhart's Dream, in which interpretation of the familiar passage of Kindhart's Dream, in which chettle apologises for the rudeness of Greene in his Groatsworth of Chettle apologises for the Chettle apologises for the Wit'; and he admits that he has read my reply to that accusation,

I have not charged the biographers with dishonesty for their interpretation

What I complain of, and complain of in real times. I have not enarged the bosses of the passage in question. What I complain of, and complain of in very strong of the passage hierarchers and critics . . . actually so write on the control of the passage in question. of the passage in question.

terms, is, that these biographers and critics . . . actually so write as to convey terms, is, that these biographers and critics . . . actually so write as to convey terms, is, that these biographers and critics . . . actually so write as to convey terms, is, that these biographers and critics . . . actually so write as to convey terms, is, that these biographers and critics . . . actually so write as to convey terms, is, that these biographers are critically so write as to convey terms, is, that these biographers are critically so write as to convey terms, is, that these biographers are critically so write as to convey terms. to the mind of the ordinary reader that Chettle makes mention of Shakespeare to the mind of the ordinary reader that, consequently, the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the supposed to the suppos by name in the Preface to his work, and that, consequently, the supposed allusion is not a matter of inference and argument, but a fact patent on the document is not a matter of interest and the state of the usual way of doing this is by quietly slipping in Shakespeare's name in a bracket, without any admonition to the reader that his name is not mentioned at all. This I call a 'dishonest method of writing a biography,' and so it is. . . but I have, of course, made no charge of personal dishonesty.22

As to this supposed allusion to Shakespeare, which such eminent Shakespeareans as Mr. Fleay and Mr. Howard Staunton (as well as a lawyer like Mr. E. K. Castle, K.C.) summarily dismissed as no allusion at all, I have dealt with it very fully in Chapter XI of my book, and in Chapter III of my Rejoinder to Canon Beeching, and so far I have seen no answer to the reasoning I have there set forth.

I will only add a word, therefore, with regard to Sir Edward Sullivan's note concerning the expression 'quality.' Chettle, alluding to somebody unnamed, but who, as I contend, must be one of the playwrights addressed by Greene, writes: 'I am as sorry as if the originall fault had bene my fault, because myself have seene his [and here it is that the biographers quietly slip in 'Shakespeare's,' in brackets] demeanour no lesse civil, than he excelent in the qualitie he professes.' The Stratfordian critics contend that 'quality' must necessarily refer to the profession of an actor, and that that actor must be Shakspere. I have ventured to dispute both of these propositions. Whereupon Sir Edward Sullivan writes, 'Mr. Greenwood endeavours to show that the word "quality" which was at the time commonly used to designate the profession of an actor, was also used

says Gifford? 'I will just venture to inform those egregious critics that the heroes of it [the old play] are laughing both at Will Kempe and Shakespeare,' and more to the like effect. Was Gifford not 'rational,' or is Sir Edward one of 'those egregious critics'? But it is as clear as daylight, except to the wilfully blind, that as I have written, 'the players are held up to ridicule before a cultivated audience of Cambridge scholars and students.' The passage concerning Shakespeare is as obviously sarcastic as any passage in literature.

22 In re Shakespeare, p. 94.

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of other professions as well. He cites cases where it is used of an outlaw's occupation, and of a printer's, but none to show that it was ever employed in reference to a playwright.'

Well, I have cited Butler's *Hudibras* to show that in his time it was used of a 'poetaster,' and if Sir Edward wishes for an earlier instance of the use of the word, as applied to a writer, I can refer him to the passage I have already quoted from Florio's *Montaigne*, viz.: 'I have in my time seen some who by writing did earnestly get both their titles and living . . . affect the ignorance of so vulgar a qualitie.' 23

But even if it were necessary to hold that an actor is referred to, it certainly does not follow that that actor was Shakspere; for, as I have shown, George Peele was one of the playwrights addressed by Greene, and Peele was a successful player, as well as playwright, and might quite truly have been alluded to both as having 'facetious grace, in writing, and being 'excellent in the quality 'he professed.

So much for this celebrated passage, the interpretation of which is, certainly, important, but, as certainly, not 'all-important,' to my case.

Sir Edward Sullivan summons as witnesses in his favour the somewhat obscure bards who, together with Ben Jonson, wrote verses of no great distinction to be inscribed on the introductory pages of the First Folio, seven years after Shakspere's death. The exigencies of time and space do not allow me to expatiate on this branch of an inexhaustible subject except to say a word or two on our old friend Leonard Digges.

Now I pointed out (p. 336 of my book) that Digges wrote some verses which were prefixed to the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's poems, and which are such a tissue of absurdities, and so entirely inapplicable to Shakespeare, that 'Digges was either writing with his tongue in his cheek, or had no conception what he was talking about.' What says Sir Edward Sullivan on this? After alluding to Digges's earlier lines, which appear in the First Folio of 1623, he writes, alluding to myself: 'he discovers that Digges wrote another set of verses which appeared in the 1640 edition of the Folio' (sic!). He then, with a contemptuous 'forsooth' thrown in, quotes my criticism as above, and continues:

In other words, a certain witness makes an affidavit at a certain date containing allegations in reference to the authority of a certain volume. Several years afterwards [original italics] the same witness makes another affidavit, in no sense contradicting the earlier one, but happening to contain a phrase or two descriptive of the author's art which counsel learned in the law professes he cannot make sense of. And on such grounds the contents of the previous affidavit are to be rejected as unworthy of belief.

Now, surely, Sir Edward Sullivan, who at any rate assumes the

<sup>23</sup> In Everyman out of His Humour (iv. 2), Shift says, 'I have now reconciled myself to other courses, and profess a living out of my other qualities.' To which Sogliardo replies, 'Nay, he has left all now, and is able to live like a gentleman by his qualities.'

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It is to this being given that they are fraudulent volume that poor Leonard Digges is made to stand sponsor. Sullivan. 'forsooth,' imagines that it is an area. fraudulent volume that property for sooth, imagines that it is an edition

And what of the 'affidavit' made 'several years afterwards'? And what of the Sullivan should really get up his brief a little better. If he had given any close study to the subject he would have read the following in Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's Outlines (vol. ii. p. 88 of the 6th edition) with reference to this wondrous effusion of Leonard Digges: 'The following poem was evidently written soon after the opening of the second Fortune Theatre in 1623, and it bears every appearance of having been intended for one of the Commendatory Verses prefixed to the first folio, perhaps that for which his shorter piece in that volume may have been substituted.' The allusions to Jonson amply account for the fact that it was not allowed a place in the 1623 Folio.25 The fact is that Digges, who no doubt composed the lines in 1623, as Halliwell-Phillipps points out, died five years before the 1640 volume was published. So much for Sir Edward Sullivan's second so-called 'affidavit'! And what does it all come to so far as Digges is concerned? It comes to this, that Digges wrote lines commending Shakespeare for exactly those qualities which he did not possess, and Sir Edward Sullivan imagines this to be proof positive that Shakespeare is identical with the player who had died seven years before! But we do not know that Digges had ever seen player Shakspere in the flesh, and upon the question of authorship his commendatory verses appear to me to have really no evidentiary value at all.

Without making undue capital out of the curious slip made by Sir Edward Sullivan in substituting A Midsummer Night's Dream for The Taming of the Shrew, I now come to his statement that 'In the Induction to A Midsummer Night's Dream, the chief characters are all from Stratford. A family of the name of Sly resided there in the poet's time. Christopher himself is "old Sly's son of Burton Heath," and

Barton on the Heath is a few miles from Stratford.'

Now what are we to say as to this criticism? 'A family of the name of Sly resided there [Stratford to wit] in the poet's time!' Is

<sup>&#</sup>x27;24 'A small octavo volume,' says Halliwell-Phillipps. Dr. Ingleby says '12mo.' Thus supplying, incidentally, a further proof of what I believe to be the fact, viz.—that Joson was the editor of the 1623 Folio, and wrote both the preface thereto and the epistle dedicatory.

Sir Edward really ignorant of the fact that 'Sly' appears in the Induction to the old play, The Taming of a Shrew? How, then, can the occurrence of this name have the slightest evidentiary value on the question of authorship, unless, indeed, Sir Edward Sullivan thinks that the old play also was written by Shakspere of Stratford? Is he of that opinion? It would be interesting to know.

Curiously enough Sir Edward says nothing of 'Marion Hacket, the fat ale-wife of Wincot,' though he proceeds to mention Henry the Fourth, Part II. act v. sc. 1, where he tells us that Davy begs his master, Shallow, 'to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the Hill,' whereupon he tells us, further, that 'Wincot was the local pronunciation of Wilnecot, a Warwickshire town.'

On these points, and especially with regard to 'Wincot,' I would recommend Sir Edward to read Mr. George Hookham's article on The Shakespearean Problem, in The National Review for January last. The fact is that all these fancied 'Stratford' names have about as much relevancy to the question of authorship as has the fact that Speed, in the Two Gentlemen of Verona, pronounces 'sheep' in the same manner as 'ship.' This, forsooth, is said to be 'Warwickshire' pronunciation. Just as if the Hampshire rustics did not, and do not to this day, pronounce 'sheep' in exactly the same way! But it is remarkable indeed that Sir Edward Sullivan, while omitting all reference to the mention of Wincot in The Taming of the Shrew, cites William Visor of Wincot in Henry the Fourth, Part II., apparently in total ignorance of the fact that all the Folios in that place read 'Woncot,' while the quarto of 1600 reads 'Woncote'; 'Wincot' being an altogether unwarranted conjecture of Malone's! errors are not a little suggestive.

I here leave Sir Edward Sullivan. I have much more to say in reply to him, but it must be reserved for another occasion, which, I hope, is not far distant. He has lectured me, as a valued correspondent in the United States puts it, in somewhat of a 'Tittlebat Toplofty' manner, and with an undisguised assumption of superior wisdom and authority. I am well content to leave it to the reader to say how far he is justified in so doing. Possibly he has some title to the use of the didactic style of which, so far, I have not become aware.

G. G. GREENWOOD.

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## COPYRIGHT AT HOME AND ABROAD

'VRAISEMBLABLEMENT fort complexe' is the phrase in which M. Henri Morel, the Director of the International Copyright Bureau, has aptly characterised the Berlin Convention, 1908. Before the ratifications are exchanged in July 1910 and the exceptions have been fully defined, the verdict will be undoubtedly echoed throughout the world.

The Convention is not by any means a wholly new departure. It follows in its main lines the settled policy of International Copyright Law Reform. Its salient principles are that copyright should be made as wide as possible in sphere, area, and duration; that it should be simple in form, and theoretically uniform in action. Such noble ideals seem to beggar criticism. It is much in a peddling age for the Powers in conference to strike boldly at making intellectual property more and more valuable, and surrounding it with a ring fence which shall ensure its full and free enjoyment to its rightful owners. It might be wished that so enlightened and so statesmanlike a view prevailed in our own country.

The new Convention is, however, unhappy in its method. It attempts too much. It is framed with too lofty a disregard for the difficulty of working it in the several countries. Instead of preserving and strengthening, it throws the whole Unionist system into the melting pot, and complicates it by introducing new and dangerous issues. The form in which it has been drafted has, indeed, a distinctly humorous side. To choose the present moment for reopening the whole question of International Copyright, in all its aspects and in all its bearings, must be regarded as a somewhat hazardous practical joke upon Parliamentary draftsmen in particular and the intellectual world in general.

The position may be briefly stated. The Berne Convention of 1886, with the Additional Act of Paris, 1896, and the Declaration of Paris, 1896, with all their imperfections, established a working international body of law. Round this in all the signatory countries a formidable weight of statutory and judicial authority has grown up, until we have arrived at some sort of certainty as to the rights of copyright owners, in the main, throughout the Union and, in part, throughout the civilised world. A network of protection has been

created which, for all its drawbacks, is not the less capable of being practically worked, so far as the great mass of intellectual property is concerned. The achievement was not a little remarkable. In the face of the gross imperfections of the domestic law—especially, it must be confessed, in Great Britain—it was a triumph of diplomacy to have established a world-wide market which could, more or less, be secured to authors, artists, scientists and dramatists, and practically all workers in the intellectual domain. Grievances, of course, remained. Art and music, for instance, had come off very baldy. Many notorious inconsistencies had been unearthed which required to be remedied, and obscurities and to spare were waiting to be cleared up. But these and the like links in the chain were readily capable of being strengthened without raising any dangerous problems or imperilling the structure it had taken a generation to erect.

The framers of the Berlin Convention, 1908, were, however, ambitious in their aspirations. With a sublime indifference to the conditions which govern the reform of the domestic laws of many of the Unionist and non-Unionist countries, they elected to aim at a code which should at once comprehend much of the old machinery, tinkered a little here and there, and much that was wholly new. There is every danger that, as a result, they will retard instead of advancing the realisation of their aims, and complicate instead of

simplifying the international system.

The Convention, it is true, provides in some measure for the maintenance of the machinery it is framed to replace. In other words, it deliberately, and inconsistently, contemplates a possible further sacrifice of that uniformity which it is mainly designed to create. Power is reserved in ratifying it to substitute the provisions of the Berne Convention, 1886, or the Additional Act, 1896, in whole or in part, for the corresponding provisions of the present Convention. A State not ratifying it in any respect can, it appears, maintain the status quo ante. But what a vista is thus opened up! A Convention accepted in part and rejected in part, to be ratified and put into force at one and the same time as a previous Convention it is designed to supersede, which is also to remain operative in whole or in part, or to be rescinded in whole or in part, with exception multiplied on exception, affords a prospect depressing enough from a British point of view. Regarded internationally, the outlook is indeed fort complexe. It is by no means only Great Britain which will find itself unable to ratify and give effect to the new conditions in their entirety.

The procedure which precedes ratification may be briefly stated. In Continental countries a treaty, when signed, must itself be submitted to and approved by the Legislature before it can be ratified, but when ratified it has of itself the force of law. In Great Britain, on the other hand, although a treaty can be negotiated and signed by the Executive Government under authority and sanction of the

Crown, without there being any need to obtain the assent of the Legislature, the treaty so continue to the force of law, but, if ratified, the Executive Government must see either that the but, if ratified, the executive existing law allows its provisions to be carried out, or that the existing law allows its provisions to be carried out, or that such new existing law allows its provided is passed. Great Britain has, too, to that such new legislation as may be required is passed. Great Britain has, too, to which any Imperial legislation as may be required from the region of the self-governing Colonies, to which any Imperial Act legislate for her self-governing Colonies, to which any Imperial Act legislate for her sen-government and imperial Act in this behalf must extend, unless they are individually or collectively its provisions. The Colonies, moreover possessions. in this behalf must extend, the Colonies, moreover, possess the excepted from its provisions. The Colonies, moreover, possess the excepted from its provided and standing aloof from the concert. right of denouncing the concert. From this it will be seen that in every country the Convention has to

It is a thousand pities that, for the nonce, a short Additional Act of Berlin was not framed providing, in the first place, for obviously innocuous addenda and corrigenda. The regulation, for instance, of the adaptation and performance of musical works to and by means of mechanical instruments; the reproduction of literary, scientific, and artistic works by means of the cinematograph; the simplifica. tion of procedure, especially in the case of artistic and musical works; the optional extension of term; some extension of the limits of translation rights; and sundry amendments indicated by wellknown cases might one and all have thus been dealt with much more conveniently and with greater certainty of being adopted, so leading to that international uniformity which is so much to be desired. It would have been time enough to have set about such a crux as international codification when the domestic laws of Great Britain and the United States had been finally settled, and so had, by comparison with Continental codes, afforded a perspective view of the trend of reform in two of the leading, if most dilatory, Unionist and non-Unionist countries, respectively, and indicated the limits within which common international action was possible. Uniformity loses half its value if it exists in form and not in substance. It is already responsible for obvious lacunæ and patent ambiguities which, in the absence of a common understanding, have been left by the Berne Convention to be dealt with by domestic tribunals with regrettable but inevitable differences in construction.

The Berlin Convention itself, amidst much that is harmless and much that is perfectly satisfactory, contains indications of a dangerous tendency to become too comprehensive. Each Conference seems to find it necessary to add to the objects susceptible of copyright at the risk of making the machinery unwieldy and so weakening its legitimate action. 'Works of architecture,' now to be included in the general scheme of protection as to both area and duration, afford a case in point. Introduced in 1896, so far as those countries, inter se, which admitted them to protection were concerned, they enjoy, as yet, no copyright in Great Britain, except that architectural plans come as 'drawings' under the Fine Arts Copyright Act, 1862. 'Works of art

applied to industry,' which now appear upon the scene, belong to a category which savours much more of Patent than of Copyright law. Their inclusion in a Copyright Code, even though they are, as a compromise, left to be dealt with by each country, at its option, under its internal system, is a dangerous precedent. The course of revision shows that property which is admitted into the Union with this safeguard at one Conference is included in the general clauses at the next. For all classes of mixed property the analogous case of designs may serve as an example and a warning. Certain designs are at once capable of being copyrighted and patented. They are susceptible of protection under both categories, with, we believe, a resulting injurious diversity of treatment. Such conflicts of jurisdiction must not be multiplied. The sphere of Copyright is quite wide enough already within its legitimate limits to render an International Code bulky enough in all conscience. The worst of changes of this type is that they re-act upon domestic legislation. There are, for instance, indications that the new American Act will prove unwieldy by reason of the effort to make it universally operative. It is to be hoped that we shall ourselves take warning and not attempt anything in the shape of an omnium gatherum.

The case for increased simplicity as regards formalities might be taken as proved. Red tape has few friends, and any movement in favour of its abolition generally meets with popular approval. But in all matters of commercial concern certainty is absolutely indispensable, and it may be questioned whether the effect of the new rule will not tend towards modification in form at the expense of certainty

in fact.

Article 4 of the new Convention runs: 'La jouissance et l'exercice de ces droits ne sont subordonnés à aucune formalité, cette jouissance et cet exercice sont indépendants de l'existence de la protection dans

le pays d'origine de l'œuvre.'

One is lost in admiration of the catholic spirit which has inspired such a drastic innovation. To afford protection throughout the Union to property which is not actually protected in 'the country of origin,' or, in other words, which has no legal existence, is an anomaly indeed. The change seems to ignore altogether the world-wide basis of statutory copyright, which has, rightly or wrongly, come to be regarded in all countries as the reward for a public service. Great practical difficulty has, no doubt, been experienced in furnishing evidence in a foreign country and a foreign court—in order to assert foreign rights—of due compliance with home laws and regulations. But some more satisfactory means might have been found of obviating actual hardship. Our own International Copyright Act, 1886, for example, provides that an extract from the register, or a certificate, authenticated by the official seal of a Minister of State, Governor, Diplomatic or Consular officer, shall be admissible as conclusive evidence

of the existence of a foreign or Colonial copyright. Surely some of the existence of a following validity in any country and any uniform provision of international validity in any country and any proof uniform provision of interface and dispensation from any proof what. court would be tar presented to obviate any necessity for dilatory and ever? It should be easy to obviate any necessity for dilatory and iriging into foreign law. Similarly, again, the antiever? It should be easy cocostly enquiries into foreign law. Similarly, again, the authors of costly enquiries, who have hitherto been required to costly enquiries into loreign have hitherto been required to comply non-Unionist countries of a Unionist country in order to seem non-Unionist countries, who may be a Unionist country in order to secure the Rerne Convention, will, if the new Convention with the formalides of the Berne Convention, will, if the new Convention be benefits of the Berne Convention, will, if the new Convention be benefits of the Bellio convention be ratified, simply have to publish simultaneously in a Unionist country, which will thereby become (Article 4) 'exclusivement considéré comme which will thereby become pays d'origine.' They will, moreover, henceforth enjoy all the rights of native authors, including, we imagine, the right of protection of native authors, including of native authors, in protection throughout the Union, without performing or giving proof of having performed any formalities whatever. But are they, it may be asked, to be required on occasion to establish publication as having taken place, if proof of the observance of any of the formalities in the 'country of origin' is to be dispensed with? It seems difficult to avoid such an absurdity arising as a claim to protection throughout the Union on the part of a non-Unionist author, although in point of fact he has not published in any country of the Union, simultaneously or at all. As things are, such publication has often been little else than bogus. In short, for non-Unionist as well as Unionist authors, clear and simple regulations as uniform as possible and capable of easy proof in any court, and any country, seem to be far preferable in the interests of both simplicity and certainty to the proposed change. For that matter, the new Convention, like the old, is lamentably barren as regards definitions. Some international agreement as to the incidents of 'publication,' for example, for all classes of copyright property is an urgent necessity. It is somewhat topsy-turvy for the Convention to pronounce œuvres éditées alone to be 'published works,' and to content itself by simply declaring negatively that the 'representation of a dramatic or dramatico-musical work, the performance of a musical work, the exhibition of a work of art, and the construction of a work of architecture, do not constitute publication.' Now registration is obviously a simple formality which would meet all cases and would be equally applicable to published and unpublished works. machinery already largely exists. We have, apart from the British Museum certificate, a system in existence in England, although mainly operative only as a condition precedent to action. Twentythree British Colonies have independent registers of their own. Of the remaining fourteen Unionist countries, ten provide, more or less, for registration, or deposit of copies. Twenty-five non-Unionist countries, moreover, possess already a similar system. It is not easy, therefore, to see the cogency of objections to registration in the country of origin, or of first publication, or, in the case of unpublished works, that to which the author belongs. Such registration might,

further, be made compulsory and a certificate thereof conclusive, at any rate for international purposes.

The term for which copyright shall endure will probably prove the most vexed question of all. The Unionist rule now is that this shall be that of the country in which it is sought, provided it does not exceed that of the 'country of origin.' Now the Berlin Convention boldly proposes to establish one term for all countries—that is, life and fifty years, the existing regulations being re-enacted for photographic, posthumous, anonymous, and pseudonymous works. There is no doubt a strong consensus of opinion in favour of international uniformity. The term proposed already exists in eight Unionist countries—i.e. France, Belgium, Tunis, Luxembourg, Monaco, Sweden. Norway, and Denmark. Life and thirty years is given by Germany, Switzerland, and Japan; life and eighty years by Italy and Spain. The proposed term, moreover, already exists in seven non-Unionist countries—i.e. Hungary, Russia, Finland, Portugal, Bolivia, and Costa Rica. There is, therefore, a strong numerical argument in favour of the change. But in England and America public opinion is slow to move progressively in all cases of privilege. Our own term was by the Act of Anne erroneously based on that of the Statute of Monopolies. The extension to life and seven years, or forty-two years, whichever is the longer period, was only won, as a compromise, by Sergeant Talfourd, in the Act of 1842, after a bitter fight, in which Macaulay was his strongest opponent, and in recognition of which Charles Dickens dedicated the Pickwick Papers to him. Life and thirty years was the period recommended by the Copyright Commission of 1878, and adopted by the Lords' Committee, 1897-1900. In the new American Act the period is put at fifty-six years in all. In England a new term will only, we may rest assured, be secured in the face of a determined opposition, and it was in the exercise of a wise discretion that the British delegates, by the direction of the Home Government, only gave their adhesion to the article (which did not appear at all in the texte provisoire) subject to the prescient reservation that if not universally adopted the existing rule should survive. It is singular that the question of differential treatment has not been more adequately discussed, especially in view of the wide distinctions which exist between the various classes of property subject to copyright. Literary property itself is not homogeneous, and could, as regards the duration of copyright, usefully be classified and differentiated. To claim protection for life and fifty years for copyright property indiscriminately is an insult to the public commonsense. Uniformity, whether international or domestic, can be attempted at a cost which is wholly disproportionate to any practical advantages likely to result. The point illustrates the inconvenience of attempting to sweep so many categories of property into the copyright net. A question of some practical interest would arise as to the retroactive effect of any increase in the term. The Convention will be active effect of any mercase active effect of any mercase which have not fallen into the public retroactive as regards all works which have not fallen into the public retroactive as regards all works which have not fallen into the public retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards an income retroactive as regards and income retroactive as regards and income retroactive as regards and income retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive retroactive ret domain when it comes into the domain when it comes into the benefit of any enhanced term accrue? Would sales of copyrights the unexpected increment?

The right of performance of musical, and, in some cases, of dramatic The right of performance and dramatico-musical works, now rests in many countries upon and dramatico-musical works, has hitherto been recognistic and this has hitherto been recognistic. and dramatico-musical and this has hitherto been recognised under notice of reservation; and this has hitherto been recognised under notice of reservation, so that it possesses international validity. This obligation it is now proposed to abolish altogether. In This obligation to be shifted from the composer or could of performance is to be shifted from the composer or author to the of performance is to suggested that the change will subject innocent and involuntary infringers to great hardship. It will render the task of distinguishing between copyright and non-copyright music very difficult. It will be long before the public realise that the omission of the familiar, if mystic, formula is no longer equivalent to an agree. ment that the right of performance shall pass into the public domain. As it is the public know that the absence of notice is a sure and certain safeguard, indicating either that the work has become public property or that protection is not desired. Ethically, no doubt, the Continental view that the onus should lie on the public and not on the composer is sound enough, but in practice, we think, the public convenience should govern. It is, moreover, by no means invariably the case that composers desire to restrain performance. It will seem a little absurd, if this be not the case, that they should find it necessary to announce that 'the right of public performance is not reserved.'

Somewhat inconsistently, again, the Convention sets up a new formality in the case of the reproduction of newspaper articles as to which protection is to be usefully extended. This is, it appears, to depend solely upon the absence of express prohibition, but is otherwise to be permissible provided the source is indicated. The rule is based on a diametrically opposite principle.

In Great Britain all plays on production are regarded, like books, as 'published works,' while all novels can be dramatised. By English law the production of a play has been equivalent to publication certainly since the International Copyright Act of 1844. Subject to treaty obligations and countries excepted by Orders in Council, as in the case of books under the Act of 1838, the Act of 1844 expressly provided (Section 19) that no author or composer of a dramatic piece, &c., which should, after the passing of the Act, 'be first published out of her Majesty's dominions, shall have any copyright therein or any exclusive right to the public representation or performance thereof. Vice-Chancellor Wood in 1863, in the Colleen Bawn case, frankly laid it down that 'the plain purpose of the Statute was to secure for this country the benefit of the first publication of new works.' In other

words, it was impracticable for this country to accede to the Declaration of Paris, 1896, which, inter alia, expressly provided that the performance of a play does not amount to publication. In the same way, again, by the same instrument, the Union declared all 'adaptations,' such as the dramatisation of a novel or the novelisation of a play, to be unlawful, while both are permissible at English law.

The House of Lords Bills have already adopted the principle of the Declaration of Paris that the adaptation of a novel into a play and a play into a novel should be restrainable, and we do not doubt that this reform will be carried into effect in any revision of the English law. It is, however, easy to see that hardship might arise from points of similarity between plays and novels not dramatised by their owners. As the British law now stands, a condition precedent to dramatic rights [indeed, under the Act of 1833 the only condition precedent] is that the play should exist. Under the new rule protection will be given although the property protected does not and may never exist. There seems, in short, to be some need for the precise definition of an 'adaptation' in this context, so that original dramatic work may be safeguarded from unfounded claims.

The present writer is able to state on the authority of the late Sir Henry Bergne that the decision of this country to dissent from the Declaration of Paris, 1896, was due, not to any crucial difference of opinion as to policy, but to the fact that our law did not enable this country to accede. If this be so, and the same view be now held, it is to be expected that England will now accept the rule, and fall into line as regards the publication of plays with the law of all Continental countries and of the United States. This would effect many sweeping changes in both law and practice. Unless otherwise provided, it would protect retrospectively in Great Britain plays first produced and still copyright in foreign countries. Dramatic pieces produced abroad under the Berne Convention are already protected against being adapted for the English stage by Order in Council, 1887, but such a change in the English law would have a much wider effect, and even the title to a mass of dramatic property would be affected. British plays, again, could commence their run in America without there being any necessity for going through the farce known as a 'copyright performance,' while American plays could wait for success at home without, as now, being 'protected' on this side of the Atlantic simultaneously with their first production or the first publication of their novelised form.

Photographs, again, are to be admitted to protection in all countries apart altogether from their domestic status. By the Final Protocol of the 1886 Convention, they were declared to be protected in those countries which did not refuse to regard them as 'works of art.' Ten years later, by the Additional Act, 1896, they were admitted to the benefits of the Convention 'in so far as the laws of each State may

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permit.' By the Berlin Convention they are to come under the permit.' By the Bernin country binding itself to accord protection, general scheme, each country binding itself to accord protection, general scheme, each country general scheme, each country in which protection, without, it would appear, any formalities being exacted either in the without, it would appear, and which protection is claimed. country of origin, or in the countries photographs. This is a very sweeping innovation, for in some countries photographs.

This is a very sweeping innovation, for in some countries photographs. This is a very sweeping limited to copyright at all, but are granted a limited pro-are not admitted to copyright at all, but are granted a limited proare not admitted to copy as tection as industrial works. It will further conflict with some independent treaties regulating rights in photographs between countries pendent treaties regulations aphotograph must, to secure protection, inter se. In Great Britain a photograph must, to secure protection, be registered by the copyright owner or his assignee. Is it intended that under the Berlin Convention photographs shall be protected that under the Dollar throughout the Union exactly like all other works without any formality whatever? If this be so, photographs will be compulsorily protected throughout the Union. Ethically no doubt the position is a sound one. A photograph is, or ought to be, a work of art, and the owner is, if he desires, entitled to protection against piracy. But in practice it is often impossible to ascertain the ownership of a photograph, and, in the absence of some overt declaration of ownership by registration or notice, an immense industry has arisen which is based upon the theory that unprotected photographs are in the public domain. Here, again, the absence of formality would entail great hardship and open the door to bogus transactions by pseudo owners, Our register has hitherto been a fairly effectual safeguard against blackmail, and surely if only regarded as evidence that all rights are reserved, its maintenance and international adoption would be far preferable to wholesale protection whether desired or not.

The extension of the translation rights to the same period as the original is another sweeping innovation which will unquestionably excite controversy. It is, of course, undeniable that when once the right to international protection is agreed it is inconsistent to restrict the right to any country. An author is equally entitled to protection in translation as in his mother tongue. He is, perhaps, equally entitled to dictate whether, when, and on what terms and conditions a translation shall be issued in any part of the world. But prejudices die hard, and the present ten years' rule, which works fairly enough in the main, will, we believe, be regretted. The notion of reciprocity underlies all these grants when once we get away from first principles and look upon copyright as the fruit of endeavour. A foreign author who does not think it worth while to issue a translation of his work or sanction one being issued would, of course, be in a position to restrain it sine die. Under the House of Lords Bill, it was, somewhat clumsily, provided that on failure to produce a translation within a reasonable period it should be permissible to translate subject to a licence from the Board of Trade. Will it be to the public advantage that some such stimulus should be unconditionally removed? For the author's claims to protection seem to lose much of their validity if the privilege

is not exercised. It would be useful if, when this question is dealt with, the crux of the author's right of translation in his own country could be settled. There are many Indian cases which go to show that such a right is not recognised by British law unless an author has produced a translation and so acquired a copyright in it as an original work.

The situation from an English point of view could not readily be more complicated. The Berne Convention, 1886, with the Additional Act, 1896, is incorporated with Imperial British law by Orders in Council, 1887 and 1898, and is part and parcel of it. More by luck than management it is operative in every British Colony, Canada never having carried into effect her threatened denunciation. But if the Berne Convention is to be abrogated, the whole business will have to be done all over again and under conditions of unparalleled difficulty. If Canada looked askance at the Berne Convention the Berlin Convention will meet with still scantier favour in the Dominion. It is impossible to avoid the impression that the situation thus created is not accidental. Great Britain has been publicly denounced as unprogressive in Copyright Law Reform. The Berne Conference of 1896 passed a resolution condemnatory of the systems of both England and Germany has since mended matters more or less by the Act of 1901, but England has remained supine and enjoys the unenviable distinction of being the last Unionist country to formulate a Code. The present position has thus been forced upon us, and we have now to undertake fresh Imperial, Colonial, and International legislation in the most inconvenient form conceivable. A wholesale revolution in the Imperial law is involved before we are competent to ratify the Code, and it may be said at once that, with Colonial opinion to reckon with, it is gravely doubtful whether we shall be able to do more than accept a few isolated provisions, and, for the rest, fall back upon the present law. That such a course will be retrograde is true. More than that it will probably indefinitely postpone the acceptance by this country of the complete international agreement, and will perpetuate the existing system with many of its imperfections.

One certain outcome of the Convention is, however, hopeful. It is now placed within the limits of certainty that copyright legislation in the immediate future must be undertaken by the Government, apart altogether from the obligation to procure the authority of Parliament to the Code or so much of the Code as may be supported with any prospect of success. It will no longer be possible to defer dealing with the question itself at home in its entirety. It may, indeed, be hoped that the reform of the Domestic law will precede any attempt to modify the International Copyright Act of 1886 in order to render it applicable to the Berlin Convention of 1908. The alternative course could not be anything but disastrous, and would merely add another to the already innumerable patchwork Copyright Acts

which are a blot upon the Statute Book.

The Government have only to 'take occasion by the hand' to The Government have only carry through a great measure of reform. The existence in more or carry through a great measure of a Copyright Bill and Copyright (Artist: carry through a great measure of the House of Lords Committee in more or less settled shape of a Copyright Bill and Copyright (Artistic) Bill and Committee 1807. less settled shape of a Copy Subsection of Lords Committee, 1897-1900, based on the findings of the House of Lords Committee, 1897-1900, based on the findings of the King's Speech, 1901, and have based on the findings of the King's Speech, 1901, and have since which were mentioned in the King's Speech, 1901, and have since which were mentioned in the state of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, been in charge of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, been in charge of the trade, should serve to facilitate definite action at something more than the If it be true that the customary Parnamentary
Colonies, with the exception of Canada, have signified their acceptance Colonies, with the exceptance of the Principles of the House of Lords Bills, we have a safe guide as

At home the history of comparative legislation affords no greater enigma than the attitude of a long line of Ministers towards the Copyright Question. If, for convenience, we date the era of reform in England from the Report of the Royal Commission, 1878—a report so full and authoritative that in any other country it must have commanded instant action—we have a sufficiently conclusive indictment. During thirty years literally dozens of Bills have been privately introduced only to be blocked or shelved, often officially, on every pretext a perverse ingenuity can suggest. The late Mr. Gladstone, on being cappealed to in 1880, was content simply and perfunctorily to express his interest in the subject and commend it to the attention of private members. In 1886, the late Mr. Mundella, then President of the Board of Trade, would do nothing more than promise a most influential deputation that the Government would encourage the discussion of such an 'intricate and technical question in the House of Lords.' Fourteen years later, when this interesting process had been completed, the resulting Bills were promptly pigeon-holed once more, although they did attain the distinction of being promised in the Speech from the Throne.

A retrospective view of the tone and temper in which the question has been dealt with in Parliament leaves, indeed, room for nothing but amazement. It is almost beyond belief that so much hostility should have been aroused at every attempt to make laws for letters and art. Throughout the last two hundred years a bitter antagonism has been continued, with an unreasoning prejudice for which no parallel can be The cry of 'Privilege' and 'Monopoly' has always been enough to rouse a bovine fury, and every appeal of letters for justice has been met with these reckless shibboleths. No more popular argument has ever been invented than the necessity for restricting the duration of copyright in order to ensure the supply of cheap literature for the people. On almost every occasion when the question has been raised in Parliament, with the exception of the Copyright Act, 1842 itself a compromise—the rights of copyright owners have been narrowed. The first Copyright Act—which was actually described by one astute 'expert' as the 'corner-stone of literary jurisprudence'

robbed them of their rights at law in exchange for the bare privileges of a mechanical patentee. The Georgian Statutes took away as much as they gave. The whole of the conflict upon the Library Tax demonstrated the existence of an irreconcilable opposition to an obvious remedy for a palpable wrong. And so down to the present day every attempt at the codification of our fatuous jumble of statutes and inconsistent decisions has been met with stony indifference or active obstruction.

The whole course of reform has been injuriously affected by the temper of Parliament. Those who have been in the van of the fight have long since desisted from attempting radical reconstruction as impracticable, and have devoted themselves to amendments in detail

which are necessarily a compromise.

The Government are not like private members trammelled by limitations. It is within their power to introduce a true Imperial Code worthy of its predominant importance to all British authors. It would be an irreparable calamity if, in the effort to facilitate International uniformity, we sacrificed the substance for the shadow; shattered the Anglo-American agreement; and split up British copyright into fractions.

W. MORRIS COLLES.

## THE BALANCE OF NAVAL POWER AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

In the last few weeks there has been a remarkable development of the naval situation in Europe. We have become familiar with the rapid progress of the German Fleet. Now Austria-Hungary, hitherto possessing a fleet of insignificant proportions, has prepared a programme of naval expansion, and Italy, the least prominent and possibly the least enamoured of the signatories to the Triple Alliance, has decided to follow the Austrian lead. The Triple Alliance has had the breath of life breathed into it. Hitherto even at its period of greatest strength, c it has been a combination of military strength; in future, if opportunity occurs, it will manœuvre great fleets with a common purpose. If the new naval ambitions are realised, the balance of naval power in Europe will be seriously disturbed, and not to our advantage. The facts and fears of the moment merit the closest examination in order that the British people may understand the present standing of the British Fleet, and the responsibilities which the new factors in the situation may cast upon them.

Naval warfare is a matter of foresight, intelligence, organisation, and, lastly, money. Six months ago the Prime Minister stated that the Government accepted the Two-Power Standard and interpreted it as meaning a preponderance of 10 per cent. over the combined strength in capital ships of the next two strongest Powers. This was a pledge-definite as a pledge can be-as to the provision of one type of ship, but as to what that type is no two authorities are agreed. But the main point is that this formula is based purely on things seen—on ships—and these alone do not constitute naval power. Ability to go in and win a naval war does not mainly depend on the possession of war matériel in proportions corresponding to such a formula. This method of comparison did well enough ten or twenty years ago, and is a rough and ready—very rough and ready—rule for to-day. Times have changed, and it is essential to look deeper into the pro-The principles upon which Germany fought and won the war of 1870 are now being interpreted in naval terms, and Austria-Hungary is about to assist in this task. This is the dominating factor in the naval situation. Naval strength is not simply a matter of mathematical calculation: it is a question of organisation, of the application of the old proverb—si vis pacem, para bellum.

A cursory study of the history of the modern British Fleet shows that it has been created as a result of a series of panics, wasteful, undignified, and illogical, but apparently as essential to the maintenance of our naval supremacy as the explosions of a gas engine for supplying power. These agitations have always been concerned with ships, and especially battleships. The cry is always for battleships and yet more battleships. For instance, during the past few weeks the nation has had *Dreadnoughts* on the brain. It has suddenly realised that Germany is building a large number of vessels of this type, and that if we are to hold our own in this respect large sums of money must be devoted in the course of the next ten years to what has been described as the rebuilding of the British Fleet. It might be imagined that this is an entirely new experience. The fact is that the British Fleet has been in process of rebuilding over and over again ever since iron replaced wood and steam superseded sail nower. For half a century there has never been a time when this essential work has not been in progress, and it is an irony of fate that before the fleet has been refashioned in accordance with one naval fashion another has taken the stage. Mechanical science has progressed so rapidly that the naval designer has been unable to keep pace with it. Year by year for many decades it has been rendering good, well-found ships obsolete; but this process has been no more rapid in naval construction than in industry, where it has come to be recognised that periodically machinery and plant must be scrapped in the interests of efficiency and economy. When a great manufacturer admits that his machinery has become out of date and decides that he must replace it by new machinery if he is to hold his own, he is applauded in the business world for his foresight and business capacity. If he is the first in his particular branch of industry to realise the necessity of the change, he is held up as an example to The same business principles apply to the Navy.

The maintenance of our naval supremacy is as much a productive industry as the manufacture of boots and shoes or broadcloth, because adequate defensive preparations are an essential element in our national life owing to the commercial and political rivalry which exists between nation and nation, and which may lead to war. No practical man regrets the money which he pays for the insurance of his house against the risk of fire, although he cannot thereby, however heavy the premium, guard his property against destruction. He can merely insure that the destruction will be made good out of the accumulated funds to which he has periodically contributed. Fire insurance and other forms of prudential provision, such as a reserve fund for the replacement of plant and machinery, have come to be recognised as essential expenses on the part of the manufacturer and

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trader. The British nation's expenditure upon the fleet comes trader. The British have been same category. But whereas the combined influence of influence of fire have of into the same category.

Influence of fire brigades of fire, if the British by fire insurance and the incomplete outbreaks of fire, if the British Navy cannot prevent destructive cannot prevent destructive a preventive is maintained at adequate strength it is essentially a preventive is maintained at adequate strength it is essentially a preventive force, while on the outer and the nation's trade. During the long years of for the nation and the British Fleet has been a standing and effective maritime peace the Districtive and as occasion has offered it has advertisement of British prestige, and as occasion has offered it has advertisement of British property and driving stamping out slavery, and driving stamping out slavery, and driving stamping out slavery. weak from the strong, stamping out slavery, and driving piracy from weak from the strong, state of the seas. The British Fleet has been the most powerful liberalising the seas. agency ever created—as history proves—and yet it is the advanced Liberal who complains of the 'burden of armaments.'

In the circumstances it is not surprising that the British people should be seized by panic whenever they feel that their naval supremacy is threatened from this quarter or that. Twenty years ago the great rival Power on the seas was France; later on the Russian Fleet, the British Navy's own child, increased steadily in strength year by year, and at last Great Britain was faced by these two great o nations in definite and unfriendly alliance. By a series of explosions of public opinion successive Governments were forced into the neces. sary activity, and ships, and sometimes men, were provided to meet this combined competition by these Powers. British action was confined mainly to the accumulation of material and increasing the number of officers and men. During these years of naval contest there was no considerable improvement in the efficiency of the British naval force, no intellectual advancement finding expression in better preparation for war. A mere balancing of ship against ship, officer against officer, and man against man by a process of numerical calculation supplied a rough and ready system of assessing relative naval strength.

Germany has now become the most active naval Power in Europe. The old formulæ no longer apply. The German Navy is of new creation; it is essentially a modern fleet, without those accretions of naval lore which have been handed down from the sail era. started in the race for naval power unencumbered, and from the first decision to make herself one of the great naval Powers of the world, she definitely set aside as more or less meaningless the old principles upon which during the long period of maritime peace it had become the custom in Europe to judge the relative naval power of the great nations. In the draft of the Navy Bill of 1900 appeared the following

remarkable statement :-

'As regards the extent to which vessels should be kept commissioned in peace time, we must be guided by the following considerations. siderations. As, even after the projected increase has been carried

out, the number of vessels of the German Navy will still be more or less inferior to that of other individual Great Powers, our endeavours must be directed towards compensating for this superiority by the individual training of the crews, and by tactical. training by practice in large bodies.

'A satisfactory personal training of individual crews, as well as sufficient tactical training by practice in large bodies, can only be guaranteed by permanent commissioning in peace time. Economy as regards commissioning of vessels in peace time means jeopardising the efficiency of the fleet in case of war. minimum extent of commissioning in peace time would be the permanent formation of a fleet comprising the best and most modern vessels, as an active force constantly commissioned, i.e. a force in which all the battleships and cruisers are in commission. fleet will form the school for the tactical training in the double squadron, and in the case of war will bear the first brunt. regards the second fleet, which will comprise the older battleships. it will have to suffice if one half of the number of its vessels only are Of course, for the purpose of practice in larger in commission. bodies, it will be necessary to commission certain further vessels temporarily for manœuvres. In the event of war this second fleet, the reserve fleet, protected by the active battle fleet, will have to supplement the inferior training of its various crews and the insufficient practice in manœuvring in large bodies, by making good this deficiency after mobilisation.'

In this State document was enunciated a new standard which must increasingly govern the calculations of the relative naval strength of the Powers. German naval authorities admitted that, even when the strength of the fleet had been increased by the building of new ships and the enrolment of additional officers and men, the matériel and personnel judged separately by the old formulæ would still represent Germany as one of the lesser naval Powers. This numerical inferiority, it was announced, would be compensated for by a higher standard of training in time of peace, and it might have been added a higher standard of organisation for war on the lines familiarised by Moltke than had hitherto been adopted by any of the fleets of the world.

A few months later Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, in writing of the war of 1812-15, dealt with this subject at greater length and with admirable lucidity. Commenting upon the fortune of the British during these operations, he recalled the fact that the British, accustomed to almost invariable victory over foes—the undisciplined French after the Revolution-who were their inferiors alike in gunnery and seamanship, neglected their own gunnery and sunk into a condition of ignorant confidence that even without preparation they would

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'pull through somehow.' In the meantime, however, the American 'pull through somenow.

Navy was trained by years of sea service including much scrambling Navy was trained by years, and, added Mr. Roosevelt, the Algerines; and, Navy was trained by years and, added Mr. Roosevelt, the American warfare with the Algerines; and, added Mr. Roosevelt, the American warfare with the Algerines, captains, fully aware of the formidable nature of the foe whom they captains, fully drilled their crews to as near perfection as might be captains. captains, fully aware of the captains, fully aware of the whom they were to meet, drilled their crews to as near perfection as might be were to meet, drilled their crews to as near perfection as might be. were to meet, drilled their distinctly outmarched their average and could be encountered on equal terms only by In such circumstances and could be encountered on equal terms only by men opponents and could be encountered on equal terms only by men opponents and could be sometimed only by men like Broke and Manners.' Summarising his conclusions, formed like Broke and Manners.' Summarising his conclusions, formed like Broke and manner after a period of service in the Navy Department of the United States, after a period of service in the Navy Department of the United States, which had merely moulded his general observation as soldier and statesman, Mr. Roosevelt added this significant statement:

There is unquestionably a great difference in fighting capacity, as there is a There is urquestionary, as there is a great difference in intelligence, between certain races. But there are a number great difference in intelligent, each of which has the fighting edge. Among of races, each of which is internal and contest will go to the man or the nation that has these races the victory in any contest will go to the man or the nation that has earned it by thorough preparation. This preparation was absolutely necessary in the days of sailing ships; but the need for it is even greater now, if it be in the days of saling soft the present day. The officers much now, it it be intended to get full benefit from the delicate and complicated mechanism of the formidable war engines of the present day. The officers must spend many years, and the men not a few, in unvaried and intelligent training before they are fit to do all that is possible with themselves and their weapons. Those who do this, whether they be Americans or British, French, German, or Russian will win the victory over those who do not. Doubtless it helps if the sailormen -the sea mechanics, as they are now called—have the sea habit to start with, and they must belong to the fighting stocks. But the great factor is the steady, intelligent training in the actual practice of their profession. . . . Among brave and intelligent men of different race stocks, when the day of battle comes, the difference of race will be found to be as nothing when compared with the difference in thorough and practical training in advance.

Herein lies the new standard of naval power by which, and by which alone, the sea standings of the nations of the world can be judged. Preparedness for war presupposes the supply of an adequate number of ships and sufficient crews to man them, but the ships and the men are merely the material out of which naval power may be created.

Almost simultaneously with this change naval nomenclature has become hopelessly disordered, and the citizen who casually interests himself in sea affairs not unnaturally becomes confused as to the issues. He learns that there may be battles without battleships, as at the Yalu; cruises without cruisers, as in the case of the world-cruise of the fleet of the United States; torpedo warfare without torpedo craft, as occurred when the Huascar was sunk. He finds on reference to any naval handbook that battleships may be inferior in gun power to vessels frequently designated as cruisers; and that cruisers may be found in the great fleets which are distinctly inferior in speed to battleships. He discovers that torpedo boats, such as those most recently added to the British Fleet, may be larger and swifter than many destroyers; that there are torpedo-boat destroyers which are bigger and more powerful than torpedo gunboats; that

there are submarines, which he has come to regard as 'little things,' which are actually of greater displacement than some destroyers and far larger than many above-water torpedo boats. He notices as he digs into this or that reference book that the material for the sophistication of statistics for popular consumption is so plentiful, and the dividing line between this type of ship and that so ill-defined, that it is extremely difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion if calculations of naval strength are confined to a mere rule-of-thumb enumeration of ships and men.

If the strength of navies is to be judged with any approach to accuracy, something more must be taken into account than the numbers of ships in the various loosely defined classes, of men, and of guns. These efforts in the 'rule of three' may serve as a foundation, but inquiry must be pressed further. The material for such an investigation, it will be found, is at once scanty and confusing. The only readily accessible basis for a comparison of naval power is supplied by the proportion of the ships and personnel which are associated constantly in preparation for war—in other words, in the number of ships kept permanently in commission. Other factors may also enter into the calculation, such as the degree to which this or that race has the fighting edge, the efficiency of the direction and organisation, and the period during which officers and men serve, always less under conscription than under a voluntary system of national service. Great Britain, for instance, the average time that a seaman serves is over ten years, and in the German fleet it is three years-a factor of no mean importance.

But for the present purpose attention may well be confined to the active peace standing of the European navies as a guide to their value as fighting machines. Thus we come face to face with the most

remarkable development of naval policy of the past century.

If the German people are scientific and methodical, they are also severely practical, and from the moment that the new standard of naval strength had been legally established by the Navy Bill, Germany turned her attention to the realisation of her high ideals. Side by side with the matériel expansion has proceeded a movement of even more significance—namely, the consistent and persistent training of the personnel for the new navy. In proportion to her strength in ships Germany maintains on a war footing a larger numerical force than any other country, not excepting Great Britain. Her strength in ships is still inconsiderable. She possesses to-day only ten vessels which can legitimately be described as battleships. These ten vessels are of 13,000 tons displacement only, and each carries four 11-inch guns in association with fourteen 6.6-inch quickfirers. Well armoured, judged by the pre-Dreadnought standard, and of admirable design, in fighting power they undoubtedly represent good value for the sums spent upon their construction. They are, however, the only ships under the

German flag which can be regarded as battleships, and they are not German flag which can be regard possesses fourteen other twenty-five years old, but in these days of land they are not battle. now of the first class. Germany in the sed of the contraction of the first class of large discharge discha ships' less than twenty-nve years and great concentration of fighting power, they are little placements and great concentration of fighting power, they are little placements and great concerns. Indeed, they belong to the period better than coast-defence vessels. Indeed, they belong to the period better than coast-defence force. Their main armawhen the German Fleet that which is carried by the best ment is considerably interest are the antithesis to the Dreadnought.

British cruisers. All these ships are the antithesis to the Dreadnought. British cruisers. An interest in their design sacrificed the primary The German navar authorized a heavy secondary armament. To-day Germany, in common with other navy departments, is eliminating—the second or perhaps it is better put as subordinating—the secondary guns in or perhaps it is better put order to obtain a heavier concentration of big-gun fire in accordance with the all-big-gun principle.

The inferiority of existing German materiel becomes a matter of striking significance when it is considered in direct contrast to the present organisation of the German Navy. The naval authorities at the Wilhelmstrasse are, and have for some time past been, cognisant of the existing inferiority of their armoured ships; hence the decision to build Dreadnoughts. But nevertheless the existing fleet is being tuned up to a higher note of efficiency. Though Germany possesses only ten ships which are worthy of being regarded as battleships, she fills out her active fleet to-day with smaller vessels, and keeps a force of sixteen of these battleships and coast defence ships in commission and actively employed—on a war footing.1 By this means she is to-day training the officers and the men who will be required for manning the large vessels of the first class which are now under construction. German policy is the direct opposite to that which was formerly followed in England and the defects of which were glaringly illustrated in the downfall of the Russian Fleet. Russia scoured the whole world for ships and neglected to train her personnel. In a relatively short time she acquired an immense amount of war matériel, and then when the crisis in her history arrived it was found that the resources in officers and men were inadequate, and tillers of the soil were suddenly pressed into the naval service, with little or no training, while of trained direction at headquarters there was none. In Germany naval expansion has proceeded on definite, well-calculated lines. In such ships as she possesses Germany is teaching her officers the higher art of naval warfare. As new ships are completed this personnel will be drafted into them, and thus the naval power of Germany may prove to be greater actually than the mere tabular enumeration of her new matériel resources would suggest.

<sup>1</sup> It should be added that from October to March the German High Sea Fleet is manned with practically only nucleus crews, as in the former month nearly onethird of the men go into reserve, and their places are taken by newly entered conscripts-men entirely fresh to the sea routine.

This work of building up the German Navy has been in progress for upwards of ten years, and now a further development of her naval policy has become apparent. In the Navy Act of 1900 it was admitted that Germany could not hope to rival the greatest naval Power—Great Britain—in her marine resources. This inferiority was to be compensated for 'by the individual training of the crews and by tactical training by practice in large bodies.' At the time when these words were dictated to the German nation, then unwilling converts to the big navy idea, Great Britain possessed in British waters one poorly organised and inadequately trained naval force only, and that consisted of eight battleships and four cruisers largely manned by youths and boys, and without any auxiliary vessels or torpedo craft in association with it. In the meantime the efficiency of the British Fleet has been increased, the temper of the British people has been roused, and Germany's original hopes and ambitions are further from realisation to-day than they were ten years ago.

What could Germany do in such circumstances? In consequence of various limitations, financial and industrial, she could not hope to realise her early ambitions and gain the advantage from them which had been anticipated. Thus arose the new and startling development of German policy. Month by month Germany and Austria have been drawing closer together. They already possess armies on a war footing of over seven million men. Germany's Fleet is rapidly growing, while Austria's Fleet to-day is one of the most insignificant in matériel strength in Europe; it has not yet begun to grow. Whether at the direct suggestion of Germany or not, Austria is now about to embark upon a policy of naval expansion which will eventually raise her to a first-class naval Power. This is an event of the first magnitude. Austria-Hungary has only a small coastline and no colonies, and her trade has never for a moment been threatened. has no need for a defensive Navy. Her new Navy will be an offensive agent.

The importance of the existing naval defence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire may be judged from the fact that the total outlay on the fleet amounts to a little over two and a half millions sterling annually, which is equivalent to less than half the expenditure of Italy, about one-fifth that of France, and one-eighth that of Germany. The expenditure has been increasing for the past two or three years, but the Austrian Navy remains one of the smallest in Europe. In these circumstances it is curious to read the wonderful stories which have lately appeared in the Press as to Austrian Dreadnoughts as though they were a fait accompli. It is said that three of these ships will be completed by 1912. It is suggested that in this period of three years Austria will develop into a powerful ally of Germany. All these fanciful imaginings arise from ignorance of the fundamental facts.

To-day Austria has not a single vessel which can be legitimately

The fleet includes three modern vessels of designated a battlesmp.

10,500 tons, the biggest gun in which is a 9.4 weapon of 40 calibres well-armoured cruisers with speeds appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately appreciately apprec 10,500 tons, the biggest gan the they are really large, well-armoured cruisers with speeds approaching they are really large, well-armoured cruisers with speeds approaching they are really large, went and these three vessels, Austria possesses six twenty knots. Apart from these three vessels, Austria possesses six other ships carrying the same calibre heavy gun, but of considerably other ships carrying the same smaller displacement, three being of 8300 tons only and the remainder smaller displacement. The Austrian Navy also includes two arms of the same statements are smaller displacements. smaller displacement, three States and Navy also includes two armoured of only 5500 tons. The Austrian Navy also includes two armoured of only 5500 tons. The authorities have now under cruisers and five protected cruisers. The authorities have now under construction three ships which merit the designation of battleships. They displace 14,500 tons and will mount four 12-inch and eight They displace 14,000 ton.
9.4-inch guns—they are virtually small Lord Nelsons and their fighting 9.4-inch guns—they are their displacement. Two of these ships, it is officially hoped, will be completed in 1911 and the third in 1912, Thus three years hence Austria will possess a number of coast-defence ships and protected cruisers with three battleships of the second class. This will be the standard of Austrian strength three years hence. In Austria it has hitherto taken four or five years to build even a battleship of moderate displacement, owing to the modest facilities for construction which exist and the large dependence of the Navy upon Krupp's establishment for its armaments. It is possible, indeed probable, that next year Austria will lay down one ship of the Dreadnought type and another in 1911, with a third in 1912, and it will occasion little surprise if, with a doubling of her naval expenditure, these ships are completed in three years. That German yards will assist by building for Austria is an unlikely contingency in view of the pressure of work they are now experiencing.

The dominating fact is that Austria is preparing, as Germany has been preparing, for the birth of the great fleet of to-morrow. Austria is proceeding on the same lines as Germany. While the plans for the expansion of the fleet are being completed, the Austrian authorities are devoting their attention to the utilisation of the existing resources for the training of officers and men who will be drafted to the new ships of maximum power which are about to be built. No incident of recent date illustrates more conclusively the character of the Austrian naval organisation than the incidents of last spring. When the annexation of Herzegovina and Bosnia was decided upon, Austria not only mobilised a large military force, but her existing Navy was placed upon a war footing. The order for mobilisation was received at Pola on the 15th of March: 10,000 reservists were called . upon suddenly to join the fleet in the shortest possible time. It was anticipated that about 20 per cent. would fail to respond. The actual defection amounted to only 5 per cent., and this small margin was further reduced by the large number of volunteers who came in. Within twenty-four hours of the order being issued by the Marine Department of the Ministry of War, the reserve squadron of Austria was completely manned, and within four days the whole Austrian

Navy was organised as for war, from the largest vessels down to the comparatively small ships which are employed in the defence of the Danube. This successful mobilisation of the Austrian Navy marks the beginning of a new era in the Adriatic and in distant waters.

Patiently, economically, and maybe slowly the Austrian Fleet is rising to the new aspirations, and the day is now not very far distant when Austria will stand beside Germany as one of the great naval Powers of Europe. She has adopted the German standard of naval efficiency. She stands to-day where Germany stood ten years ago when the first of the Navy Acts passed the Reichstag; but she has the advantage of the bitter experience which Germany has in the meantime garnered. The German naval authorities were compelled to spend their limited resources upon comparatively small ships, and to build up the whole naval organisation on a cramped scale. The result is that in Germany a great deal of the work which was done in the past ten years, particularly in respect of dock construction. harbour development, and the building of the Kiel Canal—the essential strategic link between the North Sea and the Baltic-has to be done over again on a larger, a Dreadnought, plan, at a colossal expendi-Austria will undoubtedly avoid these errors. The temper in which the new problems are being faced is shown by the decision to advance at one step from the construction of small battleships of 14,500 tons to Dreadnought vessels of the first class displacing 19,000 to 20.000 tons, and not inferior in armament, speed, or radius of action to the vessels now being designed for the British Navy. It is true that only the preliminaries in connection with the new programme of expansion have yet been settled, but next year the execution of these plans will be commenced. Whatever may be the feelings of Italy, her neighbour and ally but something less than friend, Austria-Hungary is about to enter the lists as a first-class naval Power.

It is the very gravity of the situation from the British point of view which condemns exaggeration. To-day Austria is of little account as a naval Power; not a single Dreadnought has been laid down, but she is getting ready for the to-morrow, big with promise if only Germany remains faithful and Italy can be wooed, cajoled, or forced into a line of common action. The trend of events is indicated by the exclusive exchange of courtesies between the Austrian and German Fleets at Kiel. As a sequel to the recent events in the Near East when Germany stood behind Austria, an Austrian squadron, it is reported, is about to visit the Baltic. Whatever the size of the actual force which visits Kiel, the fact to be realised is that Austria is now maintaining in full commission in proportion to her existing strength a larger force than any other continental Navy, and, as events have shown, the machinery for mobilisation is well designed and in good working Austria may not complete a Dreadnought for three or four order. But the fact to be insisted upon is that she is treading the years.

same road as Germany. While the House of Commons is discussing a mathematically accurate two-Power standard, and debating a mathematically accurate whether the United States does or does not come into the calculations, where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where Company is almost at our doors where the Company is almost at our doors where the company is whether the United States at our doors where Germany, the significant development is almost at our doors where Germany, Austria, and—less cordially, it is true—Italy are clasping hands and Austria, and—less contains, combination, not of to-day, but in this generation, which must powerfully influence British naval policy.

reation, which must policy.

Italy is the sixth naval Power of the world, ranking now after

Her Navy has been the victim of a Italy is the sixth the Her Navy has been the victim of financial Japan in material strength. Her Navy has been the victim of financial Japan in materies strong are restricted and stringency, but though the funds for shipbuilding are restricted and the coal available for cruising is limited, a large proportion of her resources are in training during the summer months. Nine battleships and four armoured cruisers form the active force, fully manned for seven months in the year, with a reserve squadron which comprises three older battleships. A fair proportion of torpedo craft are also fully manned during the summer. In proportion to her existing matériel strength and her financial resources, Italy, though as a naval Power she has receded of late years, is not neglecting the war training of her fleet. Austria having shown the way, Italy, with halting step, is following. She intended to lay down two Dreadnoughts; in the past few weeks she has decided to double this number and embark on an ambitious programme. It will occupy six or ten years probably, unless some way out of the present financial difficulties is discovered; in Germany salvation has been found in loans. But the main fact is that the Italian Navy is to be larger and that Italy is one of the three allies.

In parenthesis and as a fitting part in any consideration of the standing of the navies of Europe, reference may be made to the Russian and French Fleets. The first named can for the present be ignored. Little progress in putting the Navy in order has been made since the close of the disastrous struggle in the Far East, and even if there were a fleet there is no machinery for organising victory-no directing brain. The French Navy is passing through a The fleet, such as it is, is struggling against adversity of fortune and perversity of Ministers. Recent revelations have shown the nation that the administration in Paris and at the ports is unsound, that a large proportion of the money annually voted for the fleet is wasted, and that the matériel—ships of all classes—is neglected and defective. Six battleships form the Active Squadron, with six older ones in reserve, in the Mediterranean, and there are six armoured cruisers and some coast-defence ships in the Channel. In proportion to her nominal strength, France is not maintaining a fleet comparable with that of Germany, and her fitness to win must deteriorate year by year.

It is one of the unhappy chances of diplomacy that Great Britain should be a party to a triple entente in which she herself has to bear practically all the naval burden. The Russian Navy is still in the slough of despond, and the French Navy is passing through the valley of humiliation. In the existing grouping of the Powers, the triple entente implies liabilities which the British people are only now beginning slowly to realise. France may need assistance, and Holland, Denmark, Belgium, and Portugal stand continually in need of protection. Upon the fleet must rest our main dependence. It is unsafe to place reliance upon any naval assistance which might be rendered in time of emergency by the French or Russian Fleets. In a naval sense Great Britain still occupies a position of splendid isolation, and the calculations upon which future programmes are based must still embody this policy. At the same time naval strength must be judged not merely by balancing matériel against matériel, officers against officers, or men against men, but by the spirit which animates rival forces.

Judged on this basis, Germany is already far in advance of every other continental fleet. Of twenty-four 'battleships' less than twenty-five years old, four of which are little more than coast-defence ships of 9900 tons-she keeps sixteen always in full commission; in addition to four armoured cruisers, six scouts, and a fairly large group of destroyers, varying at different seasons from eleven to over thirty; she has neither submarines nor torpedo boats; in summary about 66 per cent. of her matériel is employed in active training. new ships are completed, the Navy Bill provides for but a small numerical growth in the German High Sea Fleet. Half the Navy, consisting of the newest and best ships, will be always on active service, and the remainder will be kept in reserve. When the naval establishment reaches its maximum strength about 50 per cent. of the ships will be kept fully manned, and the remainder will form a reserve force in accordance with the terms of the Navy Bill which has been already quoted. The German High Sea Fleet as it exists to-day is a powerful training squadron, but it is supported by very inconsiderable reserves. It is not intended to fight, it is not intended, probably, even for use as a diplomatic weapon; it is the high school of the Navy-the seagoing university-in which admirals, captains, junior officers, and the rank and file of the Navy are being given a higher education in naval warfare. In the coming winter and onward, month by month, new ships-Dreadnoughts and Indomitables—will be completed for sea and will replace in the first line the older vessels, until, in the spring of 1914, Germany will possess an Active Fleet of eighteen, or possibly twenty-two, Dreadnoughts, with the existing High Sea Fleet held in reserve—only partly manned.

By that time Austria will also probably be on the point of reaching the first stage of development of her new naval policy. Her fleet, such as it is, is maintained to-day on a higher standard in proportion to its total strength than any other continental Navy except that of

Last spring when the mobilisation of the Austrian Fleet took place she had on a war footing the following ships:

	IST DIVISION.		
Erzherzog Karl	Displacement. Tons.  10,600  2nd Division.	Speed. Knots.	$egin{array}{c} & _{\mathrm{Guns.}}^{\mathrm{Main}} \ & _{\mathrm{Guns.}}^{\mathrm{Guns.}} \ & 12 & 7.5 \ \mathrm{in.} \end{array}$
	ZND DIVISION.		
Hapsburg	.} 8,340	18	$ \begin{cases} 3 & 9.4 \text{ in.} \\ 12 & 5.9 \text{ in.} \end{cases} $
	3RD DIVISION.		
Kaiser Karl VI.	. 6,250	20	∫2 9.4 in
Zenta	. 2,300 . 2,440	20 14	$ \begin{cases} 2 & 9.4 \text{ in.} \\ 8 & 5.9 \text{ in.} \\ 8 & 4.7 \text{ in.} \\ 2 & 10 \text{ pdrs.} \end{cases} $
Together with 9 torped	o craft.		Pars.

Judged in direct contrast with even the German High Sea Fleet, this is a relatively weak naval force; but the fact that Austria, so far as is known, is keeping it more or less on a war footing and that behind is an active, intelligent, and economical administration, is evidence of the foundations which are now being laid of the great Navy of to-morrow which will be prepared to fight side by side with that of Germany.

What is the position of the British Fleet as it faces these developments? As has been already explained, ten years ago when the German Act first placed on record the new standard of naval efficiency, the British Fleet was widely dispersed in little groups over the face of the waters, with one considerable squadron in the Mediterranean and a group of eight battleships in British waters. The Navy had no organisation for war, its Intelligence Department was weak; the admirals in command were without adequate staffs, there was no organisation of torpedo craft, and the prestige of the Navy rested not upon its preparedness for war, but upon the triumphs it had gained in earlier days before steel had superseded wood and steam power had taken the place of sails. Ten years ago the Navy's expenditure on coal was 750,0001.; in the current year the expenditure is estimated at upwards of 2,000,000l. Ten years ago the British public credited the Navy with possessing forty-seven battleships, and of these eighteen were in seagoing commission, with only three first-class cruisers, six second-class cruisers, and a number of small craft. The German Navy Act awakened the British naval authorities from a period of slumber; they had been living upon the fruits of past victories. At first slowly, and of late years with rapid strides, the Navy has been reorganised. It now possesses two main battle forces, one in the Home seas and the other in the Mediterranean, with the Atlantic Fleet as a connecting link, held always in readiness to

co-operate with one or other of the main forces. Ten years ago there existed no effective organisation of reserves; to-day behind the active fleet there is a reserve organisation, the efficiency of which has been repeatedly demonstrated in the past few years and will be further tested during the present month. In barest summary the peace standing of the British Fleet in European waters only is as follows:—

Battleships.—Home Fleet, sixteen with full crews and three battle-ship-cruisers (Indomitables), and ten with nucleus crews; in addition the Atlantic Fleet has six, and the Mediterranean Fleet six, a total of forty-one, of which all but six are always on duty in Home waters.

Armoured Cruisers.—Fourteen are in full commission in Home waters, with ten others with nucleus crews, and four are on duty in the Mediterranean—a total of twenty-eight.

Protected Cruisers, Scouts, and Gunboats.—Thirteen are in full commission in Home waters, with fifteen others with nucleus crews, and there are three on duty in the Mediterranean—a total of thirty-one.

Torpedo Craft.—There are forty-eight destroyers permanently associated with the two active divisions of the Home Fleet, besides thirty-two submarines and thirty new torpedo boats—'coastal destroyers'—while twenty other torpedo boats are attached, as mobile defences, to the Home ports. In addition, sixty-nine destroyers, thirty torpedo boats, and some submarines are in commission with large nucleus crews; thus giving to the Navy a total of 130 torpedo craft always on active service in Home waters, and about 100 older ones with nucleus crews. There are eleven destroyers in the Mediterranean.

Auxiliary Ships.—For the first time in its history the Navy has been provided with a due proportion of auxiliary vessels. A hospital ship is always cruising with the fleet, together with floating workshops for repairs, and a number of depot and parent ships for service with the torpedo craft, and the Admiralty have provided groups of mine-layers and mine-sweepers ready for instant service.

This, in briefest outline, is the organisation of the British Navy at present. It takes no account of older ships with small maintenance crews. Of sixty-three battleships and battleship-cruisers (Indomitables) of less than twenty-five years old, thirty-one are maintained on a war footing and ten possess nucleus crews of regular officers and men, varying in strength from 50 per cent. and upwards of the full war strength. Of thirty-eight armoured cruisers less than twenty years old, eighteen are maintained in full commission in Europe, and ten have large nucleus crews. There is an even larger proportion of protected cruisers kept permanently in commission, but many of them are outside European waters, constituting the China, East Indies, Australian, Cape of Good Hope, and West Indian Squadrons. There are also four armoured cruisers on the China Station, where Germany has a very small force, including one armoured ship only. An examination

of the Navy List shows that rather more than half of the torpedo of the Navy List snows that the new vessels—are kept in full seagoing craft of the British Fleet—the new vessels—are kept in full seagoing

commission and the remainder that nucleus-crew ships are not comparable of the should be added that nucleus-crew ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not comparable of the ships are not with the ships in reserve in foreign fleets, in that the British vessels with the ships in reserve and engage in gunnery are dispatched to sea frequently for cruises and engage in gunnery are dispatched to sea major and other competitions similar to those in the fully commissioned and other competitions and other salient fact be ignored, Ship for ship the British Navy possesses units which are without Ship for ship the Bitton compeers under any other flag. This month there will be in the Home Fleet a group of nine ships embodying the all-big-gun principle, Home Fleet a group of the Indomitable class, four vessels of the Dreadnought type, three of the Indomitable class, and the Lord Nelson and Agamemnon. There will in addition be eight battleships of the King Edward VII. class. In no other European fleet in the world is there a single unit equal to either of these seventeen armoured ships. Judged by the new standard of naval strength which rests upon peace training for war, the British Fleet has never been worked more persistently and consistently or to better purpose than to-day. So great has been the improvement of naval gunnery owing to the spirit of emulation which has been excited affoat, the institution of the war nucleus crews, and the introduction of improved weapons and resources, that as a fighting machine the fleet is to-day of three times the fighting value that it was ten years ago.

Looking back over the period which has elapsed since Germany abandoned the old easy-going methods of peace and inaugurated the new routine of careful preparation for war, the British people have cause for congratulation. The Navy to-day exhibits the result of careful thought and intelligent organisation. Thankful for what has already been accomplished in remodelling the British forces to modern conditions, it is at the same time apparent that there are still deficiencies to be made good. The strength of a chain is that of its weakest links. The British Navy still has weak links. It requires a well-considered scheme of mobile coast defence upon our eastern shores. It requires increased docking facilities between Rosyth in the north and Portsmouth in the south—a stretch of coast which is at present without a single dock which can take a Dreadnought. It stands in need of a persistent and courageous policy which shall provide it with an adequate number of new ships of war-not less than eight Dreadnoughts this year—so that it may successfully meet the unprecedented rivalry in the new types which threatens it in the immediate future. And, lastly, it will require increasingly large expenditure on war training if it is to maintain its traditional standing. There must be economy financially—otherwise our resources will prove inadequate—but let us be spendthrift in the attention devoted to preparation for war as a definite end. Thus and thus only can we secure peace.

## THE BAGHDAD RAILWAY AND THE QUESTION OF BRITISH CO-OPERATION

A few days before coming here, a friend brought me a book, bound in red cloth, with the map of the old world on its cover and a white line from the Bosporus to the Persian Gulf, showing The Short Cut to India, the Baghdad Railway. During my journey I found time to peruse the book. Its title seemed to indicate that the author considers the Baghdad Railway to be important and its execution desirable; but as I went on reading I found that the writer is as one of those who, some forty years ago, tried to prove that the Suez Canal, if ever completed, would soon be filled up again by the sands of the desert. I refer those of my readers who may be too young to recall that campaign to the four volumes of Ferdinand de Lesseps's Diary, where they will find how much talent was misused in the vain endeavour to wreck and ruin what has proved to be one of the greatest achievements of the human race, as foretold forty years earlier by Goethe's immortal mind.

When I had finished that book, and had found my name in it and heard that widely circulating periodicals repeated and spread what I can show to be untrue, I came to the conclusion my friend was right in saying that the story ought not to remain uncontradicted and that British public opinion ought to have a chance of being better informed.

More than twenty years ago my predecessor, the late Georg von Siemens, conceived the idea of restoring to civilisation the great wastes of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, once and for long the centre of the history of humanity. The only means of achieving that end was by building railways; this was undertaken, slowly but persistently, and with marvellous results. Constantinople and the Turkish Army at that time were eating bread made from Russian flour; they are now eating grain of their own country's growth. Security in Asia Minor at that time was hardly greater than it is to-day in Kurdistan. When the Deutsche Bank's engineer reached a station a little beyond Ismid (Nikomedia), on the Sea of Marmara, the neighbourhood was infested with Tscherkess robbers; the chief of those robbers is now a stationmaster in the service of the Anatolian Railway Company, drawing about 1001. per annum, a party as respectable as

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the late Mr. Micawber after his conversion to thrift. the late Mr. Micawber are brought ease to the peasantry, who are obtaining for their harvest brought ease to the prices formerly paid, and the railways brought ease to the peasance, brought ease to the prices formerly paid, and the railways brought twice to four times the prices formerly paid, and the railways brought twice to four times the photos of the Anatolian Railway Company To a street of the Anatolian Railway Company revenue to the Treasury.

To finance, in building the lines of the Anatolian Railway Company. To finance, that is to raise from the public, this large amount of capital, the that is to raise from the Public Debt lent its help Council of Administration and the railway company, by underand credit to the Government pledged taking to collect certain dimes or tithes which the Government pledged taking to collect certain tallway, as well as to others, a certain minimum in order to assure to this railway, as well as to others, a certain minimum 2501 sterling to about 7501 sterling to in order to assure to this 1250l. sterling to about 750l. sterling annually gross revenue, varying from 250l. sterling to about 750l. sterling annually per kilometre, equal to about five-eighths of a statute mile. Should a railway company omit to develop the traffic of its lines thus subventioned, this system, for evident reasons, is liable to abuse; but in the case of the Anatolian Company at least, as well as that of the Deutsche Bank's other Turkish railways, it is publicly on record that everything possible has been done, and successfully, to relieve the Treasury of its burden.

Whatever the shortcomings of Abdul Hamid's reign may have been, and they were many, the building of the several railways of the Ottoman Empire will remain a lasting title to the credit of that régime. The Anatolian Railway's lines are in as good a condition as any line in the United Kingdom, and their transportation charge is less than half the rates of any railway in England. On the oldest section of the Anatolian Railway the Ottoman Treasury has ceased to contribute, and, instead of paying an annual subvention, is receiving every year its share in surplus earnings; the line from Ismid to Angora (Ankyra, the capital of the Galatians) no longer requires a subsidy in years of plentiful crops-rare, alas! in a country deprived of its forests, like most of the sites of ancient civilisation; the line to Konia is costing the company every year a heavy amount, because the subvention, which does not exceed some 270l. sterling per annum, has proved insufficient. The Macedonian Railway Company in 1908 reached its full guaranteed gross earnings without requiring any contribution from the Government.

Altogether Turkey has done well with her system of railway subventions, which seems the one best suited to the backward state and poor elasticity of that country. To give an example in figures · I will quote 1 from an essay by Edwin Pears, published in the Contemporary Review of last November; it says:

During the first three years of its (the Anatolian Railway's) working—namely, during 1888, 1889, and 1890—the districts or sandjaks through which it runs produced in tithes for the Government 606,571 Turkish pounds. (The pound sterling is worth 10 per cent. more than the Turkish pound.) Fourteen years afterwards the same districts produced in tithes 1,120,711 Turkish pounds, or

I am preferably quoting from British sources and trust to prove my case without making use of any other, except public or official documents.

an increase of 514,140 Turkish pounds. Out of these tithes the Government an increase of the railway during the three later years 190,591 Turkish pounds. From paid to the results that the net advantage to the Government after paying its whence 10 research was 323,549 Turkish pounds, or more than 50 per cent. over what it had formerly received.

Whilst I will not endorse all the author says on Turkish railways in general and the Baghdad Railway in particular, I readily admit that essay to be a fair statement of the case from the British point of view.

But whatever the advantages or defects of the Turkish system of railway guarantees may be, I know of no railway in Turkey built without such a guarantee that failed to come to grief or bring heavy loss on those who risked their money in it. The English Smyrna Aidin Company was in receivers' hands several times. remember its debentures having dropped to one third of their par value. The French railway from Beirut to Damascus had to arrange with its creditors; so had the Mersina to Adana Railway Company, which is not likely ever to give a dividend to its shareholders. rails of the Haifa Railway were rusting in the sands when the Turkish Government built a connexion from the Hedjaz line to that port. The traffic on the old line from Haidar Pacha to Ismid had to be stopped, because it was unsafe to run a train on its lines. Nor have the Anatolian and the Macedonian Railway Companies been particularly profitable ventures, the dividends paid to their shareholders not having ever exceeded 5 to 6 per cent. per annum. But none of the investors ever lost a penny, and the country gained enormously..

When the Anatolian Company's lines stopped at Angora and at Konia, an expedition of experts was organised to study the best means of continuing the railway further east. It was an affair both costly and difficult, necessitating quite a caravan and almost a little army. After having spent many months in those inhospitable regions, and after having examined all the various possibilities, the expedition reported and recommended to build the line from Konia, over the Taurus and Amanus mountain ranges to Aleppo, across the Euphrates to a point on the Tigris, following the right bank of that river to Baghdad, traversing the now swampy lower Mesopotamia, the land 'between the rivers,' re-crossing the Euphrates and continuing on its right side to Basrah on the Shat-el-Arab, and eventually to some point on the Persian Gulf, preferably to Koweit.

The cost of that line was confirmed to be enormous; but larger would be its value for Turkey, as the best and practically the only means of bringing the disjointed members of that large empire within reach of control. Enormous would be the cost, but larger would be the reward, by bringing security and cultivation to a country that . had once been the most fertile on earth. If the restoration to order and civilisation of Mesopotamia promised ultimately great profits, it was clear on the other hand that no art of the financier could bridge

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over the gap between the present and the future. That could only be over the gap between the production. In 1856 Sir John MacNeill and done by a Government subvention. In 1856 Sir John MacNeill and done by a Government such that the cost of a railway from the Mediter. General Chesney had figured the cost of a railway from the Mediter. General Chesney had ngured. General Chesney had ngured at 7500l. per kilometer, but the Mediter. ranean to the Persian Gulf at 7500l. per kilometer, but their scheme ranean to the most difficult part of what we had to achieve ranean to the Persian Guil part of what we had to achieve, the did not include the most difficult part of what we had to achieve, the did not include the most amparable only to one of the great Alpine crossing of the Taurus, comparable only to one of the great Alpine passes, such as the St. Gotthard; nor did that scheme consider anything passes, such as the St. Gotthard; nor did that scheme consider anything passes, such as the Br. Golden trains at 75 kilometers anything like a railway capable of running trains at 75 kilometers an hour. like a railway capacit of the Baghdad Railway from Our experts gave us the average cost of the Baghdad Railway from Our experts gave us the County of the Persian Gulf at about 8500l. per kilometer; but they Warned us to save 1000l. to 2000l. on each kilometer outside the Taurus and Amanus ranges for the purpose of coping with the extraordinary cost of the mountain sections.

My excellent friend Siemens having died, too soon, in 1901, from his assistant I became his successor and pursued these negotiations. On the 5th of March 1903 I signed with Zihni Pacha, then Ottoman Minister of Public Works, the Baghdad Railway Concession as it stands to-day. I am pleased to recollect that this worthy functionary never claimed nor received from us any backshish, neither on this nor on any other occasion. 'I am an old man,' he said, 'why should I appear before Allah, my conscience laden with sin?' The text of the Baghdad convention has been public for a number of years; whilst its opponents, for reasons of their own, have decried it as too unfavourable for Turkey, some of our own technical associates have found fault with us for accepting so difficult a task on terms below the cost of other Turkish lines far easier. In order to reduce the burden to Turkey, the Company is not to sell its own debentures, which would have required an issue of 5 per cent. bonds, but it receives a capitalised amount of 11,000 francs gross earnings per annum and per kilometer in the shape of 4 per cent. Turkish Government bonds representing, at the price of about 821 per cent., very exactly the 8,500l. sterling required for building and equipping the railway. No sensible man will find fault with the calculated price of 822 per cent., as the cost of an issue will absorb for brokerage, foreign governments' stamps, commissions and underwriting at least a 5 per cent. margin. The Ottoman Government further guarantees to the Company a minimum amount of 4500 francs (1801.) per annum and per kilometer for the cost of working and maintaining the railway. On the other hand, all earnings of the railway company up to 10,000 francs per annum and per kilometer belong to the Government, as well as 60 per cent. of all earnings beyond that figure. Thus if the earnings be 10,000 francs, the Company must pay all working expenditure and repairs for \$5 per cent. of the earnings, and at 40 per cent. of any higher amount of earnings. Few, if any, are the railways in Turkey, or indeed throughout the world, that work so cheaply. It is true that the Government must pay the interest on the Turkish loans, granted as subventions for ninety-nine years, to the end of the concession; but

it is also true that all earnings beyond what is barely necessary to work and maintain the railway belong to the Government. Should the line be finished quickly, it is quite likely that the Government will have to pay but little; but even if that hope should not be fulfilled, and the railway be opened for traffic but gradually, experience shows that wherever any section of Turkish territory has been opened up by railway communication, the increase of revenue to the Treasury has made good, if not exceeded, any outlay on railway subventions. A few exceptions there are of course; to name one, there is, for instance, the strategical railway connecting the two Oriental lines from Salonika to Servia and from Constantinople to Bulgaria. This 'Junction Railway,' built by French capital, is never likely to pay for its cost; but its existence has allowed Turkey to win the Greek campaign, and I has allowed the Young Turkish Army to quench the latest rebellion of the soldateska at Constantinople.

Though streams of ink be spilled to show the Turks that they are being 'milked' and 'looted' by us, the Turks, Old and Young, know better. They feel they have received at our hands nothing but good, and they are justly proud of the Anatolian Railway. Railway Company has since its establishment been selling to the peasantry agricultural machinery, and without any profit. It has been subventioning schools mostly visited by the children of Ottoman It has been planting trees and making experiments and demonstrations of agriculture, and, as late as the present year, it has been advancing without interest large amounts in grain, when the peasantry, owing to last year's drought, had nothing left to sow their In February last an interpellation hostile to the Baghdad Railway was engineered in the Turkish Parliament. When the Minister declared that the Government intended to go through with the undertaking, and when he spoke of the line as 'a sinew in the life of the State,' the nation's representatives applauded and passed a unanimous vote of approval and confidence.

I will now explain the use that has been made of the Government subvention bonds delivered to the Company for the first section of 200 kilometers from Konia. Under the concession, and according to what I have explained, the Company received bonds representing about 8500l. cash value per kilometer, or for 200 kilometers say 1,700,000l. Out of this sum the Company paid for the construction about 5000l. per kilometer=1,000,000l.; it further had to defray the interest on the subvention loan until the time of the opening of the line. And it is to be observed that under this heading at least 10 per cent. of the total subvention will be absorbed (2½ years' average construction time at 4 per cent.), though in this case of an easy construction problem the expense was smaller. Thirdly, the Company provided a heavy sum for rolling stock over and above the actual requirements of the small spur to Bulgurlu, as we well knew that no money would be available

on the second and third sections next following to pay for rolling stock, which, however, would be necessary. Further, the Company saved and put aside an amount of over 12001. per kilometer, or a total of 240,000l., as a reserve towards paying for the costly Taurus section. That amount, as appears from the Baghdad Railway Company's published reports, is available in cash, as well as the Company's paidup capital of 7,500,000 francs. Finally, there had to be paid a large amount for preparing so important a business during a series of years, the cost of the expedition being the principal item of the outlay, and last, not least, there was to be paid a heavy backshish. Nobody having done business in Turkey ignores that backshish on the Bosporus ruled supreme, and was hitherto an absolute condition of any contract. We had to pay in proportion to the importance of a business of som? twenty million pounds. The Sultan himself saddled us sometimes under the most phantastic pretexts with fresh parties that had to be satisfied. Some of my readers will be familiar with the tale of the man who arrived at Stambul with a bag full of gold, desirous of giving it to the Public Treasury; but he had to pay backshish before reaching his purpose and being able to leave the Turkish capital relieved of his burden. To those who will blame us for having consented to pay backshish on this as on other occasions I have not at the present time any reply to make, nor do I feel called upon to apologise. But I will venture to recall having read the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Esquire, from which it appears that there was a time, not so very far distant, when backshish even in London was a common institution.

Now it is evident from the above that the creators of the Baghdad Railway scheme and the finance syndicate that carried through this operation could not possibly make a profit except by what they could save upon the price of 50001. per kilometer in the construction, in a distant country far from the sea, of a standard gauge line, laid with heavy steel rails, and completely outfitted; and I ask whence could have come the 'loot of a million and a quarter' which we are accused of having robbed? It is known and admitted that the syndicate made a fair profit on the construction of that first section, which was easy, and which the Turkish Government knew full well was to pay for general expenses incurred in preparing and bringing to a successful conclusion such a vast scheme. The out-of-pocket expenditure of the group who undertook that work had run up to several hundreds of thousand pounds; if the business had come to naught, that would have been a dead loss. There is not one of the great railroads in the United States, nor in South America, and few in Europe, that have not been charged with expenditure and construction profits enormously higher. Shall we call robbers and thiefs the Huntingtons and the Hills, the Hendersons and the Hersents, for having made important gains on the great work they performed for their countries and for humanity? In this connexion it has been asked why only hat first and easy section was built in pursuance of the Convention

of 1903; the reply is near at hand to all having some knowledge of Ottoman finance and caring to admit the truth. Turkey had no available revenue for securing further subvention loans, and we had to look out and create new sources of income.

And this leads me to the topic of British co-operation in the Baghdad scheme.

From the outset of the Anatolian Railway construction we had English associates; but they came to grief in South American commitments, and dropped out. Doctor von Siemens had always been anxious to have British partners in this business; for political motives, not for the purpose of finding any part of the capital in London-which a Press campaign against everything Turkish, continued without interruption since the deal that gave Cyprus to Great Britain, had made fairly impossible. This line of action I followed, and when I had signed the Baghdad Convention I met some of our London friends, their names being amongst the most respected in the City, and they agreed to become our partners. The British Foreign Office was consulted and agreed, on certain conditions which we met, to help towards increasing the Turkish Customs, thus creating the necessary fresh revenue whereby to guarantee the Baghdad subvention loans. I need not go into more details here, as the gist of the agreements was published at the time. But I will say this: if those agreements had been carried out, the entire Baghdad Railway would fairly be finished and working to-day; and some London banking houses and British gentlemen of the very highest social and commercial standing would have been partners to what is now described as 'looting'; possibly I would not be chairman of the Baghdad Railway Company now, but perhaps my place would be filled by some candidate of the entente cordiale. And the same pens now writing satires would be composing hymns on the very same subject, 'the case being altered.' Audacter calumniare, semper aliquid haeret.

Not one of the several British statesmen or financiers who took part in those negotiations, but has expressed or conveyed to me at some time his regret at the treatment and unjust criticism we met with.

At that time a Consular Report was spread and believed, pretending that by some clause or special trick of tarification German goods would be favoured and discrimination used against all others, and against British 'sea-borne trade' in particular, as against land-borne trade. H.B.M.'s late Ambassador at Constantinople, Sir Nicolas O'Conor, told me that he examined that statement and found no truth in it. Whoever has the slightest notion of transportation problems knows that no railway can compete where there is a possibility of transport by sea at a similar distance. Any goods the are or may have to be transported from Germany to Turkey have been shipped and will continue to be shipped by the sea route; postal packages excepted, which may be carried at the same postage from Baltimore, from Bristol, from Bremen, or from Bukarest, to the same point of

destination in Turkey. Every ton of grain, every bale of cotton, or whatever other product there may be raised in Asia Minor or Mesopotamia for export, will seek the nearest seaport. As regards discrimination against British goods, the most important individual client of the Anatolian Railway Company, making the largest use of its facilities for transport, storage, and shipping, are the Messrs. J. W. Whittall & Co., of Constantinople. Let the gentlemen who are the partners of that firm say what treatment they have had at our hands. and if they complain.

The Baghdad Railway Company has a Board of Directors of not less than twent seven members; of these eight are French, four Ottomar, two Swiss, one Austrian, one Italian, and eleven German, of whom three are nominated by the Anatolian Railway Company. Had our English friends been able to carry out what had been arranged, there would also have been eight Directors of British nationality. These arrangements and the tenor of the Baghdad Railway Company's concession and articles of association were likewise deliberately

misrepresented at the time.

I have been silent all these years, but under such strong provocation as we are being exposed to of late, I feel now authorised to publish a letter dated the 23rd of April 1903, and addressed to me by the late Sir Clinton Dawkins, one of the gentlemen that took part in our negotiations. The letter says :-

As you originally introduced the Baghdad business to us I feel that I cannot, upon its unfortunate termination, omit to express to you personally my great regret at what has occurred. After all you have done to meet the various points raised, you will naturally feel very disappointed and legitimately aggrieved. But I am glad to think, and I feel you will be convinced, that your grievance lies not against the British group but against the British Foreign Office.2 The fact is that the business has become involved in politics here, and has been sacrificed to the very violent and bitter feeling against Germany exhibited by the majority of our newspapers, and shared in by a large number of people.

This is a feeling which, as the history of recent events will show you, is not shared by the Government or reflected in official circles. But of its intensity outside those circles, for the moment, there can be no doubt; at the present moment co-operation in any enterprise which could be represented, or I might more justly say misrepresented, as German will meet with a violent hostility which our Government has to consider. The history of the recent occurrences is this When my colleagues returned from Paris—you will remember that I proceeded to Spain—and reported the result of our discussion with yourself to Lord Lansdowne, he was perfectly satisfied and pleased to think that all the difficulties in the way of his giving the desired assurances were well on the way to be removed.

Indeed had you at once sent us from Berlin the draft of the engagements on your part, which we handed you at Paris, with your signature affixed, there is no doubt at all that Lord Lansdowne would have accepted it, and would at

once have giverfishe assurances desired from our Government.

Unfortunate there was a delay which was undoubtedly and naturally due impo to your having to consult your friends in Berlin. In the meanwhile there suddenly appeared a violent attack upon the suggestion that the British Government

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Neither was the case.—A. v. G.

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